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The Nāgēśvarasvāmi Temple

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

I

INTRODUCTORY

Kumbhakōṇam is a first class municipal town in the Tañjāvūr District, Madras State, with a population of about a lakh and is at a distance of 313 kilo metres from Madras on the Madras—Tirucirappalli main line of the Southern Railway. The place is of great antiquity and the region around it bears evidence of ancient habitation and culture. Nandanmēḍu, a small village four miles to the West of the town and on the northern bank of the river Tirumalairājan, has yielded a good number of burial urns with human skulls and bones and grave goods in them, besides black-and-red ware pottery of the megalithic variety assignable to the period round about the commencement of the Christian era. The importance of Kumbhakōṇam during the period is also borne out by the evidence of the Śāṅgam literature. A verse in the *Ahanāṇūru* mentions that the Cōḷa Kings of the Śāṅgam age had a guarded treasury at Kuḍamūkkū,¹ a Tamilised form of the word Kumbhakōṇam and the name by which the place was known in early Tamil literature and epigraphy. Reference is made in the *Kaḷavaḷinārpadu* to a prison at Kuḍavāyir-kōṭṭam, in which the Cēra ruler Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai was kept as a captive by Kocceṅgaṇān after the battle of Kaḷumalam near Karuvūr.² The place Kuḍavāyir may be the same as Kumbhakōṇam or a place of the same name now known as Kuḍavāśal, not far from Kumbhakōṇam and on the way to Tiruvārūr in the Tañjā-

1. No. 60, 11.13-15. *Korrac-cōḷar Kuḍandai vaitta nāḍu taru nidiyumuñ-jeṛiya-varun-gaḍi.*

2. 36:2. See also *Indian Antiquary*, XVIII, pp. 259-65 for a translation and critical account of the work by V. Kanakasabhai.

vūr District.³ The *yāpperuṅgalavirutti*, a late work composed in the tenth or eleventh century⁴ has two interesting verses, which give the names of the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya capitals and mention Pūndūr Vaḷavan and Pōrvēr Kilḷi as two Cōḷa rulers who had their capital at Nallīsaikuḍandai. Thus Kuḍandai, by which name the western part of the modern town of Kumbhakōṇam appears to have been known in ancient times (though it is the name by which the whole of the present town is known now), seems to have served as a secondary capital of the Cōḷa Kings of the Śaṅgam period, who had Uṛaiyūr (a part of the modern Tirucirappalli town) as their capital, even during the period of the Kaḷabhra interregnum and later.⁵ Later Paḷaiyārai, now a small village about four and a half miles to the West of Kumbhakōṇam, appears to have become a subsidiary capital of the Cōḷas from the days of Vijayālaya and Āditya.

Kumbhakōṇam and the area surrounding it played a considerable part in the wars between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas from about the middle of the eighth century.⁶ The Udayēndiram Plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla state that he was besieged in Nandipura by the Dramiḷa Princes, and Udayacandra, his minister fought against enemies, released his master and bestowed the kingdom on him many times.⁷ Among the Dramiḷa

3. See *Kaḷavaḷi-māṛpadu* ed. by Anantarama Aiyar, p. 10. (Introduction). Kuḍavāyil literally means western gate. If Kuḍavāśal is identified with Kuḍavāyir-kōṭṭam it is possible that it formed the western gate of Kumbhakōṇam.

4. *Aham*, v. 55; also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (second edition), p. 67.

5. Burnell thinks that it served as a capital as late as the seventh century (*South Indian Palaeography*, p. 145, fn. 14).

6. The Western Cālukya King Vikramāditya I (655-681) invaded the Pallava territory, and marching through it encamped at Urāgapuri on the banks of the river Kāvērī but was defeated by the Pallava King Paramēśvaravarman I (669-691) at Peruvaḷanallūr in the Tirucirappalli District. Urāgapura has been sought to be identified with Tirunāgēśvaram near Kumbhakōṇam and the region in which it was situated with Pāmbūrṇāḍu (See T. N. Subrahmanyam, 'A Note on Urāgapura' in the *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, VII, pp. 597-63). But it is better to identify Urāgapura where Vikramāditya I encamped with Uraiyyūr, the old Cōḷa capital.

7. *SII*, II, p. 372.

Princes who besieged Nandipura were probably the Pāṇḍya King Māraṇvarman Rājasimha I (c. 730-765) and the Koḍumbālūr Chief.^{7a} Udayacandra could have been helped by the Cōlas and the Muttaraiya Chieftain Śuvaran Māran *alias* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiya II who ruled from the Śēndalai area. Nandipuram is usually identified with the modern Nāthankōvil, three miles to the South of Kumbhakōṇam, which according to tradition is the same as Nandipura Viṇṇagaram, on which the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai has sung a decad of verses, and which place, according to one verse, was embellished by Nandi.⁸ Nandipuram could have formed part of Paḷaiyārai.

The strained relations between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas continued after the release of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Soon after the accession of Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa I (765-815) to the Pāṇḍya throne, fight between the two powers was renewed, as may be gathered from the Vēlvikuḍi and Madras Museum plates. The Vēlvikuḍi Plates which are dated in the third year of the Pāṇḍya King record that he defeated the Kāḍava (Pallava) King (Nandivarman II) at Pennāgaḍam on the southern bank of the river Kāvēri.⁹ Pennāgaḍam has been identified with a place of the same name in the Tañjāvūr District. The fight appears to have taken place on account of the aggressive action of Nandivarman II who claims in the Pullūr Plates of his thirty-third year (A.D. 764) to have made, among others, the Pāṇḍyas obey his orders as a result of which "their reins slipped from their hands while in battle with him".¹⁰ This must have happened during the closing years of the reign of Māraṇvarman Rājasimha I. Obviously it raised the anger of Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa I and hence his invasion of the Pallava territory immediately after his accession and the battle of Pennagaḍam. But Nandivarman could not brook this defeat and hence he seems to have organised a

7a. He is said to have defeated the Pallava King and captured his elephants and horses in the battle of Kuḷumbūr. The name of the Pallava King begins with Śe but is said to be hopelessly damaged in the impression. (*El.*, XVII, p. 294).

8. *Nandi paṇi śeida nagar Nandipura viṇṇagaram* (*Periya Tirumoli*), v. 107, v. 1444.

9. *El.*, XVII, pp. 291-309.

10. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, No. 20, p. 152.

confederacy with the rulers of Keraḷa, Kongu and Adigaimān Chief of Tagaḍūr against the Pāṇḍya King. Probably he was defeated this time also as may be gleaned from the evidence of the Madras Museum Plates, according to which Jaṭila Parāntaka claims to have defeated Adigaimān at Puḡaḷiyūr and Āyiravēli Ariyūr the latter on the northern bank of the river Kāvērī and marched against the allied armies of the Pallavas and Kēraḷas and captured the Western Kongu country.¹¹ The Daḷavāypuram Plates of Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa (862-905) state that he defeated the Pallava King at Karuvūr.¹² In spite of these reverses the hold of Nandivarman II over the Kumbhakōṇam area does not seem to have been affected very much. The Taṇḍantōṭṭam¹³ and Paṭṭattālmaṅgalam¹⁴ Plates of the King (both places not far from Kumbhakōṇam) issued respectively in his fifty-eighth and sixty-first regnal years show that his sway over the region continued to the end of his reign.

But the area appears to have been pressed hard by the Pāṇḍya King Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (815-862), the son and successor of Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguna I. His contemporaries on the Pallava throne were Dantivarman (796-846), son of Nandivarman II and Nandivarman III (846-869), son of Dantivarman. The larger Siṅṅamanūr Plates of Rajasimha (A.D. 900-920) state that Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha defeated "the Cōḷas along with the Pallavas, Gangas, Kalingas, Magadhas and other kings at Kuḍamūkkil. . . . and made them bathe in a river of blood."¹⁵ The account receives confirmation from the Daḷavāypuram Plates which state that Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha defeated the Pallava King at Āṇūr on the sea-shore and broke the strength of the confederacy of the Kuṭṭavar

11. *Indian Antiquary*, XXII, p. 73, also *EI.*, XXXVI, p. 136. The Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna mentions the encampment of the King at Araṣūr on the banks of the Peṇṇār in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The Varaguna mentioned in the inscription is taken to be Varaguna I and hence the view has been expressed that he marched as far North as that place. (See 105 of 1905; *EI.*, I, p. 84 ff. also R. Gopalan, *The Pallavas of Kāñchi*, p. 136; Jouveau Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, pp. 78-79). But it is better the achievement is attributed to his grandson Māravarman Varaguna II (862-95).

12. *ARIE.*, 1958-59, p. 4.

13. *SII*, II, p. 517.

14. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 115 ff.

15. *SII*, III, p. 461.

(Cēras), Cōlas, Kūpakas, and the northerners (Vaḍugar),¹⁶ the last of whom were probably the Kalingas mentioned in the Śiṅṅamanūr Plates. He is also said to have killed in the fight at Kuḍandai an unnamed son of a certain Amaravallān who was probably a member of the confederacy.¹⁷ It was during that time that the Pallava Kingdom or a considerable part of it under Dantivarman seems to have been taken by one Śrīkaṇṭha, a member of the Telugu Cōḍa family of Pottappi.¹⁸ Hemmed in on both sides we find that Dantivarman lost his kingdom for some years from his twenty-first to his forty-ninth regnal year. During that period the inscriptions of Dantivarman are not found in the Pallava territory, but instead, those of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha are found in a number of places in the area. Śrīkaṇṭha was probably helped by the Pāṇḍya King to whom he had given his daughter Akkaḷanimmaḍi in marriage. Śrīkaṇṭha himself appears to have nominated one Abhimāna Siddhi to rule over the Pallava kingdom on his behalf.¹⁹ But towards the close of his reign Dantivarman regained his position largely with the help of his son Nandivarman III who defeated, at Tellāru in the Wandiwash taluk, his enemies who were probably Śrīkaṇṭha and his allies among whom the Pāṇḍya Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha was probably one. On account of this great achievement Nandivarman is mentioned in inscriptions as *Tellārrerinda* and *Tellārrerindu rājyamum koṇḍa*.²⁰ Nandivarman appears to have followed up his victory and recovered the territories in the South which had gone into the hands of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. According to the Tamil work *Nandikkalambakam*, Nandivarman, after his success at Tellāru won victories at Kaḍambūr, Veriyatur, Vellāru, Kurikkotṭai, all in the Cōḷa country.²¹ It is even said that the Pallava army reached as far South as the river Vaigai.

But the Kāvērī area did not have peace for long. There appears to have developed some family feud between Śrīmāra

16. *ARIE.*, 1958-59, pp. 4 and 5.

17. *Ibid.*

18. See for a discussion of the problem 'An Interregnum in Pallava history' by the author, *Journal of Indian History*, XLI, pp. 287-303.

19. *Ibid.*

20. 52 of 1895; *SII*, V, No. 609; 11 of 1899; *SII*, VI, No. 447; 144 of 1928-29; *SII*, XII, No. 56; also Bāhūr Plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman (*EL.*, XVIII, pp. 10 and 13); Vēlūrpalaiyam Plates of Nandivarman III (*SII*, II, p. 511 etc.).

21. *Nandikkalambakam*, vv. 23-35.

Śrīvallabha and his sons. According to the Daḷavāyppuram Plates of Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, he had three sons, Ugra, Varaguṇavarman and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇavarman and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa²² one of them, fell out with his father and sought the help of the Ceylonese King Sēna II (853-887), whose uncle Sēna I (833-853) had been utterly defeated in battle by Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. The Ceylonese King, as also the Pallava King, supported the rebel Pāṇḍya Prince. Sēna II sent an army against Madurai and took it, while Nṛpatunga marched South and defeated a confederation of enemies on the banks of the Aricit river, which has been identified with the Araśālār, a branch of the river Kāvērī that enters the sea near Kāraikkāl.²³ It is not known who the enemy confederates were. Probably they were the two sons of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who were loyal to their father and their allies. Śrīmāra himself appears to have died during this period either fighting against his enemies or otherwise²⁴ and was succeeded by his son Varaguṇavarman (862-885),²⁵ probably assisted by his brother Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa (862-905).²⁶ The latter is said in the Daḷavāyppuram Plates as having killed his brother Ugra at a place called Śennilandai.²⁷ The identification of this Ugra is intriguing. If a surmise is possible he was the Pāṇḍya Prince who took refuge with Sēna II and sought his help against his father and brothers. He was placed on the Pāṇḍya throne by Sēna II after defeating Śrīmārā Śrīvallabha; but he could not rule long for he was killed in the battle of Śennilandai by his brother Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa.²⁸

22. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 4-5.

23. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 10 and 13.

24. See *History of Ceylon*, Ed. by H. C. Ray, p. 330.

25. The Aivarmalai inscription of Mārañjaḍaiyan Varaguna is dated § 792 = A.D. 870; coupled with his eighth regnal year, it yields A.D. 862-63 as the date of his accession (*EI.*, XXXII, p. 337).

26. *ARIE*, 1958-59, p. 5.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

28. If this surmise is acceptable it is easy to explain the statement made in the Bāhūr Plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman that the Pallava King gave help to the Pāṇḍya and defeated a confederation of enemies on the bank of the river Aricit (V. 16). The Pāṇḍya to whom help was given was possibly Ugra who was supported by Sēna II and the confederation of enemies consisted of Varaguṇa II, Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa and their allies.

The Pāṇḍya defeat at Aricit by Nandivarman III was rankling in his mind and hence he invaded the Pallava dominions and occupied the Kāvērī area. The first of his inscriptions in the region is dated in his fourth regnal year and found at Tirukkōḍikkāval²⁹ near Kumbhakōṇam. He appears to have taken Iḍavai³⁰ probably near Tiruppanandāl in the Kumbhakōṇam Taluk, destroyed Vēmbil (Vēmbarrūr), and encamped at Niyaman (Tañjāvūr Taluk).³¹ He even went as far North as Arisūr on the bank of the river Peṇṇār in Toṇḍaināḍu in 878.³² It was in the 4th + 4th year of his reign (A.D. 870) that he made a gift of 138 cows and *kāśu* for the supply of milk and ghee and the maintenance of perpetual lamps in the temple of Tirukkīlkōṭṭattu Bhaṭāra at Tirukkuḍamūkku (the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple at Kumbhakōṇam).³³ The occupation of the Kāvērī area by the Pāṇḍya King is further evidenced by the find of his inscriptions in several places in the Tañjāvūr District like Āḍuturai,³⁴ Tiruccirram-balam³⁵ in the Pāpanāsam Taluk, Tiruccātturai³⁶ in the Tañjāvūr Taluk and Tiruviśālūr³⁷ in the Kumbhakōṇam Taluk. It even

29. 21 of 1930-31; *SII.*, XIV, No. 20.

30. See *SII.*, XIV, No. 26; also II, No. 94 and XIV, No. 57. Iḍavai is mentioned along with Kuḍamūkku and Vilijñam in the Perumbulli inscription (*El.*, XXXII, No. 31) as one of the places where Śrīvallabha, the predecessor of Varaguna II fought. It appears to have been situated in Mannināḍu on the northern bank of the river Kāvērī in the Kumbhakōṇam Taluk and included within it the villages of Tiruppanandal, Tiruviśālūr, Vembarrūr (Vēppattūr) etc. A place bearing the name Iḍavai or similar to it is not found there now. Probably it formed part of a near-by village like Vēmbarrur. Recently an attempt has been made to trace the place in the Lalgudi Taluk in the Tirucirappalli District, Iḍavai being taken as a shortened form of Iḍaiyāṅṇunāḍu which lay on both sides of the Coleroon near Lalgudi (*El.*, XXVIII, No. 6, pp. 40-41). The identification is not convincing since Iḍavai is the name of a place and not a territorial unit (See also T. N. Subrahmanyam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, III, pt. i, p. ILIV).

31. 413 and 414 of 1904; *SII.*, XIV, Nos. 11 and 10.

32. *El.*, IX, p. 84.

33. 13 of 1908; *SII.*, XIV, No. 8. This is the earliest and the only Pāṇḍya inscription in the temple.

34. 358 and 364 of 1907; *SII.*, XIV, Nos. 6 and 7.

35. 185 of 1926; *SII.*, XIV, No. 14.

36. 160 of 1930-31; *SII.*, XIV, No. 28.

37. 17 of 1907; *SII.*, XIV, No. 24.

appears that the Pallava discomfiture was so complete that according to an inscription at Lālgudi, Nandivarman was the donor of a gift in a record dated in the fourth year of the Pāṇḍya King.³⁸

Though Nṛpatuṅgavarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman II regained his position in the Cōḷa country as suggested by two inscriptions, one from Lālgudi³⁹ dated in his second year and the other from Nārttāmalai⁴⁰ dated in his seventh year, both in the Tirucirappalli District, Māraṇḍaiyaṇ Varaguṇa II became once again the master of the Kāvērī territory which is not only borne out by the find of a number of his inscriptions in the area but also by the fact that inscriptions of Nṛpatuṅgavarman ranging between the seventh and twenty-first years of his reign have not been found in it.

But after A.D. 890 he seems to have regained his hold over the region; and this is indicated by the find of his inscriptions in a few places in the Tañjāvūr and Tirucirappalli Districts. Among them are Kaṇḍiyūr inscription dated in the twenty-first year,⁴¹ Tiruchchinnampūṇḍi inscription dated in the twenty-second year,⁴² Lālgudi inscription dated in the twenty-third year,⁴³ and Tirukkōḍikāval inscription dated in the twenty-second and twenty-fourth years⁴⁴ of his reign.

During all this period the Cōḷas were playing only a comparatively insignificant and subordinate part in the political happenings in the area. Probably during and after the Kaḷabhra interregnum in the Tamil country they continued to stay at Uṛaiyūr, their old capital, while some members of their family lived at Paḷaiyārai, near Kumbhakōṇam. According to the *Periyapurāṇam*, when saint Tirunāvukkaraśar went to Paḷaiyārai to worship God Śiva at the place and found that the Liṅga had been hidden by the Jains, the King of the place whose name, however, is not known, brought out the Linga and constructed a

38. *El.*, XX, No. 3-A, p. 52.

39. 122 of 1928-29; *SII.*, XII, No. 61.

40. 365 of 1904; *SII.*, XII, No. 63.

41. *SII.*, V, No. 572.

42. *Ibid.*, VII, Nos. 521, 522 and 528.

43. *Ibid.*, IV, No. 531.

44. *Ibid.*, XII, Nos. 74 and 78.

vimāna over the shrine.⁴⁵ The exact relation of the Cōlas who were living at that place with the Pallavas who were then the virtual rulers of the region is not clearly known. It is possible that they accepted a subordinate position under them, but changed their masters when political conditions in the region necessitated such change.

During the reign of Nandivarman III, Vijayālaya was the Cōla ruler who appears to have been a Pallava feudatory. He captured the city of Tañjāvūr from the Muttaraiyars who seem to have been in its occupation and made it his headquarters. This gave strength to the Pallavas. In A.D. 871, Vijayālaya was succeeded on the Cōla throne by his son Āditya, under whom the strength and power of the Cōlas grew. Cōla influence spread over the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam region also. Differences grew during the period between Nṛpatuṅga and his brother Aparājita which developed into a civil war in the Pallava kingdom. While Nṛpatuṅga was supported by the Pāṇḍya King Varaguṇa II who was apparently afraid of and did not like the rise of the Cōlas to power, Aparājita was helped by Āditya and the Western Gaṅga King Prṭhvīpati I. The dark clouds burst in A.D. 895 at Śrī-puṇambiyam near Kumbhakōṇam where a major engagement took place between the two parties.⁴⁶ Aparājita and his allies won in the battle, though Prṭhvīpati I died in the fight.⁴⁷ He succeeded to the Pallava throne immediately thereafter and Prṭhvīpati II, the grandson of Prṭhvīpati I, to the Western Gaṅga throne. Nothing is heard of Nṛpatuṅgavarman I for fifteen years afterwards, till his forty-first year.⁴⁸ Apparently he retired from the Pallava kingdom and was biding time or was content to hold a subordinate position under Aparājita. Varaguṇavarman retired to his country, and probably from politics also.⁴⁹

45. *Periya Purānam*; *Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār Purānam*, vv. 292-300.

46. See for a discussion of the date of the battle 'Later Pallava chronology and Genealogy' by the author, *Journal of Indian History*, XLIII, pp. 922-24.

47. *El.*, XVIII, p. 42, v. 49; *SII.*, III, No. 205, v. 49.

48. 138 of 1943-44.

49. The Daḷavāyppuram Plates suggest that the reigns of Varaguṇa and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa overlapped. But Varaguṇa's role, if any, was a passive one in the troubled politics of the period, particularly after the battle of Śrīpuṇambiyam.

Though Aparājita gained the Pallava throne after a hard fight and ruled for at least eighteen years till A.D. 913, his sway does not appear to have extended beyond the southern fringes of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, as is suggested by his inscriptions which are found mostly only in the northern part of Cingleput District. At the same time the power and influence of Āditya who had been rewarded by Aparājita with the grant of some territory for his help at Śrīpurambiyam grew in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Not content with his subordinate position under his nominal Pallava overlord, he killed Aparājita probably about A.D. 913, annexed the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to his growing kingdom, and thereby put an end to the Pallava dynasty and its hegemony and also to the perpetual conflict between the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas for the Kāvēri region.

From about the period of Āditya's son and successor Parāntaka (907-953) Paḷaiyārai grew in importance and was the secondary capital of the Cōḷas where lived some members of the Cōḷa royal house. The place came to be variously called Muḍikoṇḍasōḷapuram⁵⁰ after the title Muḍikoṇḍa taken by Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa, Āhavamalla-kulakālapuram⁵¹ after one of the titles of Vīra Rājendra, Minavanai-menkaṇḍa-sōḷapuram,⁵² Āyirattali⁵³ etc. It was at Rājarājapuram, the modern Dārāsuram very near Paḷaiyārai, that the Airāvateśvara temple was constructed during the days of Rājarāja II (1051-63) and at Tribhuvanam, a few miles to the East of Kumbhakōṇam that the Kampaharēśvara temple was constructed during the days of Kulōttunga (1178-1216). Āyirattali, where existed a palace of the Cōḷas with many halls and apartments, was attacked twice by the Pāṇḍya King Māra-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1216) who performed two coronations at the place, the first a *vīrābhiṣēka* and the second a *vījayābhiṣēka*.⁵⁴ Thus the Kumbhakōṇam area suffered much in the wars between the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas in the thirteenth century.

50. 168 of 1906; 271 of 1927.

51. *El.*, XXII, p. 268.

52. 233 of 1916.

53. 194 of 1931.

54. 47 of 1937-38 also 196 and 197 of 1938-39; part ii, para, 27.

With the expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire in the Tamil country in the course of the fourteenth century the area became an integral part of the new Empire. The region was governed through governors who were usually known as Nāyakas, though they did not have their headquarters either at Kumbhakōṇam or Paḷaiyārai. The temples in these places and near about villages received the patronage of the Vijayanagar Kings and their governors. In Ś 1375 = A.D. 1453, the local chieftain Vāṇādarāyanāyan Nāraśiṅgadēvan of Poruvanūr constructed the big *maṇṭapa* and *sopāna* in the Śōmanātheśvara temple at Paḷaiyārai^{54a} and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya visited Kumbhakōṇam in A.D. 1519 for the *mahāmakham* festival.^{54b} Later the area came under the Nāyak rulers of Tañjāvūr who bestowed great attention on the temples at Kumbhakōṇam, by making substantial additions to many of them and gifts for worship and services in them.

(2)

The revival of the Cōḷa Empire under Vijayālaya and Āditya during the early second half of the ninth century marks a definite stage in the annals of South Indian art as in the political history. Though strictly speaking Cōḷa art is only a continuation and development of the art of the Pallavas and early Pāṇḍyas who preceded them, it developed certain distinct stylistic characteristics. The architectural achievements of the period covered by Cōḷa hegemony in South India (c. 850-1280) show a definite advance over earlier enterprises and an enormous output in plastic art, besides interesting variations in style, plan and structure.

Stylistically Cōḷa art and architecture may be said to belong broadly to three periods—an early period from the revival of the Cōḷa Empire under Vijayālaya to the accession of Rājarāja I (A.D. 850-985), the middle period from the accession of Rājarāja I to that of Kulōttuṅga I (985-1070 A.D.), and the last period from the accession of Kulōttuṅga I to the decline and fall of the Empire under Rājarāja III and Rājēndra II (1070-1280 A.D.). The first of these three periods is again divisible into two, the first cover-

54a. 254 of 1927.

54b. See *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, p. 179; also 628 of 1904; *SII.*, XVII No. 684.

ing the reigns of the first three Cōla Kings—Vijayālaya, Āditya I and Parāntaka—and the second covering the periods of Sembiyan Mahādēvi and the rulers from the death of Parāntaka to the accession of Rājarāja.

Under the Cōlas the many-sided development of art was the result of a happy movement heralded under Āditya and Parāntaka and continued by almost every ruler until the dwindling resources of the truncated Empire and the troubled political conditions made its patronage less possible. The Vijayālayacōlīśvaram at Nārttāmalai in the Pudukkottai region of the Tirucirappalli District is an early edifice of the Cōlas, and as the name seems to indicate, a construction under Vijayālaya.⁵⁵ The smaller temples of Tirupūr, Viśalūr and Kāliyāppaṭṭi in the same region are also assignable to his reign.⁵⁶ The Anbil Plates of Sundaracōla mention that Āditya I covered the banks of the Kāvērī along its course from Sahyādrī to the sea with temples for Śiva⁵⁷ while a lithic inscription specifically alludes to the construction of a Śiva shrine (now called Sundarēśvara) at Tirukkattalai, again in the Pudukkottai region of the Tirucirappalli District, during the third regnal year of the same King.⁵⁸ Another epigraph mentions the building of the Mahādēva temple at Tiruccendurai in the Tirucirappalli District, by Bhūti Āditya Bhaṭṭāri (Piḍāri), Queen of the Cōla Prince Arikulakēśari during the reign of Āditya I.⁵⁹ To the period of the same ruler may be assigned the Bālasubrahmaṇya temple at Kaṇṇanūr,⁶⁰ also in the Pudukkottai region and the Agastyēśvara shrine at Kilaiyūr in the Tirucirappalli District.⁶¹ In the opinion of a recent writer there are more than forty temples of the period of Āditya I still extant including those at Ālambākkam, Śēndalai, Tirukkāṭṭuppalī, Kōyilaḍi, Kaṇḍiyūr, Tiruvaiyāru, Tiruppaḷanam, Tiruvēdikūḍi, Tiruchchorrutturai, Tillaisthānam, Tiruppūnturutti,

55. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1074.

56. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas* (second edition), p. 701.

57. *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, p. 44.

58. *I.P.S.*, 21; *J.O.R.*, X, p. 232.

59. 310-11, 316 and 319-20 of 1903; *SII.*, VIII, Nos. 619, 620; *III*, Nos. 96 and 126 and VIII, No. 320.

60. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 701.

61. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Four Chola Temples*, p. 16.

Tiruvilakkuḍi, Tiruppuṇambiyam, Tiruvakkarai, Brahmaḍēśam, Ukkal, Takkōlam, Tiruvallam, Tirukkaḷukunṇam etc.⁶² The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu⁶³ and the Karandai Plates,⁶⁴ the Leyden grant⁶⁵ and Gaṇḍarāditya's *Tiruvīśaippa*⁶⁶ aver that Parāntaka covered the roof of the Cidambaram temple with gold while a large number of temples like the Agastyeśvara at Kīliyanūr,⁶⁷ Kaḍambavaṇēśvara at Erumbūr,⁶⁸ Bhaktajanēśvara at Tirunāmanallūr,⁶⁹ all in the South Arcot District and Korāṅganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr,⁷⁰ Vaṭatīrthanātha at Aṇḍanallūr,⁷¹ the Mucukundēśvara at Koḍumbālūr,⁷² Tiru-Ālandurai Mahādēva at Kīlappaḷuvūr,⁷³ all in the Tirucirappalli District besides the Nāgeśvara at Kumbhakōṇam,⁷⁴ Brahmapuriśvara at Puḷḷamaṅgai,⁷⁵ Mahāliṅgēśvara at Tiruviḍaimarudūr,⁷⁶ Madhuvanēśvara at Tirukkarugāvūr⁷⁷ etc., all in the Tañjāvūr District and the Śokkīśvara at Kāñcīpuram,⁷⁸ Cingleput District, bear inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Parāntaka indicating thereby that they were constructed either during his reign or prior to it.⁷⁹ It has been estimated that not less than twenty-eight extant shrines are assignable to the reign of Parāntaka.⁸⁰ The Pipilikēśvara at Tiruverumbiyūr⁸¹ and the Mūvarkōvil at

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14; also his *Early Chola Art*, Part I, pp. 82-5.

63. *S.I.I.*, III, No. 205.

64. Copper Plates Nos 57 and 58 of 1049-50. *ARE* 1949-50, p. 3.

65. *EL.*, XXII, No. 34.

66. See verse 8; *Tēṇṇanāḍum ilamumkonḍa tīrar-ceṅgōr-cōlan kōli-
vēndan śembiyaṇ poṇṇaninda*.....

67. 148 and 155-8 of 1919.

68. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VII, pp. 133-135.

69. 335 of 1902; *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, p. 133.

70. 587, 589 A, 589, 590, 591, 593 and 605 of 1904; *S.I.I.*, XVII, Nos. 636, 638, 639, 640, 641 and 643.

71. 348 and 359 of 1903; *S.I.I.*, VIII, Nos. 657 and 668.

72. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, V, p. 79.

73. 225, 230, 231, 233, 236, 239 and 241 of 1926.

74. 232, 235, 238, 249, 253 and 254 of 1911.

75. 558 of 1921.

76. 199 of 1907.

77. 35 of 1910; *S.I.I.*, III, No. 123.

78. 84 of 1921.

79. The architectural features of some of these indisputably early temples have been altered by later repairs.

80. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

81. 104 of 1914; *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, p. 86.

Koḍumbālūr,⁸² both in the Tirucirappalli District, were constructed during the reign of Sundaracōḷa by his feudatories, the former by a certain Śembiyan Vēdivēḷāṇ and the latter by Bhūti Vikramakēśari. The Naltuṇai-iśvaram at Puñjai (Tañjāvūr District) seems to have been built under Āditya II.⁸³ Śembiyan Mahādēvī, Queen of Gaṇḍarāditya and mother of Uttama Cōḷa, figures in numerous inscriptions as the builder or renovator of many a temple throughout the Cōḷa Empire among which mention must be made of the temples of Agastyeśvara at Ānangūr, Tirukkoṭṭiśvara at Tirukkōdikkāval, Vṛddhagiriśvara at Vṛddhācalam, Kailāsanātha at Śembiyan Mahādēvī, Āpatsahāyēśvara at Āḍuturai, Siddhanāthaśvāmi temple at Tiruṇāraiyyūr, Ācalēśvara at Tiruvārūr and Uktavēdēśvara at Kuttālam.⁸⁴ Kings and Queens apart, even other members of the royal family and officials played a noteworthy role in the movement of temple building among whom mention must be made of Tirukkarrālipiccan.⁸⁵

The accession of Rājarāja in 985 A.D. opens a new chapter in the history of Cōḷa architecture. He inaugurated a fresh movement in the erection of large temples with numerous axial and peristylar adjuncts. The group of such larger temples is led by the Br̥hadīśvara at Tañjāvūr and followed by a temple of the same name at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram built by his son and successor Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa (A.D. 1012-44), the Airāvatēśvara at Dārāśuram constructed under Rājarāja II (1146-1163 A.D.) and the Kampaharēśvara at Tribhuvanam built under Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.). Besides these larger enterprises, this part of the Cōḷa period—particularly the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I—witnessed the construction of a large number of less known and smaller shrines but of no mean architectural interest.⁸⁶ The shrine of Uttarakailāsa in the temple of Pañcanadēśvara at Tiruvadi,⁸⁷ the main sanctum in the temple at Alagādriputtūr,⁸⁸

82. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, 14.

83. 192 of 1925.

84. See Douglas Barrett, *Early Cōḷa Bronzes*, pp. 14-17.

85. 132 and 136 of 1925.

86. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (second edition), pp. 743-4.
fn. 26.

87. 219 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 518.

88. 83 of 1908.

the shrines of Tiruvaraneri Ālvār at Tiruvārūr,⁸⁹ and Kṣētrapāladēva at Tiruvalaṅjūḷi⁹⁰ all in the Tañjāvūr District; the temple of Candramaulīśvara at Tiruvakkarai⁹¹ and the triple shrines (Śiva Viṣṇu and Jīna) at Dādāpuram⁹² in the South Arcot District; the temples of Vaidyanātha at Tirumaḷavāḍi,⁹³ in the Tirucirapalli District; the shrine of Rājarāja -Vinṇagar Paḷlikoṇḍarūḷinadēvar at Attūr in the Tirunelveli District;⁹⁴ and the little temples of Nīlakanṭhēśvara at Laddigam⁹⁵ and the twin shrines of Cōḷendrasimbhēśvara⁹⁶ and Cōlēśvara at Mēlpāḍi⁹⁷ in the Chittūr District are clearly datable to the reign of Rājarāja I. Of the smaller temples assignable to the period of Rājendra I mention must be made of the Rājendracōḷīśvara at Kāvāntaṇḍalam,⁹⁸ the Ādipurīśvara at Tiruvorriyūr⁹⁹ all in the Cingleput District; Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷīśvaram at Kuḷambandal,¹⁰⁰ Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḷīśvaram at Śengunṇam¹⁰¹ both in the North Arcot District; Pañcavan Mahādēviśvaram at Rāmanāthankovil near Palaiyāru¹⁰² in the Tañjāvūr District and the Rājendracōḷavinṇagar at Mannarkovil in the Tirunelveli District.¹⁰³

Of special interest are the early Cōḷa temples built during the ninth and tenth centuries outside the Tamil country. The *Pañcakūṭa basties* (Jain temples) at Kambadahallī in the Nāgamangala Taluk and the Bhōganandīśvara temple at Nandi in the Chikaballapur Taluk, both in the Mysore State, are typically early Cōḷa in their architectural features. The Śiva Devalave No. 2 at Polon-

89. 571 of 1904; *S.I.I.*, XVII, No. 617.

90. 633 of 1902; *South Indian Inscriptions*, VIII, No. 234.

91. 200 of 1904; *S.I.I.*, XVII, 222.

92. 8 and 17 of 1919.

93. This was completed under Rājendra I. See 83 and 86 of 1899; *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, 16 & 17.

94. 415 of 1930.

95. 551 of 1906.

96. 101 of 1921.

97. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 15.

98. 210 of 1901; *S.I.I.*, VII.

99. 105 of 1892; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 553.

100. 414 of 1902; *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 1047.

101. 152 of 1921.

102. 271 of 1927.

103. 106 of 1905.

naruva, the historical capital of Ceylon, is a construction of Rājarāja I.¹⁰⁴

Among this long list of early South Indian temples those that were built during the period of transition from Pallava to Cōla are of extreme interest as they betray a nostalgic longing for a few Pallava features and have the rudiments of what later became the most distinct characteristics of mature Cōla architecture. They command one's attention by virtue of their most ornate sculptures, functional and decorative, the former reflecting a much evolved iconography and the latter, testifying to the artistic freedom of the age.

The central shrine of the Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōṇam in the Tañjāvūr District is one of the still extant shrines of this period sharing the common characteristics of all early Cōla temples and, it can perhaps be said that it is more advanced than a number of them in many respects. That this shrine must have been built not later than the first quarter of the tenth century is obvious¹⁰⁵ and hence the minor but interesting variations in the architectural features in it from those of several other early temples of about the same period endow it with special art historical interest. The sculptures in the Nāgēśvara, especially the portraits, may be legitimately ranked with those that are verily the *magnum opus* of the Cōla plastic art. Though this temple has been noticed by some scholars¹⁰⁶ no attempt has yet been made to provide a complete description of the central shrine and correlate it with other shrines of proven contemporaneity. In view of the large number of extant early Cōla temples many of which are not fully explored, the larger subject of early Cōla architecture cannot be studied at present unless we have fairly complete descriptions of individual monuments. No apology is therefore needed for a short work exclusively on the Nāgēśvara, one of the most representative among them.

104. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, (Ceylon), Report for 1906, pp. 17-22.

105. The shrine seems to have been built during the last years of Āditya and improvements and establishments made to it during the reign of Parāntaka.

106. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, (second edition), pp. 703 and 725. P. R. Srinivasan, "Rare Sculptures at Kumbhakonam", *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59, pp. 25-33.

(3)

Like many ancient centres of religion in South India, Kumbhakōṇam has a number of legends and traditions about its origin. According to them after the last deluge and the consequent destruction of the world a pot full of *amṛta* (nectar) floated in the waters and reached the place where lies Kumbhakōṇam now. Śiva in the form of a *Kirāta* (hunter) shot an arrow at the pot as a result of which it broke into pieces, each of which fell at a place. Over each of them there came into existence a temple and this accounts for numerous temples at Kumbhakōṇam such as those of Kumbheśvara, Nāgēśvara, Śōmeśvara, Ādiviśveśvara, Abhimukteśvara, Gantameśvara, Bāṇapuriśvara, Viśvanātha, Varāha, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Śārngapāṇi, Cakrapāṇi, Varadarāja etc. Among the temples consecrated to Viṣṇu there are twelve, of which four have been sung by the Ālvars. The town itself is named after this incident and the temple of Kumbheśvara too. It is also called Vilvavana since the pot broken by Śiva also contained *vilva*. Though there are usually no separate temples for Brahmā, there is one for him at Kumbhakōṇam, since it is believed that he recreated the place after the deluge. The town is noted also for the *mahāmakam* tank named after the festival of *mahāmakam* which is conducted at Kumbhakōṇam once in twelve years in the month of February-March. It is believed that the tank gets saturated with mineral properties on account of the passing of Jupiter over Leo during the period. Large numbers of pilgrims from all over India are drawn to the place during the period.

The city is noted for the nine river Goddesses of Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Narmada, Gōdāvarī, Kāvērī, Mahānadī, Payoṣṇī (Pālar) and the Sarayū who are supposed to bathe in the holy Mahāmakam tank to wash themselves of the sins they had accumulated for themselves for sinners bathing in them. Figures of these nine Goddesses are placed in the Kāśi Viśvanāthasvāmi temple on the northern side of the Mahāmakam tank and worship offered to them even now.

One of the most ancient of the temples at Kumbhakōṇam is that of Nāgēśvara; and its beginnings are shrouded in mystery. Like all major South Indian temples, the Nāgēśvara has its own luxuriant mythological and traditional accounts of its origin and

associations. According to legends Nāgarāja (the King of serpents) and Śūrya worshipped the presiding deity of this temple to attain their ends. It is said that the thousand-headed Ādiśeṣa was groaning under the weight of the world which became unbearable and so he offered prayers to Lord Śiva for being favoured with sufficient strength to bear the weight. Pleased with his prayers Śiva granted his request and asked him to proceed to Kumbhakōṇam in Cōlamanḍalam and worship the lord in Kūvinvaneśam (the present Nāgēśvara temple) and take bath in the sacred water at the place. Ādiśeṣa went to Kumbhakōṇam and worshipped the God in the said temple for a long time at the end of which Śiva with Pārvati appeared before him and blessed him. It is said that the presiding deity of the temple is Nāgēśvara since he was worshipped by Nāgarāja. A well in the temple where Nāgarāja is believed to have taken his bath is called Nāgatīrtha.

The reason for the special association of Śūrya with the deity in the temple is also contained in the legends. It is said that Samñja, the daughter of Viśvakarma and the wife of Śūrya was unable to bear the resplendancy of the Sun God and hence left for her father's house. Śūrya followed her to his father-in-law's house but he was deprived of his rays by Tvaṣṭā as a result of which he lost his splendour. A heavenly voice informed Śūrya that he would regain his original splendour if he worshipped Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōṇam. This was faithfully done by the devotee. Śiva appeared before him and restored to him his rays. It is on this account that this place itself is known as Śūrya Kṣetra or Bhāskara Kṣetra, and the tank in the temple in which he bathed as Śūrya tīrtha. To mark the close association of Śūrya with the God in the temple, there is a separate shrine for him in its inner circuit. It is believed that the temple is aligned and oriented in such a way that the rays of the Sun are seen to fall on the Linga in the central shrine through the opening in the eastern tower of the temple for three days in the year (11th, 12th and 13th in the Tamil month Citra (April). This is considered to be an act of adoration of the God by Śūrya.

Another traditional account regarding this temple relates to the story of a Brahman saint named Bhagavar. It is said that on the expiry and cremation of his mother at Vēdāraṇyam

(Tañjāvūr District) the saint took her bones in a pot to Vārāṇasī for immersion in the waters of the holy Ganges. A boy accompanied him throughout and after visiting several places of religious importance they came to Kumbhakōṇam. The boy who was not till then aware of the contents of the pot opened it at the place and found fragrant lotus flowers in it. On reaching Vārāṇasī Bhagavar opened the pot and the boy was surprised to find bones in it. He told Bhagavar of what he found in it at Kumbhakōṇam. Bhagavar understood the sanctity of Kumbhakōṇam and brought back the pot with the bones to that place. As expected the bones turned out to be lotus flowers again. He immersed them in the waters of the Kāvērī running by the side of Kumbhakōṇam, remained in the Nāgēśvara temple and worshipped for several years the deity Maṇḍaipaṅgan in it. There is a separate shrine for the saint in the inner circuit of the temple. A bathing ghat in the river Kāvērī at the place containing a flight of steps is named after the saint and is called *Bhagavat paḍitturai*.

The presiding deity of the Nāgēśvara temple is sung by Tirunāvukkaraśar in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*.¹⁰⁷ He refers to the deity as the Dancing Lord of Kuḍandaik-kīl-k-kōṭṭam (*Kuḍandaikkīlkkōṭṭat-teṅkūttanārē*). The hymns exhibit, as every hymn in the *Tēvāram* collection, a mystic fervour combined with lyric beauty. They not only enumerate the various attributes of Śiva such as the trident, crescent, tiger-skin etc., but also celebrate the different acts of the Lord, such as the destruction of Dakṣa's *yāgā*, the burning of Kāma and blessing the Cōla King Kōcceaṅgaṇān, who as a spider worshipped Śiva at Tiruvāṇaikkāval. Kuḍandai is described in the hymns as a city of tall structures (*māḍam*), the flags hoisted on their tops nudging the moon and the river Poṇṇi (Kāvērī) yielding beautiful gems and girdling the city.

It may be mentioned here that Tirujñānasambandar, the younger contemporary of Tirunāvukkaraśar, has sung in praise of the deity in another temple at Kumbhakōṇam, called Tiruk-kārōṇam, the present Kāśi Viśvanātha temple.¹⁰⁸

107. *Tēvāram*, *Tirumurai* 6: *Paḍikam*, 289.

108. *Ibid.*, *Tirumurai* 1: *Paḍikam*, 72.

II

ARCHITECTURE

The Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōṇam is one of the earliest extant Cōla temples and its architectural features and plastic embellishments endow it with a unique art-historical interest, not shared by many in South India of almost the same period. Noted alike for its retention of early elements and anticipation of later features, the Nāgēśvara may be said to mark a stage in the evolution of South Indian temple architecture. The heavy indentations in the plan of the temple with the resultant light and shade effect on the elevation, greater number of niches in its walls, sculptural decorations in the second tier in its superstructure and the frontal projection of its *vimāna* indicate an attempt to experiment with or import fresh forms, while the sculptures, particularly the portraits, reveal a happy predilection for bold reliefs untrammelled by the conventions of pose and produce a markedly ethereal effect. Both in architectural and sculptural wealth the Nāgēśvara is richer than many contemporary shrines and occupies a unique place among the early Cōla temples.

The plan of the temple, like that of all early Cōla shrines, is of classical simplicity, though many are the intrusive structures grafted in later periods, making its appreciation somewhat difficult. The original shrine facing East consists of a square sanctuary (*garbhagrha*), preceded by a closed vestibule (*ardhamanḍapa*) both rising from a masonry pit like the temples at Tirukkarugāvūr, Kaṇḍiyūr, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Mēlappaluvūr etc.¹⁰⁹ Axially in front of the vestibule is a *mahāmanḍapa* which has a narrow transept (*iḍaikkali*) on either side with flights of steps guarded by balustrades. The *mahāmanḍapa* is continued into a

109. The provision of the pit is not an 'architectural feature'. The purpose intended to be served by it is somewhat intriguing. It is possible that the pit was filled with water to provide for the *Vimāna* the appearance of a floating *ratha*, though it is not unlikely that there were no pits originally and their present existence is due to the gradual rise in the level of the *prākāra* during the course of many centuries. See P. R. Srinivasan, 'Art and Architecture of Kaṇḍiyūr', *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1957-58, p. 69. J. C. Harle in *Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 96-108; S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Chola Art* (Part I), pp. 239, fn.

mukhamanḍapa and all these axial structures are surrounded by a peristylar cloister (*tiruccurrālai*) yielding a wide *prākāra* in between. The cloister is a raised platform and has in the South a chamber for Kankālamūrti, while in the West are a row of the Mātṛgaṇas, an Ayyanār, a chamber for Subrahmaṇya and loose images of Śarasvatī, Nāgarāja, Gajalakṣmī etc. In the *prākāra* are five subshrines for *parivāradēvatas*. This inner circuit is surrounded by a larger rectangular circuit with tall enclosure walls interrupted in the East, South and West sides by *dvāras* surmounted by rising towers (*gōpuras*). Besides small shrines and *manḍapas* the outer circuit has also a *nṛttasabhā* and a separate shrine for the Goddess. These numerous additions around and in front of the original early Cōḷa shrine are stylistically assignable to much later periods and are not of any distinct architectural interest.

The Nāgēśvara is an example of *dvitalaprāsāda* (double storeyed variety) and has all the six of the horizontal zones (*angas*), into which the elevation of such a shrine is disposed: *adhiṣṭhāna* (basement), *bhitti* and *kudyastambha* (walls and columnation), *prastāra* (architrave), *grīva* (clerestory), *śikhara* (roof) and *stūpi* (finial).

The *vimāna* is at present buried upto the level of the torus-like moulding (*kumuda*) of the basement (*adhiṣṭhāna*) in parts of the southern and northern sides and only on the western or the rear side all its components are visible. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is contiguous and complete in all its parts, viz., *upāna*, *jagati*, *kumuda*, two *kanṭhas*, with an intervening *paṭṭika* and with another *paṭṭika* surmounting all. The *upāna* is the lowermost part of the basement, projecting beyond the vertical norm and consists of a series of plinth stones scalloped on top in the form of lotus petals, suggesting a *padmakōśa* conception of the shrine. The beginning of this lotus moulding is seen already in the *stūpa* slabs of the late phase of the school of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, the motif in the Rāmgrāma *stūpa* from the former place being a recondite example.¹¹⁰ This is absent in the Pallava monuments, rock-cut and structural, and makes its appearance again

110. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, pl. LXI, fig. 1.

in the early Cōla temples. This was a simple cyma reverse moulding in the early stages, to which an upcurling edge was added at a later date resulting in the simulation of the spiky petals of the *Padma*. Besides, in the Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōṇam, this moulding is seen in the Agastyēśvara at Kīliyanūr (South Arcot), Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbālūr, Koraṅganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr, Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamangai etc., though in all instances, this is not the footing of the basement as in the Nāgēśvara.

Above this *padmatala* is the *jagati*, a vertical moulding oblong in shape, which is almost completely inscribed. Coming over this is a torus-like octogonal moulding, (*kumuda*), which is an important component of the basement. In the Pallava period this was invariably chamfered so as to present a hexagonal appearance, the solitary exception being Māhēndravarmaṇ I's Viṣṇu cave temple at Mahēndravāḍi in which the "*kumuda* has not been differentiated from the *upāna* though an attempt to cut this moulding is noticed at its northern extremity".¹¹¹ In early Cōla temples they are either chamfered as in the Nāgēśvara under discussion and the Cokkiśvara at Kāñcīpuram¹¹² or has semi-circular cross section as at Śrīnivāsanallūr, Kīliyanūr, Mēlappaḷuvūr, Pullamangai etc. A short intervening dado (*kaṇṭha*) separates the *kumuda* from the *paṭṭika* above. The *kaṇṭha* is relieved at intervals by pilaster strips enclosing miniature panels portraying puranic scenes, animals besides floral designs. Above this *kaṇṭha* are two *paṭṭikas*, one above the other, and between them is another *kaṇṭha*, similar to the one below. While the lower *paṭṭika* is plain and is almost fully inscribed, the upper one which is the topmost member of the *adhiṣṭhāna*, has in its middle a lintel-like projection with *padma* motif underneath, with petals traced out and terminating in denticulations. The crowning member of the *adhiṣṭhāna* is interrupted by all the niches and *devākoṣṭhas* on the southern and western sides and by two on the northern side. In many early Cōla temples, including the Cokkiśvara at Kāñcīpuram and the Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamangai, the upper *paṭṭika* is similarly

111. See K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, p. 67, fig. 4, pl. XII A.

112. The Mahāliṅgasvāmi temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr which must have been built about 910 A.D. has also octogonally moulded *kumuda*. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas* (second edition), pp. 706-707.

found interrupted by niches and hence it may be considered a wall-moulding in a sense.¹¹³

The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Nāgēśvara is of considerable architectural interest because of what it both lacks and possesses. It lacks an almost usual and prominent member-*varimāṇam*, a high relief frieze composed of the stylised heads of *yālīs* with or without elephants and bulls. This is found in many early Cōla structures among which particular mention must be made of the basement of the platform before the Śamaṇarkuḍagu at Nārttāmalai in which the frieze consists of large reliefs of elephants and *yālīs*. Probably the beginnings of this motif are traceable to the depiction of a series of animals in several rectangular friezes from Amarāvati which were intended to serve as borders for the upper margin of the cylindrical base (*medhi*). The earliest occurrence of this motif in the *adhiṣṭhāna* in the Tamil country is found in the Dharmarāja *ratha* at Mahābalipuram. Though this *varimāṇam* is an almost regular member of the basement in all early Cōla temples, instances are not wanting in which it is absent. Besides the Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakōṇam, the early temples at Nārttāmalai, Pananguḍi, Ēnādi etc. in the Pudukkottai region do not have it. The Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbālūr is the first among the Cōla temples to have *varimāṇam*. In the Nāgēśvara the place of the *varimāṇam* is taken by a simple *paṭṭika*.

In spite of the absence of the *varimāṇam*, the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Nāgēśvara is more advanced than that of the Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbālūr. The basements of the now extant central and southern shrines of the *vimāna-trayam* at Koḍumbālūr show only three members, an *upāna* in the form of lotus petals, a curvilinear *kumuda* and a *varimāṇam*, whereas the Nāgēśvara has such additional members as a *jagati* and couple of *kaṇṭhas* and *paṭṭikas*.

The variations in the shape of the different members of the *adhiṣṭhāna* do not provide dependable clues for the dating of Cōla monuments. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri who speaks of two phases in the evolution of architecture of the early Cōla period, the former covering the reigns of Vijayālaya and Āditya I (i.e. from

113. J. C. Harle, "South Indian Temple Bases". *Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 138-145.

c. 850 to 907 A.D.) which was a period of transition from Pallava to Cōla and the latter including the reigns of Kings from Parāntaka upto the accession of Rājarāja I (i.e. from 907 to 985 A.D.) which was the true early Cōla period, feels that rounded *kumuda* moulding and *varimāṇam* in the *adhiṣṭhāna* are features of this second phase.¹¹⁴ But both a rounded *kumuda* and *varimāṇam* are found in the Agastyēśvara at Mēlappaḷuvūr, a temple which according to Professor Nilakanta Sastri himself is attributable to the reign of Vijayālaya or Āditya I.¹¹⁵ Early Cōla temple architecture, it becomes increasingly evident, does not fall into any uniform pattern but shows interesting, albeit, minor variations in many parts of it. Mention must be made in this connection of the introduction of a *kapōta* (a form of eaves) in the *adhiṣṭhāna* in the Brahmapuriśvara at Puḷḷamangai, a feature not found in any of the other early Cōla temples but noticed only in shrines built from the reign of Rājarāja I. The early Cōla architects who were the inheritors of the Pallava practice in making experiments in the erection and improvements in architectural models, plans and elevations were probably untrammelled by rigid architectural codes and, as the extant examples sufficiently indicate, were at liberty to design and build as they chose within considerably wide limits. Therefore it becomes obvious that though variations in architectural features are generally useful for purposes of chronological classification, too much and exclusive dependence on them in the case of monuments erected during a period of much artistic freedom when different forms of structural architecture were getting crystalized, is unsafe.

The surface walls (*bhitti*), the next architectural *anga* of the shrine, are rich with pilasters and niches enshrining sculptures, and surmounted in a few cases by elliptical aureoles. The overcrowding of sculptures in the exterior of walls noticed in the Pallava temples was dispensed with even by the end of the Pallava period as may be seen from the Virattānēśvara temple at Tiruttani built during the eighteenth year of Aparājita.¹¹⁶ In some of the very early Cōla temples like those at Nārttāmalai, Viśālūr

114. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas* (second edition), p. 704.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 703.

116. *ARSIE*, 433 of 1905; *S.I.I.*, XII, No. 94.

Kāliyāppatti, Tiruppūr, Ēnādi and Korkkai there are not even niches in the outer walls while at Koḍumbālūr (Mūvar-kōvil), Paṇangudi, Puḷlamangai, Mēlappaḷuvūr, Kāñcīpuram (Cokkiśvara) etc. only *devakoṣṭhas* without any additional niches are provided. It is in a few cases like the Nāgēśvara under discussion and Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr that such additional niches are noticed. But even here the provision of niches is happily even and in proportion to the length of the wall, revealing the Cōla architect's appreciation of the value of plain spaces on walls.

The walls on all the three sides of the main shrine of the Nāgēśvara have projections at the corners and the centre of each side, which give a sharp light and shade effect on the elevation (Fig 1). The projections at the centres of the three sides are *devakoṣṭhas* and enshrine images of appropriate deities. It is interesting to point out that the projection here is not as much as at Kaṇḍiyūr,¹¹⁷ but rather subdued as at Śrīnivāsanallūr, though greater than those at Mēlappaḷuvūr and a few other places. In a few early Cōla temples, particularly those in the Pudukottai area, like the Agastyēśvara at Paṇangudi, there is no projection of the *devakoṣṭha*, while in a few other instances like the Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbālūr and the Agastyēśvara and Cōlīśvara at Mēlappaḷuvūr etc. it is restricted to the *dēvakoṣṭha* alone and not extended to the four corners as well. It is at Kumbhakōṇam, Puḷlamangai and Śrīnivāsanallūr that one notices the projection on the four sides also. In the last two places there is an additional projection in between the *devakoṣṭhas* and corner bays.

The outer walls of the Nāgēśvara are divided into vertical panels by pilasters rising from the level of the *kumuda* in the *adhiṣṭhāna*. The pilasters here, like those in many of the early Cōla temples in the Pudukottai region and Mēlappaḷuvūr, are uniformly square in section. At Śrīnivāsanallūr they are of three different varieties: those in the projecting bays of each corner are square while those in the wider central bay are chamfered and those flanking the smaller projecting bays in between the central and corner projections and enshrining portrait sculptures are

117. See P. R. Srinivasan, 'Art and Architecture of Kandiur' TASSI, 1957-58, p. 69.

rounded. They are circular at Kaṇḍiyūr and some of them are octogonal at Puḷḷamangai.

The top of the shaft in the pilasters in the Nāgēśvara has the usual members viz., *padmabandha*, *kalaśa*, *taḍi*, *kumbha*, *phalaka* and *idal*. This is generally the Cōḷa order of the capital, which is different from the Pallava order. The *phalaka* which is thick and massive in the Pallava pillars continues to be so in the early Cōḷa period,¹¹⁸ but becomes much expanded and is ornamented with an inverted lotus moulding—*idal*. In several early Cōḷa temples including the Nāgēśvara, Koranganātha, the Mūvar-kōvil etc. the doucine below the *phalaka* is not polypetalous to deserve the name *idal*, but in the early Cōḷa Cokkiśvara at Kāñcīpuram this ornamentation is pronounced. The view of Professor Nilakanta Sastri¹¹⁹ reiterated by Percy Brown¹²⁰ that the addition of a neck moulding (*padmabandha*) in between the shaft and the capital was an early Cōḷa innovation requires revision because it is already noticed in many Pallava rock-cut caves where it generally consists of a row of lotus petals on the top line, broad belt of foliage between two rows of beads forming a central band and garlands and tassels hanging down in loops below. The *padmabandha* is only an ornamental stone copy of what was originally a strengthening metal hoop on top of wooden pillar shafts. In the rock-cut excavation at the foot of the hillock at Tirucirappalli the *padmabandha* forms a constriction and creates a *kalaśa* above it.

The *padmabandhas* in the pilaster of the Nāgēśvara are ornate with festoons and floral scrolls. The *kumbhas* and *kalaśas* are full, but not fully rounded. On the *phalaka* of the pilasters of the *devakoṣṭhas* are rearing *yālīs* without riders.¹²¹ The *phalakas* of the other pilasters contain carvings of females with knees apart and feet crossed and playing flute or drum or in dancing posture.

Above the *phalakas* are corbelled capitals. The Pallava corbels are curved in profile with the *taranga* (roll) ornament and a

118. This becomes thinner in later Cōḷa times.

119. The Cōḷas, (second edition), p. 704.

120. Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), (third edition), p. 103.

121. They are with riders at Puḷḷamangai.

median band (*paṭṭai*).¹²² This curved corbel besides becoming angular in the early Cōla period is generally bevelled, so as to leave a triangular tenon-like projection, though this is not to be found in a few examples which are but exceptions. In a few cases the *taranga* ornament is dispensed with and in a few others, as in the Agnīśvara at Cittūr in the Puḍḍukottai region, both the plain level and rolled level are noticed. The corbels in the Nāgēśvara have roll ornamentation and have the design of median bands. They are without tenons like the early Cōla Brahma-purīśvara at Puḷḷamangai, and unlike the early Cōla Cokkiśvara at Kāñcīpuram, where their outer lower corners are diagonally cut. On the projecting platforms above the corbels are carvings like reclining Kṛṣṇa, tiger, a *gaṇa* holding a snake, *ṛṣabha* etc.

There are three niches on each of the three outer walls of the shrine and an equal number of the same in the southern and northern walls of the *ardhamanḍapa*, thus totalling fifteen, all containing carvings of deities or portraits. The niches are of three different varieties, of which the central ones on each side of the shrine and the *ardhamanḍapa* are framed by a pair of smaller pilasters with a projecting lintel over and surmounted by a superb *makaratōraṇā* decoration in high relief. The Pallava niche, though surmounted by a *makaratōraṇa*, is without the projecting lintel, it being an early Cōla addition. Further the Pallava niches are, as may be seen from the cut-in caves and cut-out monoliths at Mahābalipuram and other places and the structural temple of Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram, rather wide and the *makaratōraṇā* decoration in them is flat, the floriated tail of the *makara* overflowing on the sides; but in the later Pallava and Cōla niches the space is narrower and the decoration on the niche-top more rounded. The central niches in the Nāgēśvara which may be termed the first of the three varieties noticed in that temple are large and well proportioned and occupy vertically the entire wall space between the lower *paṭṭika* in the *adhiṣṭhāna* and the plain

122. In the Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbālūr and in a few other temples the Pallava pattern is adopted with the difference that the curved profile is replaced by an angular one while copying the *taranga* and *paṭṭai* and an innovation in the form of an involution, a "trough", with all the crests of the *taranga* is introduced at the lower bend.

See JISOA, XVI, p. 17, fn. 1.

architrave of beams (*uttirappaḍai*) below the curved cornice.¹²³ The side pilasters of the niches are square in section in imitation of the main pilasters of the walls, and not different from them as Pullamangai, where they are rounded. They are decorated with a flower motif (festoon?) which descends from the *phalaka*. The *makaratōraṇas* surmounting the niches are of intricate workmanship and abound in detail. As the *tōraṇa* of the central niches in the South wall of the sanctum and the North wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* have been built in, and that in the rear wall is not complete, only those in the South wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* and the North wall of the sanctum could be studied. From the mouths of opposed *makaras* with floriated tails in the *tōraṇa* coping the central niche in the South wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* pours a stream of *hamsas* that are faced at the centre by a warrior on either end and surmounted by a circular design with a carving of Ganēśa inside. Below it is an arch of five dwarfs, with the central one among them extending his left arm in *gajahasta* gesture and the rest dancing and playing musical instruments. In the sunken and semi-circular medallion below is a relief of four-armed Natarāja dancing in *kaṭisama* pose with Patañjali and Vyāghrapāda playing drum, flute and cymbals and two other *gaṇas*. The *tōraṇa* surmounting the central niche in the North wall of the sanctum is of equal interest. Here a stream of dwarfs issues from the mouths of two pairs of opposed *makaras*, the outer one with floriated tails. In the semicircular medallion below is the relief of a vigorous fighting scene depicting Narasimha and Hiraṇyakaśipu with their legs interlocked. The *makaratōraṇas* here, as at Pullamangai and Mēlappaḷuvūr, are in high relief and executed with notable freshness of spirit.

On either side of each of the three projecting *devakosthas* is a niche with an installed image. These niches, which may be considered to belong to the second of the three varieties of niches noticed in the Nāgēśvara, are very narrow and in a few cases the wall has been given the shape of a niche by the mere addition of side pilasters on both sides. Their height is not as much as that of the central and larger niches; nor is it uniform; but it varies.¹²⁴

123. Their breadth varies from 24" to 21" and their depth is 11½".

124. Their height varies from 59" to 57½" and breadth from 12½" to 11½".

These niches are devoid of any ornamental *makaratōraṇa* but have a lintel, above which is a semicircular arch containing a low relief of reclining Kṛṣṇa in a few cases while in the rest even this decoration is left incomplete.

There are four examples of the third variety of niche, one on either side of the central niche in the *ardhamanḍapa*. These are of varying proportions and¹²⁵ simply cut in the wall for the installation of images and are devoid of any ornamentation, like side pilasters, *makaratōraṇas*, lintels etc. Plain niches of this type are found in many of the early Cōla temples like those at Erumbūr, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tiruvēlvikkūḍi, Tiruppuṇambiyam, Tirunelvāyilatturai, Tiruvāṇḍārkōil, Tiruvāmāttūr etc.

The entablature of the shrine consists of a cornice (*koḍungai*)¹²⁶ and a *yālī* frieze. The cornice which is a straight and projecting tier of rectangular blocks in early temples gets a curved shape in due course. Here it is curved and decorated with scroll work and has a recessed bottom edge bearing a row of rather large circles in low relief; this edge is "open-mouthed" and with large interior circles which are usually empty.¹²⁷ The *Kūḍus* are covered with scroll work decoration and surmounted by *kīrtimukhas*. Underneath the cornice are *bhūtas* in a frieze who are a study in themselves exhibiting several postures in dances, playing musical instruments, blowing conch and in attitudes of comedy. This decorative frieze of atlantes is found even in the early rock-cut excavations of the Pallavas, where they are seen in the cavesboard (*valabhi*), marking the decorated ends of the joists over the main beams. This is found almost in all the early Cōla temples, an interesting exception being the Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr. The entablature is finished off by a serried row of opposed *yālīs* with *makara* heads at the corners. From the back of each of the opposed *yālīs* issue a pair of stylised scroll work ornaments resembling wings. In the opened mouths of the *makaras* at the corners of the *yālī* frieze are seen reliefs depicting such scenes as a dancing *gaṇa*,

125: Their height varies from 51" to 48" and breadth from 21" to 18".

126. In Tamil architectural parlance *koḍungai* refers to the cornice in the entablature while *kapōta* means the cornice moulding in the *adhiṣṭhāna*.

127. Occasionally one or two small and unrecognisable carvings (human or animal heads) are seen in them.

two fighting warriors, a soldier in action and a lion with or without a rider.

Before the superstructure rising above the entablature is described, a word must be said about its varying forms in Cōla temples. The ribbed octogonal type of *śikhara* is characteristic of all Pallava *vimānas* while some early Cōla shrines have their domes and clerestory, circular in section. These flattened and globular *śikharas* with their strongly recurved lower sides are marvels of grace; and notable examples of them are those at Nārttāmalai, Viśalūr, Kaṇṇanūr, Kaṇḍiyūr, Tiruppundurutti, Tiruvaiyāru, the Vaśiṣṭhēśvara at Karuntaṭṭānguḍi, the Cōlīśvara at Mēlappaḷuvūr, the Cokkiśvara at Kāñcīpuram etc. The taste for a globular or octogonal *śikhara* continued for several centuries and the domes of several later and larger temples including those at Tañjāvūr, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōlapuram, Dārāśuram and Tribhuvanam are either in the former or the latter designs. In a few cases the globular shape of the roof is reflected in pillars and pilasters also, which are either rounded or polygonal. In South Indian Hindu temple architecture the rounded form is known as *Rudra* as against the square which is called *Brahma*. Shrines with globular domes may therefore be called examples of *Rudrakāṇṭa* and those that are square as *Brahmakāṇṭa*. Numerous early Cōla shrines including the Nāgēśvara under discussion and those at Puḷḷamangai, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Tirukkaṭṭalai, Koḍumbālūr, Puñjai, Mēlappaḷuvūr and smaller temples in the Pudukkottai region like those at Kāliyāppaṭṭi, Paṇanguḍi, Tiruppūr, Viśalūr, Ēnādi etc. are typical examples of the *Brahmakāṇṭa* variety.¹²⁸

Most of the early Cōla shrines with a globular *śikhara* are single-stoned (*ekatala*), the Vijayālaya Cōlīśvaram at Nārttāmalai and the Cōlīśvara at Mēlappaḷuvūr being, however, examples of the exceptions.¹²⁹ The smaller temples of the *Brahmakāṇṭa* variety in the Pudukkottai region enumerated above and the Śiva shrine at Korkkai in Tirunelveli District are also

128. See *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59, pp. 27-28.

129. The Vijayālayacōlīśvara rises in three diminishing tiers, the two lower ones being square and the upper most circular. The Cōlīśvara has two tiers, the lower one being square.

single-storied and their *vimānas* are plain and composed of a four-sided clerestory, curvilinear roofs with *kūḍus* surmounted by *simhalalāṭas*. Besides the Nāgēśvara, the temples at Puḷḷamangai, Puñjai, Koḍumbālūr, Tirukkattalai, Śrinivāsanallūr, Mēlappaḷuvūr (Agastyēśvara) etc. have double-storied *vimānas* (*dvitalaprāsādas*). The Pallava practice of extending the lowermost tier of the *vimāna* to the *ardhamanḍapa* in front is found at Nārttāmalai, but not in later examples of early Coḷa architecture. It is however, revived in many still later and larger temples.

The superstructure of the Nāgēśvara rises in two diminishing tiers over the entablature. The first tier is a string of miniature shrines generally known as *pañjaras* interconnected by a parapet-like *hārāntara*, the whole belt enclosing the inner square which is in an upward extension of the cella. While the miniature shrines correspond in position to the central and corner projections of the *vimāna* wall below, the *hārāntara* corresponds to the recesses of the same. The *pañjaras* over the four corners of the shrine, or *karnakūṭas* as they are called, are each of the square or *samacaturaśra* type carrying a square clerestory and a four-ribbed domical roof with finial at the top. The *pañjaras* over the *devakoṣṭhas*, or *śālas* as they are known, are rectangular or *āyatasra*, each with a similar rectangular *grīva* over its *architrava*, surmounted by the wagon-top *śikhara* carrying a row of finials at the top. Both the *karnakūṭas* and *śālas* have a projecting gable arch (*kūḍu*) in front and identical ones at the sides, all crowned by lionmasks. The *hārāntara* connecting each of the *karnakūṭas* and *śālas* has an *alpanāsika*—a gable arch over pilasters similar to the projected front-end of an apsidal shrine. The *karnakūṭas* and *śālas* are complete from *adhiṣṭhāna* to *stūpi* and the parts of the pilasters in the *alpanāsikas* are equally complete. In the niche below the front gable arch of the *śālas* are carvings of appropriate deities—Viṇādhara in the South, Vaikuṇṭhanātha in the West and Brahmā in the North. Sculptural decoration is extended to the corners of the *śālas* as well; a male and a female figure, two kneeling males and a couple of females one playing drum and the other cymbal, are respectively seen in the corners of the *śālas* in the South, West and North. In the niche below the gable arch of the *karnakūṭas* are rearing *yālīs* (with elephantine tusk in two cases).

Though identically two-tiered like the *vimānas* at Koḍumbālūr, Tirukkaṭṭalai, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Puḷḷamaṅgai etc. the first or the lowermost tier in the Nāgēśvara differs from that in any of the above temples in some detail of other. In the Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbālūr, the wagon-shaped roof of the rectangular *śāla* rises to the height of the cornice of the upper tier resulting in the greater height of the niche, necessary for accommodating standing or dancing deities, as in the southern shrine. Where the image is seated like Viṣṇu in the rear side of the central shrine, the height of the niche is not as much as that in the southern shrine; here the *kapōtā* is uninterrupted unlike the *śālas* in the southern shrine. In the Nāgēśvara all the images enshrined in the niches in the *śālas* are uniformly seated. Again at Koḍumbālūr the *śālas* are seen with a couple of pilasters on either side of the niche and without any sculptural decoration at the corners, whereas those at the Nāgēśvara have only a single pilaster flanking each side of the niche and a human figure at the corners.¹³⁰ The *karṇakūṭas* at Koḍumbālūr, unlike those at the Nāgēśvara, are also devoid of any sculptural decoration. Further a pair of finials above the *śālas* seen at the Nāgēśvara are not found at Koḍumbālūr. The *alpanāsikas* in the latter place are also less pronounced. The roof of the *śālas* in the Mucukaṇḍēśvara temple at Koḍumbālūr, unlike that in the Mūvarkōvil at the same place, does not rise to the height of the cornice of the upper tier and resembles the Nāgēśvara in this respect; but here a strict uniformity is maintained regarding heights of the *śālas* and *karṇakūṭas*, the former in the Nāgēśvara being taller than in the latter, as in a large number of temples. The *karṇakūṭas* in the Mucukaṇḍēśvara also lack sculptural embellishment. At Śrīnivāsanallūr the first tier is in repetition of the ground floor, a feature that anticipates similar arrangement in the later temples at Tañjāvūr and Gangaikōṇḍacōlapuram. Here the *śālas* and *karṇakūṭas* are of the same height (unlike in the Nāgēśvara) and the *alpanāsikas*, coming in between them, have each an arched roof. The pilasters of the *karṇakūṭas*, *śālas* and *alpanāsikas* are respectively square, chamfered and rounded in imitation of the pilasters just below in the *vimāna* wall. In the Agastyēśvara at Mēlappaḷuvūr the roof

130. The tetragonal pilaster strip found by the side of each human figure has none of the usual members of a pilaster.

of the *śālā* is seen reaching the cornice of the upper tier as in Mūvar-kōvil, and unlike in the Nāgēśvara. The lowermost tier of the Sundarēśvara at Tirukkattalai may be said to be almost identical with the same in the Nāgēśvara, the difference between the two being more in the selection of the images installed in the niches than in variations in architectural features.

The second tier of the Nāgēśvara is of lesser dimensions, with walls embellished by sculptures and pilasters with corbels, with an overhanging cornice above, borne at each of the four corners by a male figure. Beneath the cornice is a *hamsa* frieze which is not continuous but seen only in the space just above the *śālas* of the lower tier. This cornice has four *kūḍus* on each side, two above the *śālas* and one above each of the two *alpanāsikas* in the tier below. In between the corner figures carrying the cornice and the pilasters is a four-handed image. The images which are now painted are of stone and wear necklaces, *udarabandha*, *vaḷayas*, *kankaṇas*, *kaṭisūtra* etc. While their upper pair of arms hold iconographic cognizances, the lower pair are in the *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita*, the only exception being the first image on the southern side whose lower left arm holds a *vajra*. Coming in a clockwise direction the attributes seen in the upper arms of each of the images are as follows: a bud and an indistinct object, sword and shield, *śakti* and noose (?), an indistinct object and noose (?), sword and shield, *paraśu* and *mṛga*. The figures may represent the *dikpālas*.

The sculptural decoration of the second tier of the *vimāna* noticed in the Nāgēśvara is absent in many early Cōla temples including those at Koḍumbālūr, Mēlappaḷuvūr, Tirukkattalai etc. in which the embellishment consists only of pilasters. At Koḍumbālūr, Puñjai, Uḍaiyārguḍi etc. two of these pilasters placed one on either side of the *śālā* of the lower tier are stout and circular and carry a *kūḍu* on top. It is interesting to note that this is an early motif coming down from the times of the Pallava rock-cut architecture, an example of which may be seen in the Gaṇēśa *ratha* at Mahābalipuram, wherein the end face of the *śālā* type *śikhara* bears such a pilaster.¹³¹

131. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XVI, p. 28, fn. 1.
J. 5

An interesting feature of the *vimāna* of the Nāgēśvara is its frontal projection like the Dravidian temples at Paṭṭaḍakkal. This projection is surmounted by a *simhalalāṭa* above (Fig. 2). In its lowermost tier is a *śālā* at the centre flanked on both sides by *alpanāsikas*. Below the *simhalalāṭa* is seen a large image of Śiva with Pārvati seated on a double lotus pedestal, his upper arms holding *paraśu* and *mṛga*, the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left in an indistinct *mudra*. The frontal projection of the *vimāna* surmounted by a semicircular arch, giving it the appearance of the front side of an apsidal shrine, and large carvings of Śiva and Pārvati below the arch recall to mind the late Pallava *gajapṛsthākṛti* Viratṭānēśvara at Tiruttāṇi. On either side of Śiva and Pārvati and below the *simhalalāṭa* are *dvārapālas*. The projected part of the *vimāna* is carried by an image at the southern and northern sides, each with four hands, the upper right of the one in the South holding a *vajra* and, that of the one in the North holding a *pāśa*. The image in the South has flames around his head. On either side of the projection in the East is a carving, standing with four hands and ornamented with necklaces, *yajñopavīta* etc; the carving in the southern side has two heads with flames over them and hence may be Agni while the details of the corresponding northern image could not be studied. These two images go with the six sculptures in the walls of the second tier of the *vimāna* noticed above and make the set of the *dikpālas* complete.

Above the cornice of the upper tier is a square platform in the four corners of which are images of a *gaṇa* blowing or holding a conch. These are modern and heavily plastered but should be recent replacements of early originals.¹³² On this platform and just above the *śālās* in the lowermost tier are modern and pilastered images of Dakṣiṇāmūrti with six ṛṣis in the South, Vaikuṇṭha-nātha with two consorts in the West and Brahmā in the company of his consorts in the North. On the sides of each of all these images is a couchant bull.

The clerestory (*grīva*) is in the form of a square drum over this platform. Four seated images are seen in all the three visible

132. This is an early motif and is found for the first time in the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram.

sides of the clerestory. This is surmounted by a curved cornice beneath which is a *bhūta* frieze. The cornice is broken at the centre of all the sides, as *simhalalāṭas* rise from there surmounting the images placed on the platform below. The *śikhara* above the clerestory is four-sided and curvilinear and its *kalāśa* is made of copper.

Of the many peristylar adjuncts surrounding the sanctuary none appears to be architecturally coeval with it, though the miniature shrine of *Sūrya* in the North-East corner has a few early features. But the temple of Nāgēśvara should have had *parivārālayas* in the circuit and a compound wall with a *dvāra* in the East surmounted by a small *gōpura*, because all these are characteristic of early temples. In the Pallava temple of Kailāśa-nātha at Kāñcīpuram there is a string of subshrines abutting the compound wall, besides subsidiary shrines built on to the wall of the sanctuary on the three free sides and the four corners. In the Tālapuriśvara at Paṇamalai, again a Pallava structural temple, subsidiary shrines are noticed on the three free sides of the cella and integrated with it. In the Aivarkōvil at Koḍumbālūr, an early Cōla shrine, they are attached to the four corners and not to the three free sides. In all these examples the subshrines were intended for the consecration of Śiva and not the *parivāradēvatas* viz., Gaṇēśa, Subrahmaṇya, Sūrya, Candra, Jyeṣṭhā, Saptamātrkas and Caṇḍikēśvara. The Viraṭṭānēśvara at Tiruttani built at a time when the Pallava hegemony was dwindling and the Cōlas were rising under Vijayālaya and Āditya, is perhaps one of the first to have the *parivārālayas* in its circuit. Only the shrine of Caṇḍikēśvara to the North of the sanctuary is now extant; but the presence of loose sculptures of other *parivāradēvatas* in typical late Pallava style in the *mukhamandapa* of the temple bears clear testimony to the existence of separate shrines for them once.

The *parivārālayas* of several early Cōla temples in varying degrees of preservation are now traceable. The Vijayālayacōlīśvaram at Nārttāmalai has seven subshrines, all now in ruins. The Sundarēśvara at Tirukkattalai, built during the third year of Āditya I,¹³³ also has seven such shrines. Shrines of some of the

133. I.P.S., No. 21; J.O.R., X, p. 232.

parivāradēvatas, or at least traces of them, are found in many other early Cōla temples including those at Kāliyāpaṭṭi, Paṇanguḍi, Viśalūr, Tiruvaṇṅulam, Mēlappaḷuvūr, Tirukkarugāvūr etc. The Erumbūr (South Arcot District) inscription of Parāntaka I dated in his twenty-eighth year records that the *gōpura* with the *aṣṭaparivāra* was built by a certain Iruṅgōḷan Kuṇavan Aparājitan, which incidentally points to the number of the *parivāradēvatas* current in the early Cōla period.¹³⁴ Here the Nandi in front of the shrine is also conceived of as a *parivāradēvata*. That during the Cōla period the number of the *parivāradēvatas* was eight and that this was observed even outside the Cōla Empire may be gleaned from an almost contemporary Kannāḍa inscription from Kamalāpuram in the Cuddappah District, issued during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Nityavarṣa Indra, which registers that while Pallava-Dhīra was ruling over Mulki-500, a Mahāsāmanta constructed (or repaired) among other things shrines for the *eight* attendant divinities of the Muḷkemiśvara (Mukkaṇṭiśvara) temple.¹³⁵

None of the extant *parivārālayas* in the Nāgēśvara can be said to belong to the early Cōla period, as their structures are architecturally late indicating thereby that they are later replacements of earlier originals. An early inscription in the temple dated in the fortieth year of Parāntaka I refers to a gift for the maintenance of two lamps in the shrine of Sūryadēvar.¹³⁶ Obviously original *vimāna* and the pilasters tucked in the *kaṇṭhas* in the basement have miniature basreliefs, again as in the central shrine, bearing reliefs of Gangāvisarjana, Naṭarāja, Kirātārjuna, Vṛṣabhārūḍha, Gajāri, Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa, a reclining female figure etc. On the walls of the shrine and the *ardhamanḍapa* are *dēvakōṣṭhas* and pilasters. The pilasters in the shrine wall are chamfered while those in the vestibule are square; the side pilasters in the niches in the shrine are rounded while their counterparts in the *ardhamanḍapa* conform in their shape to the pilasters on its wall. The *phalaka* is square and thin and the corbel above has a median band. Niches are surmounted by a

134. 384 of 1913.

135. 235 of 1937-38.

136. 253 of 1911.

faint and incomplete *makaratorana* arch. Beneath the curved cornice is a *bhūta* frieze in which the conventional story of the geese and tortoise is also plastically narrated.¹³⁷ On the projecting platforms above the corbels are seen either a reclining lady, a cow or a lion. The cornice is decorated with *koḍikkarukku* and *kūḍus*, the latter bearing reliefs of floral designs or animals like the bull and not open mouthed. Above the cornice is a *vyālavari* with the *makaras* at the corners. The *śikhara* above, resting on a circular drum, is globular in shape and has *simhalalāṭas* at the corners.

The *devakōṣṭhas* in both the sanctuary and *ardhamanḍapa* have installed images which represent Ādityas. The image in the North wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* is two-armed, standing on a double lotus pedestal. His right hand holds a lotus stalk while the left is in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. He wears a simple undergarment covering both the thighs with the characteristic early Cōla loop. The *makuta* is of the *karaṇḍa* variety with a three pronged central circle above the forehead. The ornaments consist of *makarakuṇḍalas*, *yajñōpavīta*, *udarabandha*, *vaḷayas*, armlets etc., besides the lotus flower resting on the right shoulder. In the *dēvakōṣṭha* in the South wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* is an image of Gaṇeśa standing on a double lotus pedestal with his tusk curved to the left. While the emblems in the upper arms are not seen, the lower right holds a broken tusk and the left rests on a *daṇḍa*. The ears are fairly large and spread out. The drapery is suggested by loops. Besides a *karaṇḍamakuta* crowning the head of the image, it has an *udarabandha* and *yajñōpavīta* for decoration. *Chhatras* are seen on either side above. The images in all the three *dēvakōṣṭhas* in the sanctuary are generally identical with the sculpture in the North wall of the *ardhamanḍapa*. But the former three images hold in both hands lotus stalks, resting on the shoulders. A circular halo is noticed behind the head of each.

On either side of the entrance to the *ardhamanḍapa* is seen a relief of a *dvārapālaka* with a flying Gandharva couple above.

137. For the story and the occurrence of the same theme in early Cōla art see *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1957-58, pp. 76-78; also fig. 5.

They are two-armed, and lean against their clubs. Their posture and workmanship, besides their high *jaṭāmakuṭas* and large *jaṭa-bhāras*, recall to mind the larger *dvārapālas*, flanking the shrine entrances in many early Cōla temples. The flying Gandharva couples above them are reminiscent of similar and larger images of earlier dates from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati, Aihole and Bādāmi.

A comparative study of the disposition of *parivārālayas* makes it clear that there was no rigidity regarding their relation to the main shrine in the early Cōla temples. In the West facing Sundarēśvara temple at Tirukkattalai Gaṇeśa, Subrahmanya and Jyeṣṭhā are at the back or to the East of the main shrine, Candra and Caṇḍikēśvara are to the South and Śūrya and the Saptamātṛkas are to the North. In the identically West facing Agastyēśvara at Mēlappaluvūr Gaṇeśa and Subrahmanya are to the West of the main shrine, Caṇḍikēśvara to the North, Śūrya to the East, and the Saptamātṛkas to the South. In the Nāgēśvara while the *parivārālaya* of Gaṇeśa is in the East, that of Caṇḍikēśvara is in the South and that of Śūrya is in the North-East. Evidently therefore the position taken by the sub-shrines in the temple circuit in relation to the sanctuary varied from temple to temple depending upon several factors and was practically free from rigid canons. For example the shrine of Śūrya faces the main shrine in the Nāgēśvara, unlike in the other early Cōla temples, in view of the special association of the Sun God with the presiding deity of the temple.

The rest of the numerous axial and peristylar adjuncts of the Nāgēśvara which are later than the central shrine are not of any special architectural interest perhaps with the exception of the *Nṛttasabhā* in the second *prākāra* and the *gōpura* rising above the *dvāra* in the outer eastern wall. These are of the later Cōla period and command one's attention not so much by any architectural novelty or peculiarity as by their ornate and exuberant workmanship.

The *Nṛttasabhā* or the dancing hall like the *Sopāna*, *Davana* and *Kalyāṇamaṇḍapas* is a feature of large and later temples unknown to the smaller shrines of the early Cōla period. The *Nṛttasabhā* in the Nāgēśvara is assignable to the 12th-13th centuries having all the stylistic characteristics of later Cōla archi-

ture. It faces South and consists of a high *maṇḍapa* with a flight of steps guarded by balustrades. On either side of the balustrades is an imposing and heavily plastered elephant in stone which appears to be a later addition. Behind the elephants on either side is a stone horse, galloping and richly caparisoned. Though these carvings of horses clearly betray the artist's tendency to idealise, they claim one's homage by their exuberant workmanship and decorative detail. Beyond the horses is a stone wheel, beautified with circles of lotus petals and *hamsas* in the centre and with twelve spokes and a relief of Sūrya in between two spokes and the outer rim. The wheels, the galloping horses and the elephants endow the *Nṛttasabhā* with the appearance of a stone *ratha*. Such *ratha*-like *maṇḍapas* are seen in some smaller temples as the one at Tirukkarugāvūr and many larger temples like those at Palaiyārai, Dārāsuram, Vṛddhācalam, Tārāmangalam etc.

Of the three *gōpuras* rising over the entrances in the East, South and West walls of the outer circuit the latter two are modern and are devoid of any importance while the first command attention by its architectural features and decoration marking a stage in the evolution of South Indian temple towers (Fig. 3).

Several bas-reliefs from Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Goli etc. depict a superstructure above entrances which are but early types of *gōpuras*. They are very simple in design and either lack decorative details or have only a small *caitya*—window design.¹³⁸ A noteworthy example of this early type of gateways is the representation of barrel-vaulted superstructure in a bas-relief from Amarāvati depicting the division of the relics of the Buddha.¹³⁹ The *gōpura* is of relative insignificance in Pallava temples. The monoliths at Mahābalipuram stand for the central cella alone and unlike the later rock-cut excavations in softer variety of stones in the Cālukyan area do not have axial or peristylar adjuncts. It is in the structural temples therefore that one has to look for

138. See C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, Pl. LVII, fig. 3; T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli*, Pl. III, fig. at the top and Pl. IV bottom figure; A. H. Longhurst, *Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakonda*, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 54), Pl. XXXV(b).

139. C. Sivaramamurthi, *op.cit.*, Pl. XLIII, fig. I.

the earliest extant *gōpuras* in the Tamil country. The outer wall of the Shore Temple complex at *Mahābalipuram*, datable to the reign of Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha, has on the East a *dvāra* surmounted by a simple *śālā*. Though this cannot be precisely called a *gōpura* its importance in the evolution of that superstructure cannot be ignored.¹⁴⁰ In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram built under the same ruler numerous super-structures are seen over the peristylar shrines abutting the compound wall. The central shrines in these rows with the carving of Brahmā in the South and Viṣṇu in the North and the little shrine of Mahēndravarmēśvara in front of the main shrine have surmounting *śālās* resembling *gōpuras*. But the real *gōpura* here is noticed over the entrance on the East. This has been correctly singled out by Longhurst as the prototype of all later *gōpuras*,¹⁴¹ and is very small in size rising just a foot high from the top of the circuit wall. In the rectangular *grīva* below the *śālā* is the relief of a deity (Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti?). The *śālās* have *simhalalāṭas* on the sides. A similar *gōpura* is found rising over the now walled-up entrance on the West indicating thereby that such super-structures were then built both on the front and back sides. There is no trace of any early *gōpura* in the temple of Vaikunṭha-Perumāl and other smaller shrines of the Pallava period at Kāñcīpuram, though it can be presumed that each of them should have had at least one. *Gōpuras* are found in the slightly later temples of the Cālukya area like the *Virūpākṣa* at Paṭṭaḍakkal, the construction of which followed that of Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram. In the Kailāsanātha and *Indra Sabha* at Ellora rock-cut *gōpuras* are noticed.

The *gōpuras* in the early Cōḷa temples are also relatively insignificant and the *vimāna* over the cella is found dominating the temple complex. Extant early Cōḷa *gōpuras* are found at Tirukkattalai¹⁴² and Mēlappaḷuvūr,¹⁴³ while the ground plan of the Mūvar-kōvil at Koḍumbālūr reveals that it should also have had a *gōpura* anticipating a few later features like vestibules,

140. James C. Harle, *Temple Gateways in South India*, p. 13.

141. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Pt. III, p. 14.

142. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (second edition), p. 702.

143. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *The Four Cōḷa Temples*, p. 25 fig. 1.

entrance projections etc.¹⁴⁴ It is learnt from an inscription that there was a *gōpura* in the Kaḍambavaneśvara at Erumbūr.¹⁴⁵ The Tirunāgeśvaram inscription of a Rājakeśari identifiable with Aditya I mentions the renovation of the *tiruccurrālai* (surrounding wall) and the *gōpura* in Milaḍuḍaiyārpallī at Kumāramārttāṇḍapuram.¹⁴⁶ That Śembiyan Mahādēvī, mother of Uttama-cōla, built a complete temple unit including a *gōpura* is indicated in an inscription from Vṛddhācalam dated in the latter's twelfth year.¹⁴⁷

The next stage in the evolution of the *gōpura* is reached with the inauguration of the new movement for building larger temples in which the towers had also to be sufficiently large and tall to fit in with the size of the temple complex. Notable examples of this type are the two *gōpuras* of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr built by Rājarāja I. In the inscriptions the inner *gōpura* is called *Rājarājan tiruvāśal* and the outer *Kēraḷāntakan tiruvāśal*. The outer *gōpura* with five storeys is taller than the inner one with three. Each has a couple of two-storey vestibules, of which the lower ones are at the ground level. A *dvāra* with a monolithic cill, a feature noted in several late towers, is found in the inner *gōpura* here. The size of the *gōpura* has necessitated its decoration with sculptures delineating several iconographic forms of deities. The tower of the Bṛhadīśvara at Gangaikōṇḍacōlapuram, only the ruined lower portions of which are now extant, also seems to resemble the Tañjāvūr *gōpuras*, as indicated by its present state. Another interesting surviving example of a *gōpura* of the period of Rājendra is the small all-stone tower in the Nilakaṇṭeśvara at Laḍḍigam.¹⁴⁸ Extant *gōpuras* of the later Cōla period are comparatively many, among which mention must be made of the *Kīli-gōpura* at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, said to have been built c. 1063 A.D. by Vīrarājendra,¹⁴⁹ and those at Uyyakoṇḍān-Tirumalai, Tiruppirāittuṟai, both in the Tirucirappalli District,

144. James C. Harle, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

145. 384 of 1913.

146. *SII.*, XIV, No. 13.

147. 47 of 1918.

148. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 716, and *Pl.* VII, fig. 14.

149. Gravely, *The Gopuras of Tiruvannamalai*, p. 2.

Tiruchchengāṭṭanguḍi in the Tañjāvūr District and the Nāgēśvara under discussion.¹⁵⁰ These later Cōḷa towers, though not great pylons as the *gōpuras* of the succeeding periods, are no doubt imposing and betray the change in the gradation of magnitude from centripetal to centrifugal and the shift of importance from the *vimāna* to the *gōpura*. This was later carried to its logical extent by the Pāṇdyas of the second Empire and the Vijayanagar kings.

The *gōpura* in the Nāgēśvara is a five-storeyed structure rising on a large *adhiṣṭhāna* and over a tall *dvāra*. It is built of dressed and carved stone upto the main cornice and from there upwards of brick and mortar decorated with stucco figures as in many towers. The rectangular space in between the inner and outer *dvāras* is longer than wider. The *dvāra* consists of two huge monolithic jambs and a lintel of a single stone beam. The *nidhis* that are found carved in the jambs in some towers of the period are absent here. The ceiling consists of stone beams placed lengthwise in the direction of the entry. There are no pilasters on each side of the walls of the *dvāras*. The vestibules do not occupy the entire wall space between the *dvāras* but only the place between the jambs. The door step is low and composed of a number of blocks of stone.

The *dvāras* in each of the rising tiers have *śālās* with *simhalalāṭas* at the centre and sides and are guarded by *dvārapālas*. At both the ends of each tier is a *kūṭa* and in between this and the *śālā* with large *simhalalāṭas* at the sides are a row of smaller ones at the front and back. A row of finials is seen above the *śālā*. The tower is embellished with sculptures of several gods, the most prominent among them being the different forms of Śiva. Above the *adhiṣṭhāna* and below the cornice is *bhitti*, which has pilasters and *kumbhapañjaras*.

In the basement are bas-reliefs of *Madanikais*, prancing lions and floral designs. Though the lions are much conventionalised they are done in the traditional manner without the provision of elongated horns (?) at the sides of the head, seen in the basement of several later temples including the Tyāgarāja at Tiruvārūr. The reliefs of *Madanikais* are interesting studies of women. The

150. James, C. Harle, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

tendency of the later Cōḷa sculptors to experiment in the elaboration of ornamental details and depict the reliefs in difficult and even impossible poses is manifested in those sculptures. They are however poor in depth of conception and very formal and their forms lack the dignity and balance of earlier sculptures.

III

SCULPTURE

The sculptures in the Nāgēśvara, particularly the portraits, may be said to be the best among the enormous mass of extant early Cōḷa images. In their depth of profundity of facial expression and pleasing apotheosis of serenity and dignity, in their technical refinement and excellent modelling and in their sensitiveness and restraint they have few parallels in South Indian plastic art. Besides the portraits and icons of deities and men and women, the sculptural embellishment of the temple includes low reliefs of mythological stories in small scales in the pilaster strips in the basement, decorative designs of different forms like floral and vegetal patterns, string courses of animals and a large variety of architectural motifs. Before considering each of them in detail a few general observations on early Cōḷa sculptures may be made.

It is rather difficult to speak of the general characteristics of early Cōḷa sculptures because of the differences in style exhibited by them. As said earlier, not all the extant Cōḷa monuments have been thoroughly explored nor the explored ones been fully brought to light. The remarks on the features of early Cōḷa carvings are hence bound to be more tentative than precise, though certain inferences on their general characteristics exemplified by a large number of known specimens may not be invalid.

Broadly speaking, sculpture during the Cōḷa period is "subsidiary to architecture", but unlike its Pallava precursor is devoid of its architectural context. The stone cutting technique of the Pallavas is wrought with greater perfection than under the Cōḷas who had the advantage of inheriting a continuous experience of nearly three centuries in it, a fact which was perhaps responsi-

ble for the birth of a more 'fluent style'.¹⁵¹ In contrast to the prodigality of sculptural decoration on the exterior of the shrine walls in Pallava monuments, the Cōla temples have a few carvings only, not perhaps so much on account of any austerity in taste, as on account of the need imposed by the stone used. The sculptural panels that are of composite and coursed units in sandstone in almost all Pallava structural temples become single and carved compositions in hard granite under the Cōlas.¹⁵² True, a vast number of Cōla sculptures are, like the Pallava images, only bas-reliefs and not fully in the round. But in the Cōla reliefs, especially in such classical examples of early Cōla art as those from Kumbhakōṇam and Śrīnivāsanallūr, chisels are hammered in deep cuts with an inner slant with the resultant volume in full rounded form. Besides bearing eloquent testimony to the technical skill of execution, they also mark a definite stage in the evolution of freestanding sculpture.¹⁵³

The Cōla sculptures are delicate in outline with a 'subtle rhythmic quality' as against the marked attenuation of Pallava rock-cut reliefs. The physiognomical features exhibited by Cōla images include a considerable flatness of the upper torso, and protuberance on the knees. There is also an obvious disparity in the treatment given to the other parts of the body and feet which are generally neglected. Another striking and significant feature is the humanism that pervades through Cōla carvings.

151. J. C. Harle, 'Early Cōla temple at Pullamangai', *Oriental Art*, N.S., Vol. IV, No. 3, 1958, p. 97 ff.

152. This was already anticipated in the late Pallava Vīratāneśvara at Tiruttani. The forms of the pilaster capitals in this temple and the presence of *kīrtimukhas* over the *kūdus* instead of the typical Pallava spade finial would push this temple nearer to the Cōla than to the Pallava stylistic phase.

153. Instances of independent Cōla sculptures appearing like reliefs "torn" from their architectural context on the walls of shrines and with the space between the arms cut away providing the impression of an image in the round but with the provision of "stays" to connect the iconographic cognizances held by the arms with the shoulders are not altogether wanting. These are interesting examples of sculptures in the round continuing the technique of reliefs; and the practice of carving statues of this class has continued even after the birth and wide vogue of images fully in the round. (See *Rupam*, Nos. 35-36, July, Oct. 1928, 62-64).

Writing about Cōla art in general and the sculptures in the Nāgēśvara in particular, Ajit Ghose observes: ".....the Chola artist stands in sharp contrast with his Pallava predecessor and the latter's severely abstract, ideal, and schematic vision. There is no difference in outward bearing between a Pallava King and God, between a goddess and a queen. But a new and attractive conception of life and beauty had dawned on this Chōla sculptor.... This art, so unconventional, is thus, refreshingly original in conception and spirit. This humanism is the Chōla's principal contribution to South Indian art."¹⁵⁴

Again Cōla carvings differ from the Pallava images in their freedom of pose. They are happily free from the stiffness of the rock-cut reliefs of Mahābalipuram and do not betray any adherence to the conventions of pose and proportions. They show a soft and supple form in contrast to the stiff, heavy and somewhat disproportionate carvings of the Pallava period. This is apparent when the figures of Durgā in the *Varāhamanḍapa* and the *Draupadiratha* at Mahābalipuram with their evident disproportion between the slim upper half and the rather clumsy lower half are contrasted with the proportionate and elegant specimens of the same goddess at Kumbhakōṇam, Puñjai, Tiruvārūr etc.

The early Cōla images are characterised by a realistic and elaborate treatment of ornaments and costume. In Pallava sculptures the modelling is not generally interfered with by any individualized and emphatic delineations of drapery or ornaments which are only suggested by soft lines which at times merge in the general modelling. Similarly the lines indicating the folds of the costumes usually vanish with the contours. The Cōla images, being in round or in bold reliefs with their forms seeming to stand out of the slabs have the details of dress, ornaments and attributes in rather bold and emphatic lines.

Two distinct types are said to prevail among early Cōla carvings.¹⁵⁵ The images of the first type have a somewhat

154. Ajit Ghose, 'Some Unpublished Early Chola Portrait Sculptures', *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1933, p. 165.

155. J. C. Harle, *op.cit.*

restrained modelling with their frame being tall and slender and face oval shaped. Their pelvis are rather advanced and pose often three-quarter profile. Their treatment is "soft and fluid."¹⁵⁶ Recondite instances of this type are the sculptures in the Nāgēśvara. In the second type the faces and the bodies have "a greater plastic emphasis and often give an impression of fleshy heaviness. Faces tend to be broader and more mask-like, but with strongly emphasized features. The eye-brows, for instance, are frequently in high relief. Jewellery and clothing are in an equally bold style."¹⁵⁷ Some of the sculptures from Koḍumbālūr and Śrīnivāsanallūr are examples of this type. It may, however, be pointed out that, strictly speaking, this typological classification of early Cōla sculptures is appropriate more to their earlier than later phases.

The decorative details of the Cōla images also register an elaboration of and improvement over those in Pallava sculptures.¹⁵⁸ The *kaṭisūtra* in the Pallava figures is simple and consists of a flat band around the waist with a broad and semi-circular loop falling below over the thighs. The ends of this *kaṭisūtra* in the shape of a long loop with free ends are seen on either side of the image. A long strip extending upto the ankles is found below the side loops of the *kaṭisūtra*. Sivaramamurti feels that the lion-head clasp which is invariably found in Cōla images was absent in the Pallava period.¹⁵⁹ But this detail is to be found even in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram built by Nara-simhavarman II Rājasimha. In the period of transition from Pallava to Cōla the lower loop which is semicircular in shape is found running halfway diagonally on either side forming a smaller semicircle at the median point alone. In the early Cōla period not only the side loops and tassels are slighter near the *kaṭisūtra* but the long strip extending downwards from it is seen divided into two and reaching the knee or even below it. The neck ornaments of the Pallava figures are invariably simple and the *hāras*

156. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leewen, "The Protector of the Mountain of Truth", *Artibus Asiae*, XX, i, (1957), p. 16.

157. J. C. Harle, *op.cit.*

158. The changes in the shapes of various decorative details from period to period are dealt with by C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Bronzes*, (Lalit Kala Akademy), pp. 24-43.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

worn are usually two in number. While one of them is a neck chain the other is a flat *kaṇṭhi* with a tassel suspended from it. In the early Cōḷa period this *kaṇṭhi* becomes somewhat broad and decked with flower designs. The *yajñopavīta* which is broad and ribbon-like in Pallava sculptures flowing either over the right arm or in the normal way becomes pleasingly sinewy in the early Cōḷa period though the ribbon-shape and clasp continue; the *yajñopavīta* running over the right arm is not always a dependable clue unless accompanied by other features for dating an image for it is seen in a few clearly late examples as well.¹⁶⁰ *Skandhamālā* (shoulder tassel) is absent in Pallava images and makes its debut only in the early Cōḷa period. The view of Sivaramamurti that it appears towards the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century¹⁶¹ (i.e., the period of Rājarāja I in South India) requires revision as it is found in a few images in the Nāgēśvara built not later than the second quarter of the tenth century.

The large bas-reliefs of the Nāgēśvara may be examined in detail under two broad categories: (a) images of deities and (b) portrait sculptures.

The images of gods and goddesses enshrined are those of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the South wall of the sanctuary, Ardhanārīśvara in the West and Brahmā in the North walls, besides Durgā and Bhikṣāṭana in the North wall of the *ardhamanḍapa*. In later Pallava structural temples and early Cōḷa shrines, the niches in the South and North wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* are occupied respectively by Gaṇeśa and Durgā, while that in the South wall of the sanctuary is taken by Dakṣiṇāmūrti and that in the North wall by Brahmā; in the niche in the rear wall is seen either Lingōdbhava¹⁶² or Viṣṇu or Ardhanārīśvara. It is in temples

160. This, for instance, is found in a late image of Śiva from Paṭṭiśvaram, now in the Government Museum, Madras, and the metal icon of Tripurāntaka under worship in the Śiva temple at Koḍumuḍi, assignable to the tenth century A.D. (See Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, Pl. 89).

161. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

162. The statement of K. R. Srinivasan ('Some Aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South' *Journal of the Madras University*, XXXII, No. 1, July, 1960, p. 180), that in the hind wall of the Mukteśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram, as in a few other temples is an image of Viṣṇu needs revision. The main image in the wall is that of Anṇāmalaiyār, though a Viṣṇu along with a Brahmā, flanks him.

built during the later phases of the early Cōla period that additional niches are found in the *ardhamanḍapa* enshrining either deities or portraits, the Koranganātha and the Nāgēśvara being their precursors. An interesting feature in the arrangement of deities in the *dēvakōṣṭhas* in the Nāgēśvara is the absence of Gaṇeśa in the South wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* and his substitution by what appears to be the portrait of a sage. There is as yet no other known example of this curious arrangement and it is difficult to explain why Gaṇeśa is absent here. The currency of the practice of installing a Gaṇeśa image in the exterior of the *ardhamanḍapa* in early temples is proved by the late Pallava temples of Matangēśvara at Kāñcīpuram, Vīraṭṭānēśvara at Tiruttani and early caves in the Pudukkottai region as at Tirugōkarṇam, Malayakkōvil, Kunnāṇḍārkoil etc. besides a host of structural temples of the early Cōla period. It is not unlikely that there was an image of Gaṇeśa in the *ardhamanḍapa* of the Nāgēśvara also and that it was replaced by the present portrait. That the installation of the portrait might have been an after-thought will be shown later.

The sculpture of Dakṣiṇāmūrti enshrined in the *dēvakōṣṭha* in the South wall of the sanctuary is a patently modern one and evidently a replacement of the original.¹⁶³ This image does not call for any special remarks.

In the *dēvakōṣṭha* in the rear wall is Ardhanārī. In a few Cōla temples like the Vīraṭṭānēśvara at Kaṇḍiyūr, Mullaivananātha at Tirukkarugāvūr, Mūvarkōil at Koḍumbālūr etc. Ardhanārī occupies the same place, though with the passage of time, Lingōdbhava is invariably found in that place. That the practice of installing Ardhanārī images lingered for a considerably long time is evident from the Jambukēśvara temple at Nārttāmalai built in 1205 A. D.¹⁶⁴ In the later and larger temples of Tañjāvūr and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōlapuram Ardhanārī is one of the images in the hind wall of the shrine. The Ardhanārī in the Nāgēśvara is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable specimens of that

163. A loose and worn-out image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti is found in the second *prākāra* of the temple but it has several late features to consider it as the first image installed in the *dēvakōṣṭha*.

164. *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, July, 1960, pp. 161-162.

deity in the entire South Indian art (Fig. 4). The combination of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* to form the substratum of the cosmos is plastically rendered here with the characteristic Cōla charm. The image which is in a pleasing *tribhanga*, stands on a double semi-circular *bhadrāsana*, the right half representing the *Puruṣa* or the male aspect and the left half depicting the *Prakṛti* or the female aspect. The *makuṭa* is of the *jaṭā* and *karaṇḍa* varieties respectively over the male and female halves. The face is rather oval. The right ear has a *patrakuṇḍala* and the left ear a *makarakuṇḍala*. There are three necklaces, the first and the third being simple and the second decked with jewels and pendants. The *yajñōpavīta* is of the *vastra* variety and flows from the third necklace of the female side. The armlet is simple and all the three hands have *vaḷayas* and rings. Two are the hands on the right side, the upper holding a naturalistically represented *paraśu* in *kartarihasta* and the lower placed on the bull; the single arm on the left side holds a mirror like the image at Koḍumbālūr and unlike the sculpture at Tirukkarugāvūr, which holds instead a flower. The decoration of *suvarṇavaikakṣaka*—a jewelled cross belt adorning the chest—seen at Tirukkarugāvūr is absent here. On the male side the drapery is much restrained and hardly covers the thighs while on the female side is a sari, extending beneath the knee. Six folds of the hem of the garment are allowed to flow down elegantly on the female side. The *kaṭisūtra* consists of ribbon shaped strips below which is a band hanging in a semi-circular fashion, like a broad loop falling over the male thigh. *Pādasaras* are present in both legs. Besides the variations in decorations, the sculptor has nicely emphasized the differences in the sex by a full breast and the elegantly shaped waist on the left. The bull standing at the back wears a bell at the neck and a jewelled decoration on the forehead.

The Brahmā installed in the *dēvakōṣṭha* in the North wall of the shrine stands in *samabhanga* on a double lotus pedestal with four hands,¹⁶⁵ the lower right being in *abhaya*, the lower left in *kaṭyavalambita*, the upper right holding a rosary and the

165. The images of Brahmā are always four handed though an example of two-handed variety is also known from Kaṇḍiyūr. See Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 15, Fig. 9.

upper left a *kunḍika* (Fig.5). The attributes held by the upper pair of arms are shown above the fingers and are not actually carried by them. Above the three faces is a *jaṭāmakūṭa*. In the ears are *patrakunḍalas* with flowers. Besides the *vastrayaññōpavīta* going over the right arm the image is decorated with an *udarabandha*, armlets, rings, bangles and necklaces. The *kaṭisūtra* consists of a flat band around the waist below which is another hanging in a semi-circular fashion like a loop and falling over the thighs. Two loops, one above the other, are suspended from the *kaṭisūtra* in between the legs. The ends of the *kaṭisūtra* are shown on either side of the image in the shape of a loop with free ends. Beneath this and against the contour of both the legs is seen a long strip coming down to the foot. The lower garment is full and reaches down to the ankles. A point of technical interest in this image is the unusual schematic emphasis in the treatment of knees which is very rare in early Cōla sculptures. Though this sculpture is an excellent example of an early Cōla Brahmā both in iconographic detail and artistic merit, it lacks the youthful serenity found in the image at Puḷḷamangai.

In the *dēvakōṣṭha* in the North wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* is Durgā,¹⁶⁶ who, unlike the images in other *dēvakōṣṭhas* is under worship. This coupled with the fact that the image is coated with blackened oil, makes the study of the image very difficult. However, her chief stylistic and iconographic features can be discerned. Before they are analysed it would be advantageous to consider the general features displayed by the Durgā sculptures of the Cōla period.

Though the Cōla images of the Goddess correspond to the Pallava images in iconographic delineation they show certain interesting developments. Excepting the carvings in the Trimūrti cave and Varāhamanḍapa at Mahābalipuram the other Pallava Durgās have only four arms and save the latter they stand in *samabhanga*. The Cōla images of the Goddess on the other hand, are characterised by the provision of more arms, generally eight, they stand pleasingly in *tribhanga* or *abhanga*, interesting exceptions being

166. Durgā images are installed only in the niche in the North wall of the *ardhamanḍapa* and not in that of the sanctuary as stated by Krishna Sastri, p. 202; See J. C. Harle, *op.cit.*

images from Kumbhakōṇam, Puñjai, Tirukkalukkuṇṇam etc., which though standing in a sinuous pose have but four arms. The appearance of quivers at the back of the shoulders is, perhaps, also a clue to the identity of an early Cōḷa Durgā. She stands on a buffalo's head and her physiognomy is tall and slender. Her ornaments consist of a low *karāṇḍamakuṭa*, bangles at the wrists and ankles, necklaces, *kucabandha*, *suvarṇavaikakṣaka*, *pādasaras*, etc. While the lower pair of arms is in *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita*, the others hold conch, shield, discus, sword, etc. Of these the discus and conch both decorated with flames and the latter tilting inward at an angle of 45°, are held in the *kartarihasta* fashion. While the typically early Cōḷa examples of Durgā are draped only with a light garment indicated by a few pleats reaching midway to the knees those of slightly later periods show an extension of the costume upto the feet and with several folds.

The image of Durgā in the Nāgēśvara is, as seen above, four handed (Fig. 6). Her upper arms carry conch and discus and the lower pair is in *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita* gestures. She stands in elegant *tribhanga* on the severed head of a buffalo. The conical *karāṇḍamakuṭa* on her head is relatively low. The ornamental decoration is much restrained. Though some of her features are obscured, she is one of the finest extant early Cōḷa images of Durgā in aesthetic qualities and her slightly varied iconography only endows her with added attraction.

The Bhikṣātana in the niche to the East of Durgā upholds the claim of early Cōḷa plastic art in the height of its glory by its gracious serenity and tenderness, dignity and balance as by the accomplished execution (Fig. 7). He stands in beautiful *tribhanga*, with the face in profile. The forward thrust of the left leg may be taken to indicate the rhythm of the slow motion. On his head is a jewelled *jaṭāmakuta* studded with the skull and the crescent moon. The *jaṭābhāra* seen in comparatively later images of the deity is absent in this early instance. On the forehead are the third eye and a *paṭṭā*. There is no *kuṇḍala* in the left ear, while there is a *patrakuṇḍala* in the right ear. Two simple necklaces, a *vastrayajñōpavīta*, *vaḷayas*, armlets, an *udarcabandha*, *pādasaras* and *pādarakṣas* are noticed. Of the four hands the upper right holds the drum, the upper left a skull cup, the lower left a

cāmara;¹⁶⁷ and the lower right is in *lolahasta* fondling the deer which is shown as jumping or looking above to lick his fingers. A *kaṭisūtra* with a knot is worn at the waist, below which, in the place of the semi-circular loop seen in other images, is an entwining serpent the rendering of which is realistic. It is interesting to note that the dwarf accompanying Bhikṣātana does not carry a food pot as usual, but holds a T-shaped weapon.

These excellent images of deities in the Nāgēśvara, though rich in workmanship and charm, are overshadowed by the portraits in it. They also lack sculptural adjuncts noticed in many temples of the same period including those at Śrīnivāsanallūr and Pullamangai. The reliefs of ṛṣis on either side of Dakṣiṇāmūrti¹⁶⁸ and those of devotees engaged in self-mutilation on the sides of the niche enshrining Durgā are absent here. The *āsanas* on which the images stand here are not as much ornamented as in other temples nor are the parasol-canopies above the images are present.

The portraits in the temple are ten in number, six males and four females, of which the latter are more striking. The practice of installing portraits of kings and queens in or near the shrine can be traced back in the Tamil country to the period of the Pallava Ādivarāha Cave temple at Mahābalipuram in which are found the carved effigies of two royal personages, each with two Queens; there are two label inscriptions over these portraits in florid Pallava-Grantha characters, one reading *Śrī Simhavinna-pōttr-āthirājan* and the other *Śrī Mahendra-pōttr-āthirājan*.¹⁶⁹ In the shrines of Brahmā and Viṣṇu among the many peristylar shrines abutting the compound wall and around the cella in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram are found a king and queen flanking the entrance. Besides the Nāgēśvara, there are a few early Cōla temples with portraits flanking the *devakoṣṭhas* and of these mention must be made of the Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr,

167. The lower left is broken but its position is to hold the *cāmara*.

168. The reliefs of ṛṣis by the sides of the modern Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the *dēvakōṣṭha* in the South wall of the sanctuary are later additions.

169. H. Krishna Sastri, *Two statues of Pallava Kings and Five Pallava Inscriptions in a Rock Temple at Mahabalipuram*, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 26), p. 3; *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1922, Nos. 661 and 662; *SII*, XII, Nos. 17 and 18.

Acalēśvara at Tiruvārūr, the Śiva temple at Kīlveḷur etc. Among these the portraits in the Nāgēśvara are easily the best in high aesthetic qualities, superb modelling and technical execution. Unfortunately the identification of these remarkable images is difficult and the inscriptions in the temple do not give any clue in this regard. But in all probability they are the effigies of kings and queens and saints, as their features indicate. They are happily differentiated by characteristics which endow each of them with a striking individuality of its own. Speaking of these portraits Ajit Ghose observes: "These radiant carvings of men and women thrill us with delighted surprise for no other known Chola portrait sculptures give such an astonishing suggestion of life or can approach them in technical excellence and refinement. They show such a lovely and exquisite observation of every detail of figure and features that it is difficult to believe that they were not actually modelled from life".¹⁷⁰

Coming in a clock-wise direction the first image to be encountered in the South wall of the *ardhamandapa* is that of a male portrait standing with slight flexion on a semi-circular *bhadrāsana* (Fig. 8). Its right hand, in which the first finger is chopped off, is in *abhaya* gesture, the left being in *kaṭyavalambita*. Apart from the simple and diaphonous clothing that covers half of both the thighs and a flowing *vastrayajñopavīta*, the image has no drapery or ornamentation. The garment is tied by a waist band from which hangs a loop. The face is round with a smiling mouth, the ears are elongated with cut lobes and the hair curly. The ingenious expression of calmness in the countenance is noteworthy. This may represent a sage or any such holy person

The next image is that of a male standing in *samabhanga* on a rectangular *bhadrāsana* (Fig. 9). The right arm seems to be in *āhūyavarada*, suggestive of an invitation to confer boons and left in *kaṭyavalambita*, indicating a restful posture. The image wears a complete lower garment with several folds tied by a waist band, from the centre of which hangs a loop. In this and in the image noticed above side loops of the waist band are not seen

170. 'Some Unpublished Early Chola Portrait Sculptures', *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1933, p. 164.

nor straight and long strips against the contour of the legs reaching below the knee—a feature characteristic of early Cōla sculptures—are noticed. The lack of these decorations, besides other features is enough to suggest that these images represent monks. The *vastrayajñopavīta*, though shown in very low relief, is conspicuous because of its rhythmically flowing lines and the curly decoration it has on the right chest. The mouth and the eyelids are closed to suggest that the image is engrossed in deep meditation. The round face, elongated ears, curly hair, fleshy lips and the realistic shape of the abdomen are noteworthy. The position of the first two fingers in the left hand and the treatment of the feet are unsatisfactory. Among the male portraits in the Nāgēśvara, this image commands one's primary attention by its extraordinary qualities of volume and weight. Considering the fact that the niche here is ornamented with side pilasters and *makara-tōraṇa* and that the place of this sculpture is taken by Gaṇeśa in all other temples—earlier, contemporary and later—it is possible to presume that this portrait should be that of an important sage or monk.

The third figure is that of a female standing in *tribhanga* (Fig. 10). Her right hand is in *kaṭyavalambita* and left hand in *katakahasta* holding a flower. The drapery consists of a full undergarment with beautiful folds and tied in the waist by two beaded bands from which is suspended a lengthy loop in between the legs. The folds of the hem of the garment flow down elegantly on the left thigh. The face, particularly the cheeks and lips, are fleshy. The ears have elaborate *patrakuṇḍalas*. Besides a chain coming in between the two full and round breasts and forming a semi-circle at the median point, two necklaces are seen, of which one is with medals. Many bangles are seen in both the hands and rings are present in the fingers. Above the elbow in hands are noticed two strings of rosary beads and above them is an armlet. The *skandhamālā* flows down from the right shoulder. The shape of the *makuta* is interesting; while the hair is collected in a coiffure at the back, small spiral curls are seen in front. Its narrow waist and languid pose, decorative details and sensitive modelling endow this image with an alluring charm.

The next and the fourth sculpture is also that of a female standing in *tribhanga* with her right hand in *varada* gesture and

the left in *kaṭyavalambita* (Fig. 11). The image wears a diaphanous sari of several folds tied with a band of pearls loop in between the legs. The upper end of the garment falls in elegant folds on the left side. The hair at the back is collected in a beautiful *makūṭa* while that in front is nicely combed with a fringe of wavy curls at the sides. The combed hair is decked with many jewels and a crescent. The ears have *patrakunḍalas* with pearls. The simple necklaces, a *kaṇṭhi* of bigger pearls and a chain with three medals adorn the neck. *Skandhamālā*, armlets, bangles and rings are also noticed. The gentle undulations in the abdomen just above the lower garment which are absent in the previous image may possibly indicate a somewhat advanced age for the figure represented. The pose of the two prominent fingers in the left hand and the treatment of the feet here are, as in the second image in the series, unsatisfactory.

The fifth and the next image in the South wall is that of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, a modern carving, noticed already. In the niche to its right is another lady, the only female portrait in the Nāgēśvara which is not in profile, but posed full face (Fig. 12). Her right hand is in *lambahasta*, and the left in *kaṭaka* holding a flower or bud. The image, like other female portraits, wears a sari of many folds tied below the waist by two bands from which is suspended a loop. The hair is collected in a big coiffure and decked with flowers at the back, while in front are noticed a series of ridges. The *kunḍalas* in the ears are decked with pearls. The neck ornament consists of a pearled *hārā*, a chain with medals and another simple chain coming in between the full and round breasts and forming a semicircle at the medium point. *Skandhamālās* are seen on the shoulders. Armlets and two strings of beaded rosaries are found above the knees of both the arms. *Valayas* and rings are profuse. The navel is suggested by a circle in the waist which is elegantly shown as narrow. A point of interest in this carving is that the stone in between the right thigh and the right forearm is left uncut. Though the sculpture is in very bold relief, the sculptor had not chosen to cut this part evidently to give protection to the forearm of the suspended *lambahasta*. On the other hand he had cut the places in between the hands and the waist with the specific intention of delineating the feminine grace by the narrow waist. The first image seen in the West or the rear wall is that of a male standing with his left

arm in *kaṭyavalambita* and all the fingers in the right hand closed, except the second which is erect suggesting probably an authoritarian pose (Fig. 13). The diaphonous and folded costume is simple and covers only half of both the thighs. There is a single and thick waist band below which is a strip of cloth extending downwards. It is broad in the beginning and becomes narrow when it terminates above the knees. Against the contour of the left leg is a small side loop. The ears are decked with *patrakunḍalas*. A simple *vaḷaya* adorns the wrist of the left hand. The image has no *yajñopavīta*. The face is round with a moustache and the curly hair of the head is artistically arranged in four rows, one above the other, over the forehead, besides a coiffure at the back. The tendency of the sculptor to neglect the feet is seen in this image also.

The next image enshrined is that of Ardhanārī noticed earlier. To the right of Ardhanārī is a male figure. His right hand is in *kaṭaka*, holding a lotus bud and the left in *kaṭyavalambita* (Fig. 14). While his left leg is planted erect, the right one is slightly bent at knee. The under-garment covers half of both the thighs and is, unlike that of other sculptures, without folds or strips. This garment is tied by a band from which hangs a loop. From underneath the band is suspended a strip of cloth; and as in the image noticed above, it is broad in the beginning and becomes narrow when it terminates near the knees. The image wears a double necklace with a pendant. *Vaḷayas* are present in both the wrists. Around the elbow of the left hand is seen a beaded ornament. A finger in each arm has a ring. The front part of the hair is curly and arranged in rows with a coiffure above. The youthful countenance of this image is full of charm and throbs with life.

The North wall, like the South wall, has six sculptures, the first being that of a standing male with his right arm in *varada* and the left in *kaṭyavalambita* (Fig. 15). In the elongated ears are *patrakunḍalas*. In the wrist of the left arm are seen three *vaḷayas* among which one is beaded. A serpentine armlet is conspicuous in the same arm. The image is decked with a three stranded *yajñopavīta*, an *udarabandha* and a *hārā* with pearls, besides two other necklaces. The costume is, as usual, simple with an under-garment covering just half of both the thighs and tied by a *kaṭisūtra*, which has a lionhead clasp. This clasp has ribbons

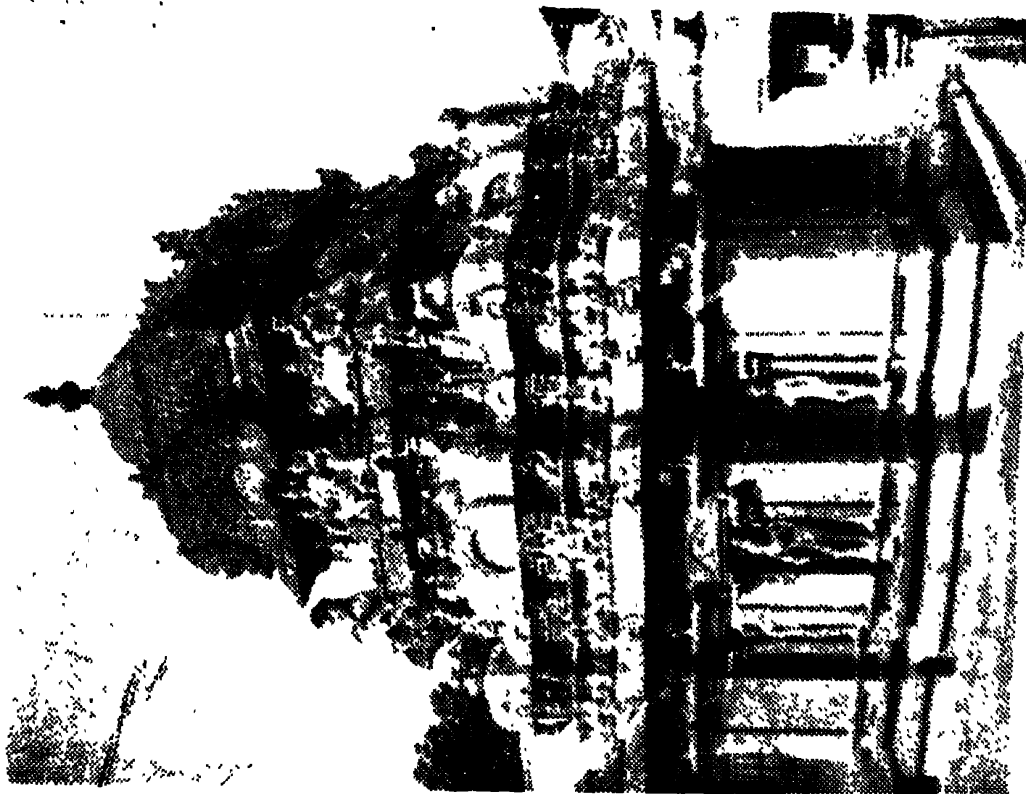


FIG. 1. Vimāna of the main shrine—west view



FIG. 2. Vimāna of the main shrine—south-east view



FIG. 4. Ardhanārīśvara—west wall of the main shrine

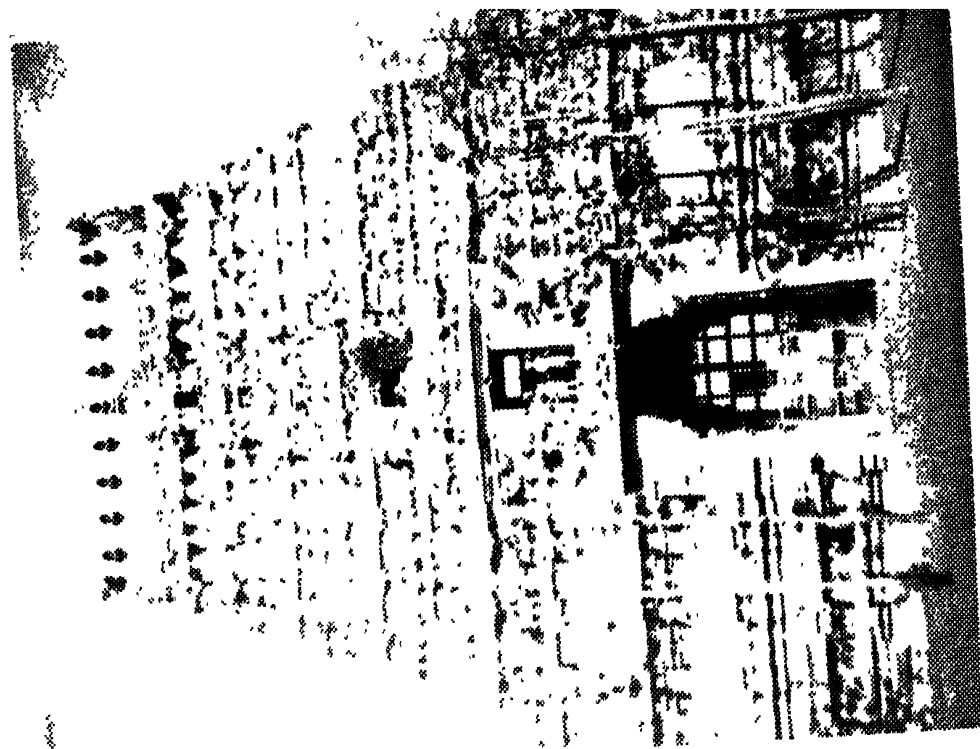


FIG. 3. Main Gopura—east view



FIG. 5. Brahmā—north wall of the main shrine



FIG. 6. Duṛgā—north wall of the ardhamaṇṭapa



FIG. 7. Bhiksātana—north wall of the ardhmāntapa

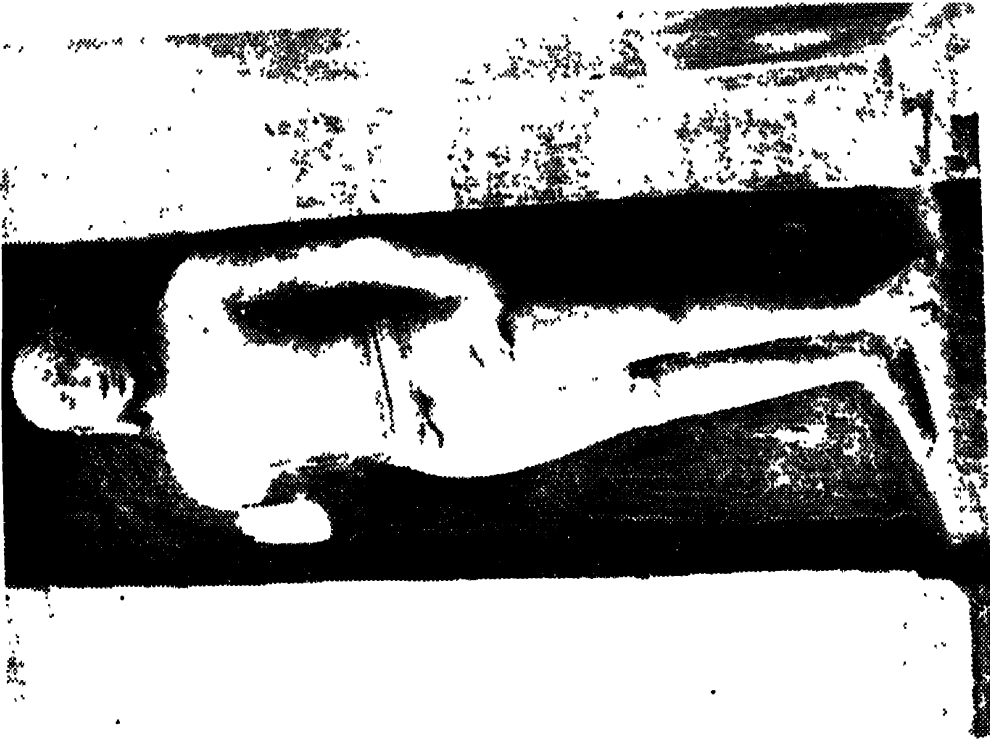


FIG. 8. A male figure—south wall of the ardhmāntapa

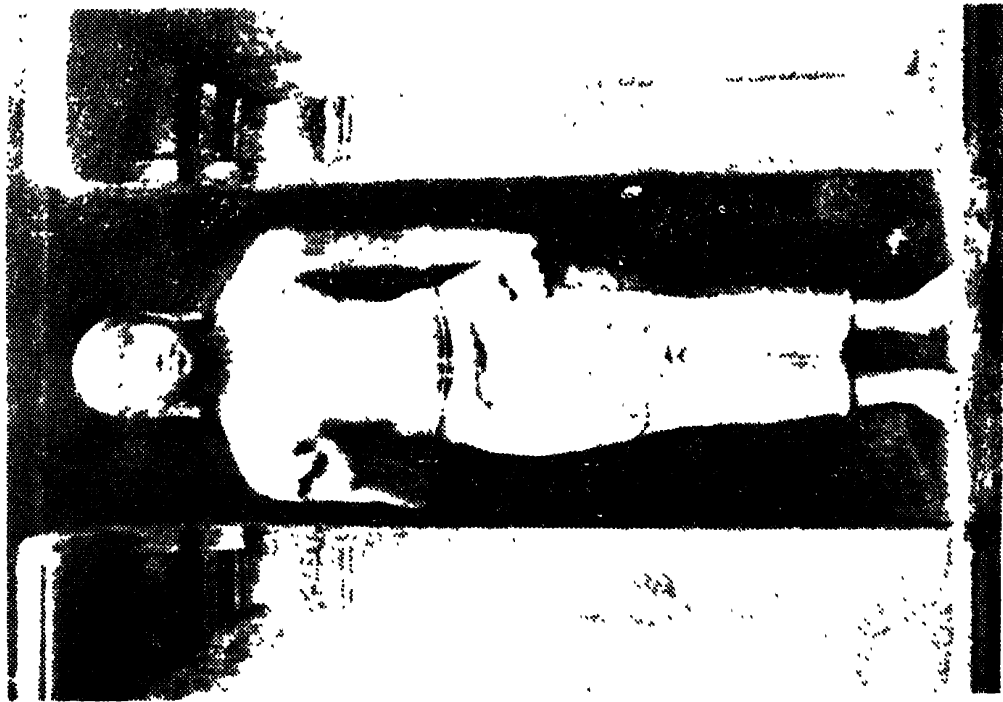


FIG. 9. A male figure—south wall of the ardhmantapa

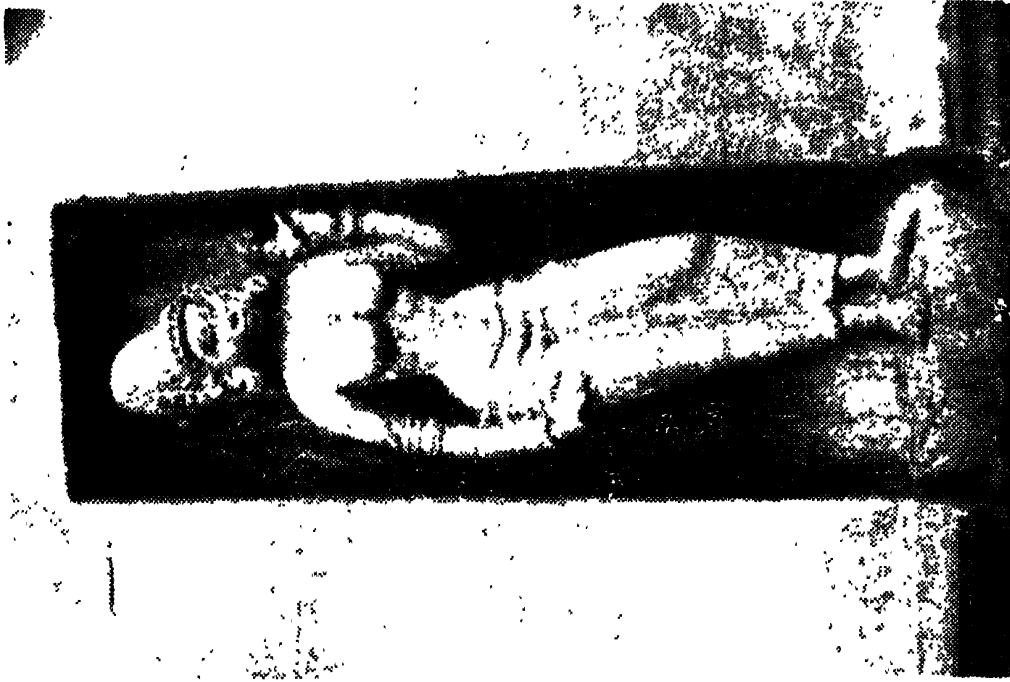


FIG. 10 A female figure—south wall of the main shrine



FIG. 11 A female figure—south wall of the main shrine

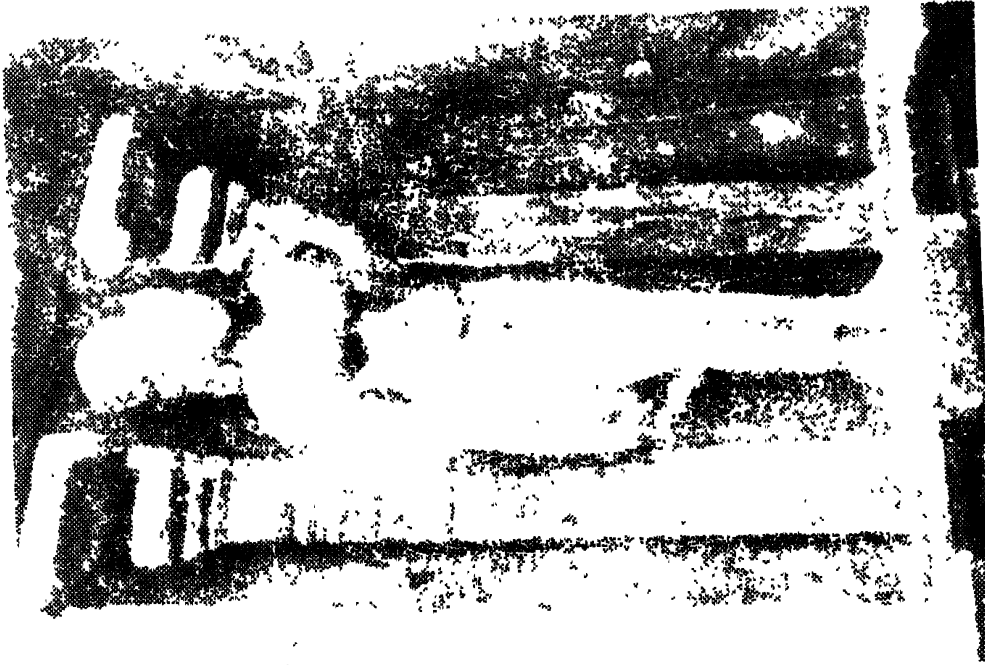


FIG. 12. A female figure—south wall of the main shrine



FIG 13. A male figure—west wall of the main shrine



FIG. 14 A male figure—west wall of the main shrine

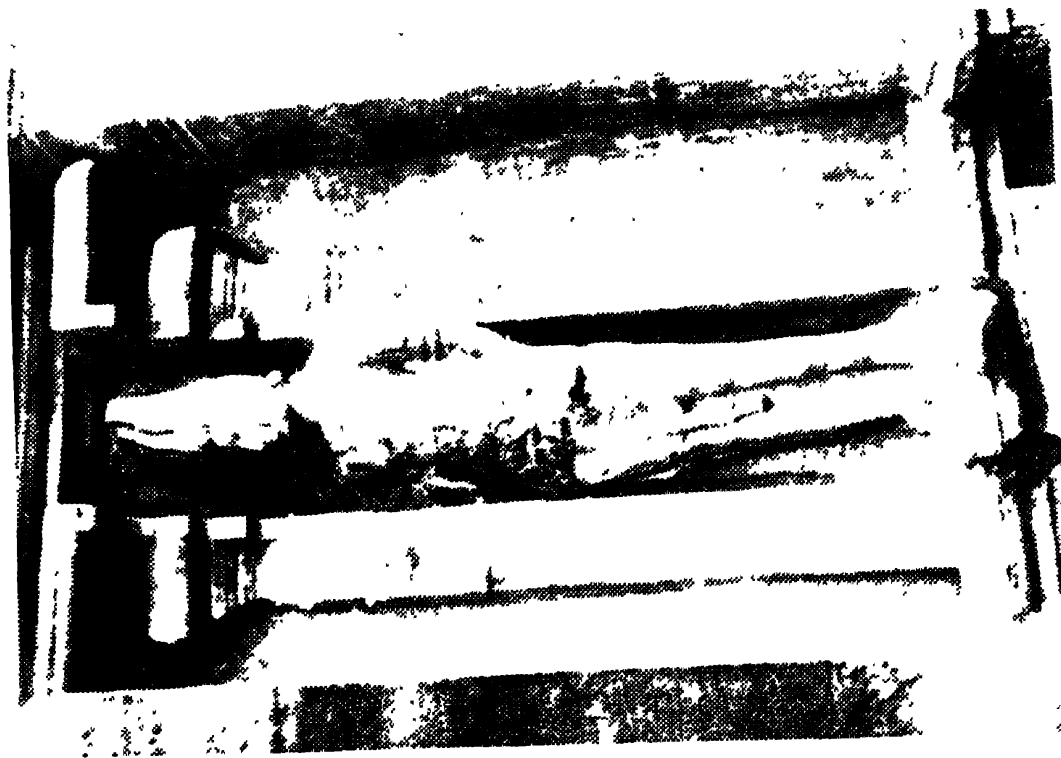


FIG. 15. A male figure—north wall of the main shrine



FIG. 16 A male figure—north wall of the main shrine



FIG. 17. A female figure—north wall of the main shrine—

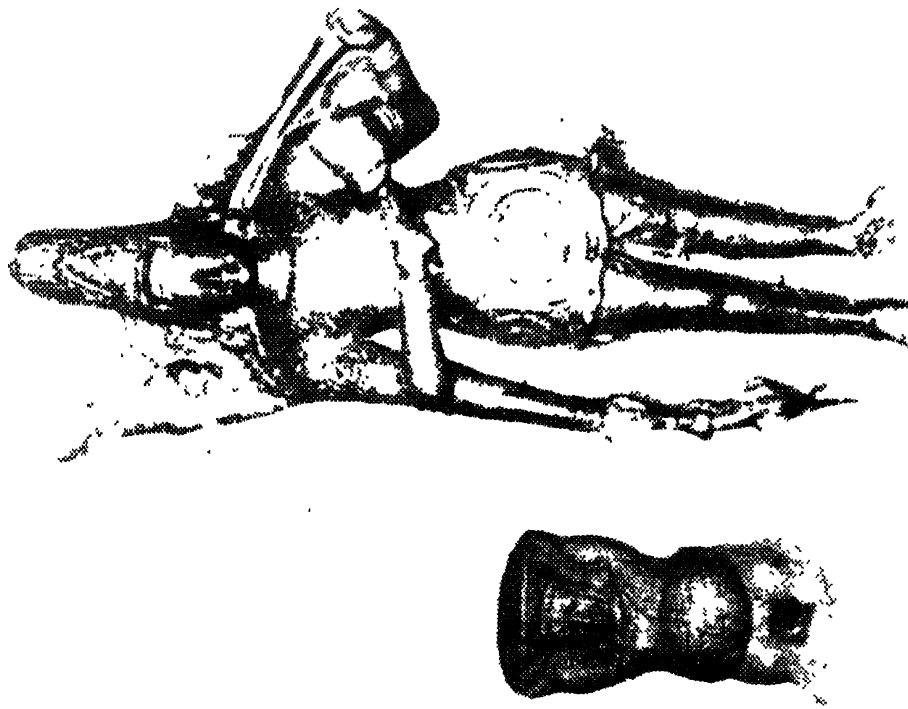


FIG 18. Kankālamūrti—south wall of the inner circuit

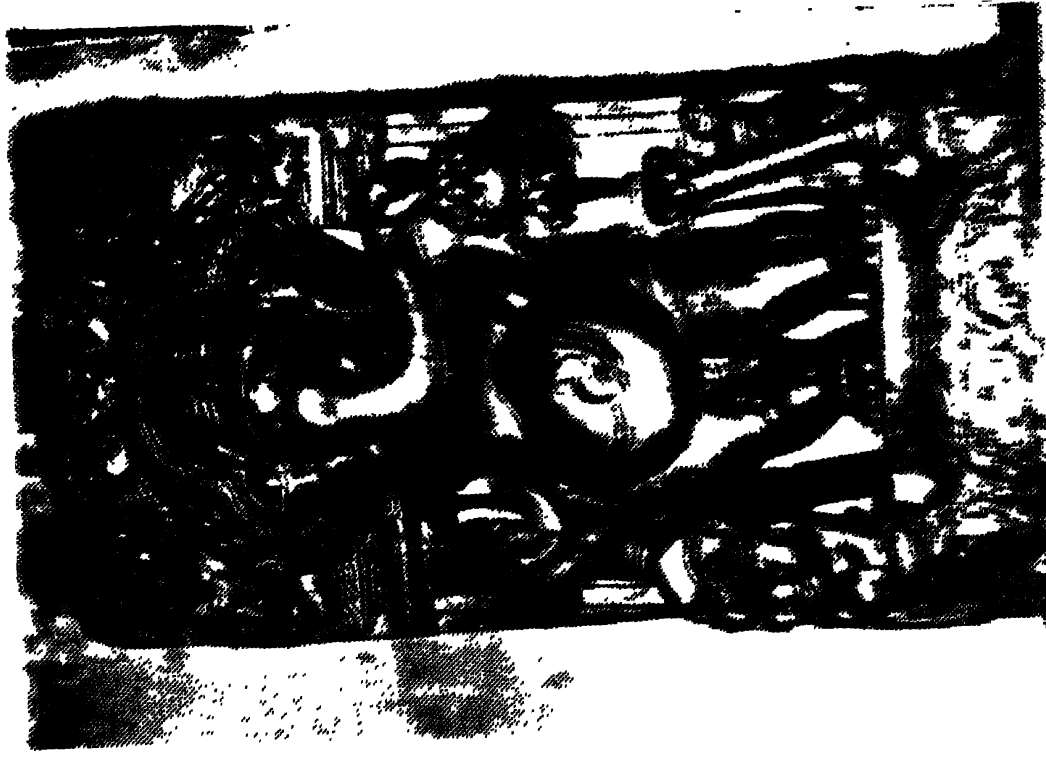


FIG. 20. Gaṇeśa—mukhamantapa

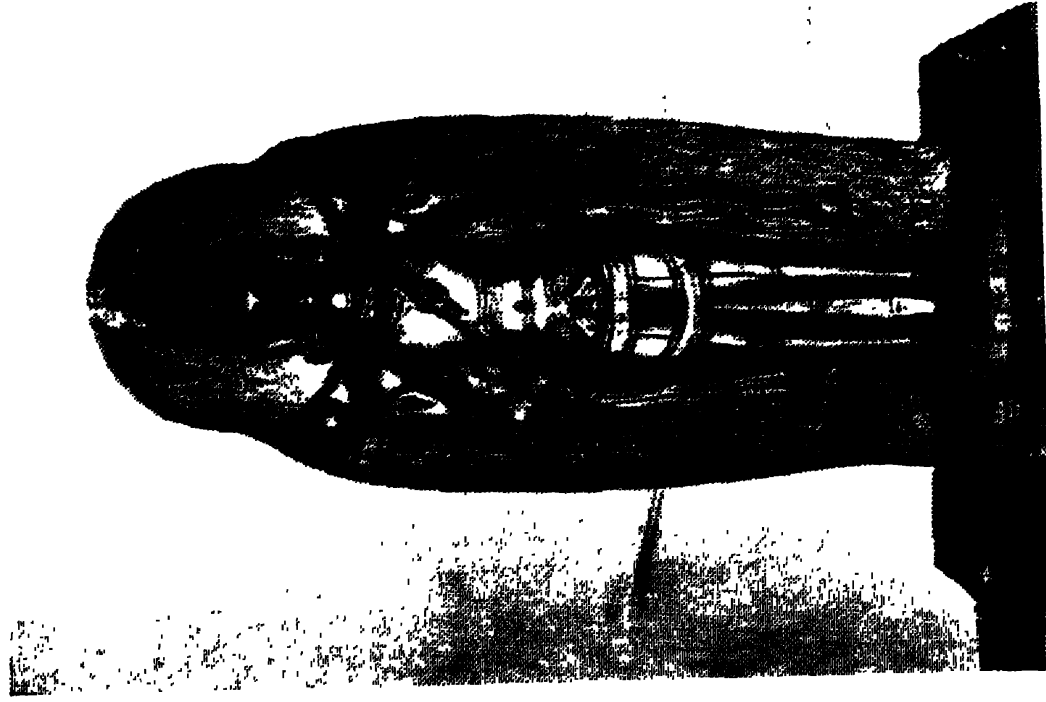


FIG. 19. Sūrya—north-east corner of the inner circuit

issuing from the mouth of the lion and two strings shooting up from near the horns and curving down to run alongside the ribbons on both sides in the typical early Cōla pattern. Below the *kaṭisūtra* is a broad and semi-circular loop falling over both the thighs, while from the *kaṭisūtra* is suspended another straight loop in between the legs and extending a little below the knee. A side loop extending from the right side of the *kaṭisūtra* is found by the side of the right leg. It may be noted that the *simhamukha* decoration in the *kaṭisūtra* and the presence of an *udarabandha* in this image are features not seen in any of the other sculptures in this temple. The *makūṭa* of this image is interesting and is like a crown with flame-like decoration. On this ground an attempt has been made to identify this with Agni;¹⁷¹ but this is doubtful. A study of the *makūṭa*-s of the images in the Nāgēśvara reveals that the head dress of the royal personages in the Cōla period was of different varieties, and that the *makūṭas* were probably made of thin beaten gold and decked with embossed flowers and leaves. If this image is taken to be Agni, one may reasonably look for the other *dikpīlas* also in the other niches which are absent. This is probably the portrait of a prince and his youthful countenance is noteworthy in this regard.

To the right of this sculpture and in the *devakoṣṭha* is Brahmā seen above. In the niche to the right of Brahmā is again a male figure, which like the first two figures in the South wall has a saintly appearance and stands in *tribhanga* (Fig. 16). His right arm holds a flower with spread-out petals and the left is in *vis-mayahasta*, suggestive of wonder. The lower garment covers as usual only half of both the thighs and is tied in the waist by a simple band, from which hangs a small loop with curly ends. The hem of this garment is indicated by lines. A gently flowing *vastraya-jñopavīta*, a simple *kaṇṭhi* and *vaḷaya* are the only ornaments. The ears are elongated without *kunḍalas*. The details of the fingers of the foot are lost. The figure possesses a distinct individuality and is light and elegant as against the heaviness of the second sculpture in the South wall.

171. S. K. Govindaswami, 'Note on a Stone Image of Agni', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 18-50.

The next and the last portrait of a female is "far and away the most beautiful of these portrait statues. With its strangely alluring and seemingly exotic face of delicate curves, unusually sloping shoulders and tall perfectly modelled figure and beautiful contours of limbs, it presents a strongly individual type of beauty. Indeed its extraordinary stateliness and beauty make it an incomparable example of Indian portrait sculpture."¹⁷² The image is in *tribhanga*, with the right arm in *lambahasta*, and the left holding a flower (Fig. 17). The full and folded lower garment is tied in the waist by two simple bands from which hangs an ornamented loop with a pendant at the end. The upper end of the garment falls in elegant folds over the middle of the waist. Below the waist band and over the thighs is another band probably of cloth. A long and straight strip hangs from the waist band on the left side and near the leg. The *dhammilla* head dress at the back with an attached flower in it and the smoothly combed hair in front make the hair dress charming. There are three necklaces, the first a simple *kanṭhi*, the second pearled and the third with pendants. *Valayas*, *nūpurās*, rings, *vājibandha* below the arm etc. are noteworthy. The presence of triple folds on the stomach (*trivālī*) is a probable indication of the advancing age of the figure represented. The exaggerated roundness of the shoulders and the unsatisfactory treatment of the feet are the only flaws in this most radiant of all carvings in the Nāgēśvara.

The portraits in the temple, particularly those of females, belong to a distinct school of Cōla plastic art. The treatment of these is soft and fluid and they convey a feeling of grace and beauty and produce a markedly 'ethereal effect' unlike some portraits at Śrīnivāsanallūr. The portraits at Tiruvārūr belonging to a slightly later period are much inferior in comparison and betray an insistent tendency to conventionalise and merge the individual in a type. The passionate zeal with which the sculptors have toiled to make these sculptures in the Nāgēśvara natural and distinct is obvious from the shape and expression in the eyes and the individual treatment of the mouths. The simplicity of design in all ornaments is striking and bears out the

172. Ajit Ghose, *op.cit.*

characteristic austerity of Cōla images. The *makuta* necklaces, *vaḷayas* and *nūpuras*, *vājibandhas*, *kuṇḍalas*, rings etc. give a good idea of royal ornaments during the period.

A point of interest in the portraits here is that some of them do not properly face the images in the *dēvakōṣṭha*, whom they flank. This is prominently seen in the rear wall, in which the image of Ardhanāri in the *dēvakōṣṭha* in the centre is flanked on either side by a male figure. The sculpture to the left of Ardhanāri is, as seen above, that of a moustached king (?) whose right leg is slightly tilted to the North, but who faces straight. The image to the right of the same Ardhanāri faces the North-West corner, as if he does not want to see the pleasing coalesced God again with his right leg slightly tilted to the North. The image might very well fit in the niche of the moustached king (?) but the latter with his tilted right leg will not go well in the place of the former. This curious arrangement in the installation of images coupled with the fact that the portraits have a few differences with most of the deities in detail and workmanship would probably indicate that the installation of portraits was an afterthought. That a few portraits do not have niches for them but are simply installed on the wall in between pilasters and hence projecting forward only seems to confirm this presumption. The image to the left of Brahmā with flame-like decoration in the *makuta* has not even enough space to have his right arm fully carved. But there can be no doubt that, even if the installation of portraits was an afterthought, the period of that was not far from the date of the construction of the shrine, as indisputably indicated by the style of the images. The image of Bhikṣātana in the extreme end of the North wall has affinities with the portraits in general style and was also a later installation. It is interesting to point out that a greater number of niches in the *ardhamandapas* are generally found only in temples built after the reign of Parāntaka.

It is unfortunate that the identity of the portraits is intriguing. In all probability the moustached man in the rear wall may represent a Chief and the youthful figure in the same wall and the image to the left of Brahmā in the North wall may stand for princes. The female carvings are undoubtedly those of royal ladies of varying age and stature. The three sage-like images,

two in the South wall and one in the North wall may represent monks. Images of Appar and Sambandar are found installed in the niches in the walls of the slightly later temple of Vasiṣṭhēśvara at Karuntaṭṭānguḍi in Tañjāvūr, indicating thereby that the practice of enshrining the Nāyanmār in the temple walls was in vogue or had just started in the middle of the tenth century A. D.¹⁷³ The images of monks in the Nāgēśvara unlike those at the Vasiṣṭhēśvara have no distinct iconographic cognizances revealing their identity and it is unsafe to resort to wild guesses in the absence of positive and trustworthy evidence.

The two *dvārapālas* flanking the entrance are no doubt of the Cōla period, but evidently substitutes for early specimens. In general characteristics and treatment they are akin to a host of stylised *dvārapālas* of the tenth-eleventh centuries and do not call for special remarks.

The sculpture of Kankālamūrti in a chamber in the South wall of the inner circuit is a comparatively late piece (Fig. 18). It does not seem to be fully finished. Of his two upper arms the right one is in *lola*, fondling the deer looking above and the left holds the long trident characteristically with a corpse on its top; his lower left holds the *ḍamaru* and the right is engaged in beating it with the backbone of Brahmā. The lower garment is extended to cover only half of both thighs and has side loops. Broad and circular lotus designs are found on the garment. The *jaṭāmakuṭa* above is simple and the ornamentation consists of *valayas*, *kaṇṭhi*, *yajñōpavīta* and *kuṇḍalas*. The *tilaka* on the forehead is suggestive of the third eye. The image has accessory figures like *gaṇas* of whom one is *Kuṇḍodara* holding on his head the vessel with food. This image with conventionalised features is clearly a later addition in the temple.

The relief of Sūrya in the *parivārālaya* of the Sun god in the North-East corner of the inner circuit has several artistic merits (Fig. 19). A feeling of serenity is naively expressed in the countenance which may be said to be akin to that of Brahmā in the North *dēvakōṣṭha* of the main shrine. Behind the head is

173. *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1956-57, pp. 56-58, figs. 10 and 11.

a circular halo. The hair is in a prominent *jaṭāmakuṭa*. Two *hārās* are seen. The *yajñōpavīta* has a circular clasp at the centre. *Valayas*, an *udarabandha* and *makarakuṇḍalas* are other ornaments. The waist band has a knot from which hangs a semi-circular loop over the thighs and two straight loops each on a thigh reaching the knee below. The side loops with a flowing straight cloth on either side are seen. A lotus bud with a long stalk is naturalistically held by each arm. This sculpture is much earlier than the Kankālamūrti noticed above and may even be ranked with the images in the *dēvakōṣṭhas* in the main shrine.

Other minor sculptural decorations of the temple like string courses of *yālis*, *hamsas* and *bhūtavaris* in the *vimāna*, besides the reliefs of different Gods in the two rising tiers, have been noticed in the previous section on architecture.

A rare sculpture of absorbing interest is the carving of a Gaṇeśa in a modern shrine in the *mukhamaṇḍapa*¹⁷⁴ (Fig. 20). This is both of artistic and iconographic interest. Standing in *tribhanga* on a double *padmāsana*, the image rises to a height of about three feet. Of the four hands the upper right holds a broken tusk, the upper left holds a cup of cakes on which is placed the curled trunk; the lower right holds an *akṣamālā* with fingers in the attitude of counting the rosaries and the corresponding left rests on a mace. The crown is unusually a *jaṭāmakuṭa*. A *sar-payajñōpavīta*, *pādasaras*, *valayas* and *hārās*, besides a pair of beaded strings on the forehead decorate the God. The ears are large. Of unusual interest is an arch behind the head and issuing from the back of an elephant on either side with upraised trunks; the arch is crowned by a lion mask. On either side of the arch are seen a couple of *gandharvas*, flying. A worshipper is found on either side of the legs of the deity. A mouse seated on a double *padmāsana*, looks above facing the God.

The *jaṭāmakuta* of the image, the arch above with *Gandharvas* on its sides, clearly indicate that the image is not South Indian. The black chlorite in which this figure is carved and the general workmanship of the image are reminiscent of many sculptures

174. See S. K. Govindaswami, 'A Note on a Polc Image of Ganapati at Kumbhakonam', published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, pt. 3.

of Eastern India, especially those of Bengal under the Pāla and Sena rulers. Incontrovertibly this image is an import into the Nāgēśvara from Eastern India, and not the work of any South Indian *sthapati*. The bronze image of a Naṭarāja in typical Pāla workmanship, now under worship in the Amṛtaghaṭēśvara temple at Mēlak-Kaḍambūr in the South Arcot district¹⁷⁵ and this carving of Gaṇeśa clearly prove that either these were war trophies brought by successful rulers after inflicting defeat upon the northern Kings, or examples of intimate cultural contacts between distant parts of the country; probably the former was the case. Even today this Pāla Gaṇeśa is said to be called Gangaikoṇḍa Vināyaka. It is not unlikely that Rājēndracōla brought this icon as a trophy from the North as in a later day Rājādhirāja I brought an image of a *dvārapāla* from Kalyāṇapura after defeating the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi.¹⁷⁶

Another class of sculptures of absorbing interest in the Nāgēśvara is the plastic delineation of mythological legends in small scales. These reliefs are often as small as six inches by four and carved on the pilaster strips in the basement. Examples of this class of narrative sculptures are found in many an early Cōla shrine, including those at Puḷlamangai, Kaṇḍiyūr, Tirukkarugāvūr, Puñjai, Tiruvārūr, Tiruverumbiyūr, etc. In the Nāgēśvara these reliefs are in two tiers, the upper narrating in sequence the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and the lower depicting many scenes from the *Bhāgavata*, *Devī-Bhāgavata* and *purāṇas*. The plastic narration of scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* here is more full and perfect than at Puḷlamangai, in which are found only such selected scenes as Rāma and Sītā in the company of Guha, Kabandhavadhā, Surpanakabhāṅga, Mārīcavadhā, Sītāpaharaṇa by Rāvaṇa, Jaṭāyuvadhā, Sītā in Aśōkavana, Hanumān's arrival in Aśōkavana, Rāvaṇa's harem, Rāma in the *puṣpakavimāna* with Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa etc. Besides these the Puḷlamangai reliefs show such different forms of Śiva as Ardhanārī, Harihara, Bhikṣāṭana, Gaṅgāvisarjana, Gaṇasamhāra, Umāmahēśvara, Caṇḍēśānugraha, Sukhāsana, Lingōdbhava, Tripurāntaka, Bhairava etc. Kṛṣṇa as Vāṭapatrasāyi and as killing Pūtanā

175. C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Bronzes*, fig. 100a.

176. 24 of 1908.

by milking her breast, Bhūvarāha, Narasiṃha fighting with Hiranyakaśipu, Ranganātha etc. are the Vaiṣṇava themes represented. The little reliefs at Tirukkarugāvūr depict Kāliya-mardana, Vaṭapatraśāyi, Gajēndramōkṣa, an eight-armed Narasiṃha fighting vigorously with Hiranyakaśipu, Nisumbhasūdhani, Caṇḍēśānugraha, Naṭarāja and Kāli dancing, Kirātārjuniya, Gajāri, Kaṇṇappanāyaṇār etc. These indicate that during the early Cōla period the sculptors concentrated largely on the rich iconography that had developed thanks to the growth of the hagiology of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava devotional hymnists.

The reliefs in the lower tier of the Nāgēśvara may be studied first.

1. Coming in a clock wise direction the first pilaster strip bears the relief of a Maḥiṣamardani. This little carving is remarkable and possesses the beautiful rhythm not noticed in bigger reliefs of the same at Mahābalipuram and Ellora. The sculptors have carved the limb and body of the demon in the typical early Cālukyan way to indicate his feeling.¹⁷⁷ The Goddess is eight-armed, wears a *kucabandha* and rides on a vigorous lion.

2. Scroll work.

3. Scroll work.

4. Much worn out and details are lost; yet faintly recognisable is an image of Gaṇeśa seated with his left leg bent and the right one planted on the floor. The four hands and the emblems are lost but the elephantine face with a tapering *makūṭa* and large ears are discernible on close observation. On either side of the main figure is a *gaṇa* probably playing a musical instrument. Another *gaṇa* above each of this is also faintly noticed.

5. Scroll work.

6. Scroll work.

7. This is indeed a remarkable plastic version in miniature of a famous theme in Indian art — the *Kirātārjunīya*.

177. P. R. Srinivasan, "Rare Sculptures at Kumbhakonam", *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59, pp. 30-31.

Here Śiva, disguised as a hunter, is shown as chasing Arjuna who in turn chases the attacked boar. The subtle suggestion of movement is indicated by the raised right leg of Arjuna whose face is turned back to notice the hunter. On his right shoulder is a protruding quiver while in the left hand he holds a bow. The hunter with a peculiar head dress, short legs and in the posture of taking an arrow from the quiver on his right shoulder and with the left arm holding a bow is an interesting study. The hunter is anatomically a little disproportionate as the stomach and chest are bigger than the legs. At the top of the extreme left of the panel is a lady in a graceful posture shown up to her waist, evidently the huntress. To the right of the hunter at the bottom is a dog the raised front legs of which suggest that it also follows its moving master.

8. Śiva and Pārvati seated on a rectangular *bhadrāsana*. The right leg of Śiva is bent and placed on the *āsana* while the left hangs down. His right hand is extended to the right shoulder of Pārvati in the attitude of embracing her. Pārvati's left arm rests on the right thigh of Śiva. By the side of these two and on the floor are two *gaṇas*, one holding a *chhatra* and the other an indistinct object. At the extreme right of the panel is a two-handed male figure in *añjali* pose.

9. Scroll work.

10. A male figure mounting a cow.

11. A male figure playing a musical instrument and a female dancing.

12. Details are indistinct on account of the application of mortar and *chunam*.

13. Built in by the modern Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine.

14. — do —

15. — do —

16. — do —

17. A male figure fighting with an elephant perhaps representing Kṛṣṇa killing Kuvalayāpīḍa.

18. A male holding an indistinct object.

19. Bālakṛṣṇa slaying Kokkāśura.

20. Floral design.

21. A remarkable representation of Naṭarāja with eight hands and in *catura* pose. The face is tilted to the left in the swing of the dance. The relief of Kālī nearby has two hands and also dances in *catura* pose. At the extreme left of the panel is a male figure with knees apart (perhaps Nandikēśvara) playing drum. Three *gaṇas* above play musical instruments. A small dwarf to the left of Śiva plays drum and his head is turned upwards to look at Śiva. This is indeed an interesting study.

22. An eight-armed Kālī with elaborate *jaṭābhāra* in the posture of dancing with three female figures playing musical instruments. This has to be studied along with the Naṭarāja above. Here the suggestion of movement is so pronounced that the Kālī looks more like running than dancing.

23. There are two figures in this panel. On the right is many-headed and multi-armed Rāvaṇa seated on the floor. On the left Hanumān with hands in *añjali* worships a *linga* with a rectangular *āvudaiyār*.

24. A four-armed Varāha carrying Bhūdēvī. A demon with a five-hooded serpent on his head and holding a sword and shield chases the God while his consort tries to clasp him and prevent him from running.

25. The pilaster strip is left uncarved.

26. A circular floral design at the centre of which is a cow.

27. A circular floral design at the centre of which is a lion.

28. Details are much worn out. There are four reliefs in this panel of which the first and the second respectively play a drum and a flute. The rest are perhaps dancing but their details are not clearly discernible.

29. Details are lost in the coating of *chunam*.

30. A four-headed god with indistinct emblems. He is seated on a rectangular *bhadrāsana* with his left leg bent and placed on the *āsana* and the right one hanging down. Standing by the side is a male figure with crossed legs.

31. A fine relief of Ardhanārīśvara. The god stands leaning on a standing bull. Two arms are present on the male side

of which the upper one holds a *paraśu* and the lower one is placed on the forehead of the bull; the single arm on the female side holds probably a flower. A *kinnara* is seen at either end of the top. By the side of the male part is shown a male figure and on the other side a female one.

32. Gajēndramōkṣa scene. To the left of the panel is Viṣṇu with two pairs of arms of which the upper pair holds conch and discus. The God wears *kirīṭamakuta* and is shown descending down on a human-faced Garuḍa. At the lower right is the elephant shown up to its bust with its elegantly curved tusk. The pond is suggested by full-blown lily flowers. Above the elephant is a *gandharva* flying.

33. This panel depicts an oft-repeated theme in Indian art—Kṛṣṇa as Gōvardhandhāri. Kṛṣṇa is shown here with two arms, the left in *kaṭyavalambita* and the right raised up to hold the Gōvardhana hill which, however, is not shown. By the side of Kṛṣṇa is Balarāma holding a stick by his left arm which reaches his left shoulder. The female figure on the other side of Kṛṣṇa holds *uṛi*. On the left is a standing bull the neck of which is disproportionate to its face and body. The sculptor here has utilised the space between the neck of the bull and the raised hand of Kṛṣṇa to carve the head of another bull as at Kṛṣṇamaṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram.

34. Scroll work.

35. Scroll work.

36. Left uncarved.

37. Śiva and Viṣṇu standing side by side and both with four arms carrying their usual attributes which are, however, not clearly discernible. They are accompanied by *gaṇas* below and *gandharvas* above.

38. A relief of Lingōdbhava. The sculptor has divided this panel into three compartments by introducing two vertical bands. At the centre is Śiva as Lingōdbhava with four arms, the upper pair holding *paraśu* and *mṛga*, the lower right in *abhaya* and the left in *kaṭyavalambita*. The opening of the *linga* is oval and the carving of Śiva inside is shown only upto his knee in the legs as usual. To the right of Śiva and

in the next band is Viṣṇu decked in full drapery with loops. His face is turned towards Śiva. His upper right arm holds conch and the lower right is in *kaṭyavalambita*; the upper left is extended towards Śiva while the lower left is not shown evidently on account of lack of space. To the left of Śiva and in the extreme right is Brahmā holding by his upper left arm a *kuṇḍika* while his lower left is in *kaṭyavalambita*; the upper right is extended towards Śiva, while the lower right is not shown. This image is also provided with an undergarment with loops.

39. This is an elegant Vṛṣabhāntika leaning with crossed legs on a standing bull with four arms, the upper pair holding *paraśu* and *mṛga* in the usual manner, the lower right placed on the forehead of the bull and lower left held in *abhaya*. By the side of the bull is a *gaṇa*. To the right of Vṛṣabhāntika is a male figure whose right leg is bent and the left is raised, and who by his raised right hand holds a crow-bar. To his left and the extreme right of the panel is the carving of a seated male. Above the head of this figure are shown four heads of cows while a milk pot is shown by the side of the right leg of the standing male image. This is the scene of Caṇḍeśvara cutting the leg of his father.

40. Śiva as Caṇḍeśanūgrahamūrti with Pārvatī, seated on a *bhadrāsana*. Śiva has four arms, by two of which he adorns with garland a kneeling figure in *añjali* before him, while two figures at the extreme right look on.

41. Floral work.

42. Gajalakṣmī on a double lotus pedestal, accompanied by an attendant on either side.

43. Details are not clear on account of the coating of *chunam*.

44. Śiva standing at the centre flanked on either side by a male figure with folded hands. He has four arms, the upper holding *paraśu* and *mṛga*, the lower pair being in *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita*.

45. Sōmāskanda relief in which the child Skanda is shown by the side of Pārvatī and not in between Śiva and Pārvatī as usual. Śiva is seen fondling Pārvatī. To the left

of the *bhadrāsana* in which they are seated is a couchant bull while to the right is a standing figure. Above are flying *dēvas* and a couchant bull.

46. Young Kṛṣṇa is dancing in *catura* pose. An *urī* is seen above him. The figure to his left plays a drum while another to his right plays cymbals.

47. Details are lost. A double lotus pedestal with a seated figure on it and another carving with folded hands nearby are faintly seen.

48. Kālīyakṛṣṇa dancing on the serpent (five hooded?) holding the tail of the reptile by his extended left arm. A figure to the left of Kṛṣṇa plays cymbals while another to his right plays drum.

49. Kṛṣṇa a *Vaṭapatrasāyi* sucking the toe of his left leg.

50. A female figure with knees apart is dancing while a male plays drum.

51. Two *gaṇas* dancing.

52. Three *gaṇas* dancing.

53. A Kālī with dishevelled hair seated on a double lotus *āsana*. She has four arms of which the upper right has a *śūla* and the left a *kapāla*. The details in lower arms are not clear. A male is seen at either end with one of his arms extended to the hair of the *dēvī*.

54. An eight-armed Kālī holding *śūla* etc., fighting with a figure who holds a sword (or stick?). She is accompanied by female figures. A demon has fallen down in the fight while another is seen at the extreme right of the panel.

55. Floral design.

56. Three female dancers.

The bas-relief panels in the upper tier narrate, as mentioned above, scenes from the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* in sequence which end abruptly with the scenes depicting Rāma crossing the ocean for reaching Lankā and Hanumān fighting with a demon and are not continued upto the coronation at the end. The following are the panels in order in clockwise direction.

1. The scene of *putrakāmeṣṭiyāga*. From the *agnikunḍa* the *divya puruṣa* emanates and presents *pāyasa* in a vessel

to Daśaratha. Daśaratha with Kausalyā is shown at the left of the panel, while between him and the *agnikuṇḍa* is a ṛṣi, probably Vasiṣṭha. Seven other figures, three seated and four standing, are seen at the right of the panel. The master sculptor has ingeniously carved reliefs of twelve persons in this strikingly small panel without giving a feeling of being crowded. Each figure is nicely executed.

2. Daśaratha distributing *pāyasa* among his three Queens. He is seated in the sit-at-ease posture with his right leg bent and placed on the thigh of the hanging left leg. He seems to pour *pāyasa* from one vessel into another. Of his Queens two are seated in front and one at the back. A bearded ṛṣi (Vasiṣṭha?) looks on with raised hands. The sculptor has nicely shown even minute decorative details in this carving. Daśaratha has *jaṭāmakuta*, *kuṇḍalas* in the ears, a *kaṭisūtra* etc. The Queens have beautiful coiffures.

3. This is one of the finest small bas-reliefs in the temple and depicts the scene of the birth of Rāma. Kausalyā is attended by four maids and shown in the reclining posture on what looks like a cot. By her side is the child Rāma. The posture of Kausalyā is elegant and natural and bears veiled resemblance to the depiction of the scene of Māyādevi's dream in the Amarāvati art, in which she is shown as reclining.

4. Daśaratha is in the company of his Queen and children.

5. Viśvāmitra asking for Rāma in the court of Daśaratha. Nine figures are shown in this panel.

6. Viśvāmitra teaching warfare to Rāma. The synoptic method noticed at Amarāvati is echoed here in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are shown twice.

7. Rāma's vigorous combat with Tātakā. The demoness shown on the right rushing towards Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, wielding a long trident. The whirling locks of hair of Tātakā are well treated and are extended to the corner above. The princes have *jaṭāmakutas*.

8. The scene of *Ahalyāśāpavimōcana*. The relief of Ahalyā is rather big with dishevelled hair and crossed legs. Viśvāmitra with his right arm raised and left pointing to

Ahalyā seems to narrate her story to Rāma, who holds a long bow in his right arm which practically divides the panel into two. Having carved an out-sized Ahalyā, the sculptor did not have enough space to show Lakṣmaṇa prominently, who as a result occupies an insignificant position in the panel.

9. Rāma fighting with demons among whom one has been slain and two are vigorously offering fight.

10. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the hermitage of ṛṣis.

11. Marriage with Sītā.

12. Details are lost on account of the heavy application of *chunam*.

13. Built in by the modern Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine.

14. — do —

15. — do —

16. — do —

17. Details are not clear. Perhaps this panel represents Kaikēyī arguing with Daśaratha.

18. To the left of the panel is Kausalyā clasping Rāma on the eve of his departure for the forest. On the right is Sītā kneeling before Kausalyā to take leave of her. The representation of Kausalyā twice here again indicates the synoptic method.

19. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are seen following a figure.

20. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are taken in a chariot drawn by horses.

21. Details are lost.

22. Crossing of the Sarayū by boat. The shape of the boat, the natural manner in which Guha is shown as rowing it and the decorative details in the figures of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are interesting.

23. Rāma and party in the *Bharadvājāśrama*. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are seated on a rectangular *āsana* in front of a ṛṣi who is also seated on an *āsana*. A kneeling figure offers them respect while two more ṛṣis look on.

24. A demon, probably Virādha, approaching Rāma and Sītā.

25. Details not clear.
26. Details not clear.
27. Lakṣmaṇa punishing Śūrpanakhā.
28. Śūrpanakhā representing her case to Khara and Dhūṣaṇa, who are seated on an *āsana*. The sculptor shows the demoness running towards her brothers with raised arms in fear, anger and anguish. The depiction of her movement is wonderful.
29. Rāma's fight with Khara and Dhūṣaṇa.
30. Śūrpanakhā narrating her experience to Rāvaṇa.
31. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in the hermitage of an old *ṛṣipatni*.
32. Rāma killing Mārīca who is shown as a fallen human figure. The deer, his incognito form, is shown above.
33. Jaṭāyu offering battle to Rāvaṇa who is carrying away Sītā in a chariot.
34. This is a carving showing Sītā being carried by Rāvaṇa. It should have preceded the scene of Jaṭāyu's fight with Rāvaṇa for the sake of sequence.
35. The pathetic scene of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, full of sorrow and disappointment, under a tree.
36. Details are not discernible as a result of the heavy application of *chunam*.
37. In the right of the panel is Hanumān carrying Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on his shoulders. In the left are Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa standing and another figure seated. This is again an example of the synoptic method.
38. Combat between Vāli and Sugrīva. Vāli is killed by Rāma.
39. This is indeed a remarkable panel with nicely executed reliefs of as many as fourteen figures. In the centre of them all is Sugrīva reclining and merry-making. The other figures are engaged in dancing or playing music.
40. The scene in this panel may represent the coronation of Sugrīva. The central figure (Sugrīva) is shown seated on a rectangular *āsana* with both his hands placed on the thighs.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa perform the *abhiṣēka*. On either end are female *cauri*-bearers. The *paṭṭābhiṣēka* scene is reminiscent of many coronation scenes in the series of historical sculptures in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñcipuram built during the later Pallava period.

41. The court of Sugrīva who is shown with his consort Tārā and others.

42. Sugrīva and Tārā in *añjali* before Rāma. Hanumān looks on.

43. Rāma seated cross-legged on a pedestal, discussing probably plans with Lakṣmaṇa nearby. Hanumān and Sugrīva are also noticed with folded hands.

44. Ten figures are seen in this panel. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are seated on a pedestal and are probably discussing plans with monkeys.

45. Male and female monkeys in merriment.

46. Hanumān in Rāvaṇa's harem where the latter sleeps with Mandōdarī.

47. On the left of this panel is Sītā in Aśōkavana, while at the right, where details are lost, two figures are in combat.

48. A grand study of Sītā in Aśōkavana. Four demoneses in different postures of sleeping are wonderful studies. Hanumān with folded hands presents the *angulya* of Rāma to Sītā.

49. Hanumān fighting with demons. As many as ten figures are shown.

50. The scene of Hanumān's presence in the court of Rāvaṇa. The demon is shown here with only a single head and as seated in *sukhāsana* with his left hand in *sūcihasta* gesture. Hanumān is seated on the coils of his tail with his hands placed on the knees. There is a third figure in between, holding a bow.

51. Vānaras are merry-making after the return of Hanumān from Lankā with the happy news of Sītā's whereabouts.

52. Hanumān is seen reporting to Rāma after his return in the company of seven monkeys.

53. Hanumān presents the *kaṇaiyālī* to Rāma.

54. Participation of monkeys in the construction of the bridge to Lankā. Several monkeys are seen carrying blocks of stone.

55. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are crossing the ocean with Hanumān and other *vānaras*.

56. Hanumān combating with a demon.

IV

THE TEMPLE FROM INSCRIPTIONS

(1)

The epigraphic records found in a South Indian temple are usually rich in their content and constitute the main contemporary evidence to get an idea of the patronage it received from kings and people alike through the ages, and the dominant role it played in the life of the people. Though most of the inscriptions are usually donative, they incidentally throw much useful and welcome light on the prevailing political, social and economic conditions, as also the system of temple management and administration. The Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple is comparatively rich in epigraphical material, consisting of forty-two inscriptions. Of them one is a Pāṇḍya inscription of Māravarman Varaguṇa II (Accn. A. D. 862), forty are of the early and late Cōḷa periods and one of the Vijayanagar period. The following details may be gleaned from the inscriptions.

All the inscriptions found in the temple, including the earliest (Pāṇḍya) one, mention the place as Tirukkuḍamūkkil,¹⁷⁸ the old name of Kumbhakōṇam, the only exception being a record of the time of Cōḷa Āditya II (A. D. 956-969) which refers to the place as Śrī Kuḍandai.¹⁷⁹ It is said in all the inscriptions of the period before the sixth regnal year of Rājēndra I (A. D. 1012-1044) that it was a *brahmadēya* situated in Vaḍakarai Pāmbūr-nāḍu. In that inscription¹⁸⁰ of the time of Rājēndra I and in all other

178. 13 of 1908; *SII.*, XIV, No. 8.

179. 230 of 1911.

180. 256 of 1911.

later records including the one of the Vijayanagar period the place is mentioned as Uyyakonḍa-vaḷanāṭṭu (or Uyyakonḍaśōḷavaḷanāṭṭu) Pāmbūr-nāṭṭu Tirukkuḍamūkkil. The term *vaḍakarai* is not used in the inscriptions from the time of Rājendra I, while it is found in those of the earlier periods. At present the town and the temple are to the South of the river Kāvērī. Originally they were to the North of a river, which is usually taken to be the Kāvērī itself. Besides, one of the inscriptions in the temple of the time of Parāntaka I refers to Āyirattaḷi (Paḷaiyārai) as situated in the *nāḍu* on the southern bank (*tenkarai*) of the river,¹⁸¹ implying thereby that the river must have been flowing between Kumbhakōṇam and Paḷaiyārai in those days. Since both the town and the temple are now to South of the river Kāvērī it is possible that the river changed its course in the subsequent period between the fifth year of a Rājakēsarivarman (Rājarāja I, A.D. 985-1014) in which Kuḍamūkkil is described as situated in Vaḍakarai Pāmbūr-nāḍu¹⁸² and the sixth regnal year of Rājendra I in whose record of that year Pāmbūr-nāḍu is mentioned for the first time as a subdivision of Uyyakonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.¹⁸³ This larger division came to be known in later time as Nittavinōdavaḷanāḍu¹⁸⁴ and lay between the rivers Kāvērī and Araśil.

The inscriptions in the temple mention a few administrative divisions and places near Kumbhakōṇam. The following are the *nāḍus* referred to in them: Innambar-nāḍu¹⁸⁵, Ingaḷ-nāḍu,¹⁸⁶ Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu¹⁸⁷ and Malai-nāḍu.¹⁸⁸ Innambar-nāḍu comprised Mēr Kāvērī (probably Mēlakāvērī of the present day which forms part of the Kumbhakōṇam Municipality), Innambar and Koṭṭaiyūr all of which are situated on the northern side of the river Kāvērī and in the Kumbhakōṇam Taluk and Tiruvaigāvūr in the Pāpanāśam Taluk. Ingaḷ-nāḍu appears to have formed part of the present Nannilam Taluk. Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu was the region

181. 249 of 1911.

182. 236 of 1911.

183. 256 of 1911.

184. *SII.*, V, No. 578.

185. 224 of 1911; *SII.*, XIII, No. 44.

186. 223 and 233 of 1911.

187. 250 of 1911.

188. 248 of 1911.

round about Tiruvaiyāru. Malai-nāḍu was obviously a part of the present Kēraḷa State. Two Kūrṛams are mentioned, namely the Miḷalai-kūrṛam¹⁸⁹ and Kiḷār-kūrṛam.¹⁹⁰ The former of the two was in the Tiruchirappalli District and Karuvūr formed part of it. Kiḷār-kūrṛam was a sub-division of Tenṅkarai-nāḍu mentioned above, and Āyirattali was a village situated in it.

Kuḍamūkkil appears to have had under its administrative control a number of places, one among them being Tiruvalaṅjuli.¹⁹¹ Tiruvalaṅjuli is about three miles South-West of Kuḍamūkku on the southern bank of the river Araśil.

The Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple is invariably called Tirukkīl-kōṭṭam (shrine situated to the East) in all the inscriptions. It may be noted that Tirunāvukkaraśar also refers to it by the same name.¹⁹² It is not, however, known to the East of what the shrine was situated. The deity in the temple is variously referred to in inscriptions as Kīlkōṭṭattu Bhaṭārar, Paramasvāmin, Mahā-dēvar, Perumāṇaḍigaḷ, and Paramēśvarar. One of the inscriptions of Uttama Cōḷa¹⁹³ (A.D. 970-985) mentions the God as Tirukkīl-kōṭṭattu Perumāḷ. A record of Rājēndra I¹⁹⁴ refers to the deity in the main shrine (*śrīvimāna*) as Śēlvappirān.

It seems that separate shrines within the temple were built by individual donors after their own names. An inscription dated in the reign of Kulōttunga III (A.D. 1178-1218)¹⁹⁵ states that a shrine for Tiruppurambiyam Uḍaiyār was set up by Vēḷūr Kīlavan Ālvān Tiruppuramibyamūḍaiyān *alias* Śembiyan Pallavarāyan. Another record of the period of Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-56)¹⁹⁶ refers to the setting up of a shrine *Kūttāḍum Tirujñāna sambandēśvaram* by one Kūttāḍum Tirujñānasambandar Māṇikka-vāśakar. The same inscription refers to a deity as Maḍandaipāganāyaṇār within the temple and also mentions Tirukkīlkōṭṭa-

189. 246 of 1911.

190. 249 of 1911.

191. 203, 205 of 1927-28.

192. *Tirumurai*-6. *padikam* 289.

193. 240 of 1911.

194. 256 of 1911.

195. 260 of 1911; *SITI.*, Vol. III, No. 1003.

196. 258 of 1911; *SITI.*, Vol. III, No. 1005.

muḍaiyār, the main deity. Hence it is possible that the shrine constructed by Kūṭṭāḍum Tirujñānasambandar Māṇikkavāṣakar was for a different deity. But the Vijayanagar inscription in the temple refers to the God in it as Tirukkuḍamūku Nāyaṇār Maḍandaipāga Nāyaṇār.¹⁹⁷ Probably in later days the presiding deity of the temple himself came to be called by that name. However, the separate shrines set up by individuals as indicated by the inscriptions are not now found in the temple.

One record registered in the reign of Rājarāja I refers to a silver image installed in the Śrī kōyil of Paramasvāmin.¹⁹⁸

An inscription of the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Vijayarājēndradēva (Rājādhirāja I—1018-1054) refers, in the course of a tax remission by the *mūlapariṣat* of the Nāgēsvarasvāmi temple, to the temple of Tirukkārōnamuḍaiya Mahādēvar and Kanyāpidārigal.¹⁹⁹ This is evidently the same as the present Kāśivīśvanātha temple near the northern bank of the Mahāmakam tank in the town in which are kept the figures of nine river Goddesses. The deity in the temple has been sung in the hymns of Tirujñānasambandar as the God of Tirukkuḍandaikkārōnam.²⁰⁰ A record

197. 259 of 1911; *SITI.*, Vol. III, No. 1002.

198. 236 of 1911; it is usually believed that separate shrines for the Goddess (*kāmakkōttam*) came to be made only from the days of Rājēndra I (K. R. Srinivasan, "Tirukkāmakkōttam", *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference* (Thirteenth Session): Nagpur (1946), pt. III, pp. 50-56. See also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas* (second edition, p. 175). But an inscription at Śāttamaṅgalam in the Wandiwash Taluk of the North Arcot District dated in the fifteenth regnal year of Pallava Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-796) recently discovered refers to a *Kāmakkōttam*.

199. 14 of 1908.

200. *Tirumurai*-I, *Padikam* 72. The work *Kārōnam* signifies sacred shrines where Śiva had absorbed the souls into Himself at the time of the universal dissolution such as those of Nāgapattinam, Kumbhakōnam and Kāñci-puram. (Tamil Lexicon, II, p. 890). Though the author of the *Tirukkuḍandaip-purānam* is inclined to identify the temple as that of Kāśivīśvanātha (P. T. Ratnasami Pillai, *Tirukkuḍandai Purāna vacanam* (1932, p. 4) some are of opinion that it may be identified with the temple of Sōmēśvara also in the same town. In the publication of Sambandar's *Tēvāram* by the Śaiva Siddhanta Mahāsamājam the *Kārōnam* at Kumbhakōnam has been identified with both the temples of Kāśivīśvanātha and Sōmēśvara. Probably it is better to identify it with the temple of Kāśivīśvanātha in the light of the evidence of the inscription mentioned above which refers to *Tirukārōnamuḍaiya*.

registered in the third regnal year of a Rājakēsari identifiable with Gaṇḍarāditya (A.D. 950-957) refers to *Jalaśayanam*,²⁰¹ while another inscription dated in the thirty-sixth year of Rājādhirāja I mentions *Pallikoṇḍālīvār*.²⁰² Obviously both of them denote the temple and deity of Śārṅgapāṇi at Kumbhakōṇam itself.

(2)

Nature of gifts:

Among the gifts and endowments made to the temple, only one was made by a king namely, Pāṇḍya Māraṇjaḍaiyan Varaguṇa II.²⁰³ It was a gift of 138 cows and *kāśu* for the supply of milk and ghee and for two perpetual lamps for the temple. During the Cōla period royal donation was by Vīranārāyaṇiyār, a Queen of Uttama Cōla, made for garlands of flowers for the temple.²⁰⁴ All the other gifts recorded in Cōla epigraphs were by private individuals, and the endowments included sheep, gold and land for different purposes. Gift of sheep for the burning of a perpetual lamp (*nandāvilakku*) in the temple was the most common. The number of sheep donated shows a striking similarity in the records. Generally ninety or ninety-six sheep were given for burning a perpetual lamp. The number of sheep, it seems, accounts for the required ghee for burning a perpetual lamp and the maintenance of the sheep themselves. The terms *śāvāmūvā* (immortal and ever young) which occur in all the grants may signify that the progeny of the sheep would meet the future requirements, even if the sheep gifted died. In the particular case mentioned above, the sheep were left to the care of two shepherds who divided them between themselves and agreed to supply the required quantity of ghee for the lamp. In one instance the two shepherds who took charge of the sheep agreed that if one among them died the other would continue the supply of ghee without any interruption.²⁰⁵ One of the records in the temple assignable to the period of Gaṇḍarāditya gives the monthly requirement of ghee for a perpetual lamp as seven *nālīs* and one *uri*.²⁰⁶ The ex-

201. 255 of 1911; *SII.*, XIII, No. 46.

202. 14 of 1908.

203. 13 of 1908; *SII.*, XIV, No. 8.

204. 240 of 1911; *SII.*, III, No. 137.

205. 241 of 1911.

206. 228 of 1911; *SII.*, XIII, No. 45.

pression *araivilakku* (half a lamp) contained in some inscriptions²⁰⁷ perhaps means that half portion of the required ghee was endowed by the donor.

Other gifts made to the temple include endowments for feeding Brāhmaṇas, *Śivayōgins* and *Apūrvins*, for bringing water from the river Kāvērī for bathing the deity, for offerings during worship and festivals, for burning incense and for setting up shrines within the temple premises. An inscription registered in the reign of Parāntaka I refers to an endowment of land for feeding a *Śivayōgin* in the temple with *uttamāgram*²⁰⁸ (superior food). Another record of the third regnal year of Gaṇḍarāditya also registers a grant made for providing *uttamāgram* for a *Śivayogin* in the temple.²⁰⁹ An inscription dated in the third year of a Parakēsari-varman, identifiable with Āditya II (A.D. 956-969) registers a gift of land by a Parāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷān of Śirringan for feeding twenty *apūrvins* versed in the Vedas and five *Śivayōgins* in the temple.²¹⁰

A record dated in the third regnal year of Āditya II records a gift of land for supporting persons who expounded *Prabhākaram* in the temple.²¹¹ Prabhākara was the founder of a school of *Mīmāṃsa* philosophy which was greatly popular at one time in South India and for the study of which provision was made in a few other places.²¹² Prabhākara's period may be about the beginning of the eighth century.²¹³

207. 223 of 1911.

208. 232 of 1911; A *Śivayōgin* is described as a Śaiva worshipper who "at the approach of death bathes his body in ashes, utters certain Śaiva *mantras* and worships the Linga on his chest."

209. 227 of 1911; *SII.*, XIII, No. 44.

210. 230 of 1911; The term *apūrvin* refers to a person who has studied or taught *apūrva*, a synonym for Vedic literature that included Rg, Yajur, Chhandōgya, Sāma, Talavakārasāma, Vājasanēya, Atharva, Baudhāyāniya, Gṛhya, Kalpa, Gana and Kāthaka (*SII.*, III, p. 233; No. 333 of 1917). It has been suggested that the term may refer to a pilgrim who visits a place (*SITI*, Vol. III, Glossary). But the former interpretation seems to be more acceptable.

211. 233 of 1911; *SII.*, III, No. 200.

212. 333 of 1917; *Rep.* 1918, para 28; 333 of 1923.

213. See *SII.*, III, p. 376.

Provision for bringing water from the river Kāvērī thrice a day for bathing the deity (*tirumañjanam*) during the three daily services in the temple was made by a lady, Mādēvan Kaṇḍi, in the fifth regnal year of Uttama Cōḷa (A.D. 970-985).²¹⁴ Likewise provision was made for burning incense (*śidāri*) and for two lamps in the temple of Sūryadēvar by an individual in the fortieth year of Parāntaka I.²¹⁵ In the twenty-second regnal year of Rājaraāja III a *Brāhmaṇa* lady made an endowment to the temple to provide for offerings to the God on the occasion of *Pūraṭṭādi* in the month of Panguni as also on the *Tiruvādirai* day.²¹⁶ Grant of gold for offerings during festival occasions, which are not, however clearly mentioned is recorded in an inscription registered in the reign of Parāntaka I.²¹⁷

As said earlier an inscription of the twentieth year of Rājaraāja III mentions a gift of land for the repairs to the shrine of Maḍandaipāganāyaṇār and for jewels for the same deity by a certain Kūṭṭāḍum Tirujñānasambanda Maḍandaipāgan.²¹⁸ In the thirty-fifth regnal year of Kulōttuṅga III one Śembiyan Pallavaraiyan of Vēlūr set up a shrine for the image of Tiruppurambiyam Uḍaiyār in the temple and presented 17,000 *kāśu* for lamps and for a *makaratōraṇa* for the presiding deity, Tirukkīlkkōṭṭamuḍaiyār, in the temple.²¹⁹

(3)

Social and Economic conditions:

From some of the inscriptions the names of a few dishes of food and the standard system of cubic measurements may be known. As mentioned earlier a few inscriptions mention the names of the dishes that formed *uttamāgram* which was served in the temple to *Brāhmaṇas*, *Apūrvins* and *Śivayōgins*.²²⁰ The term

214. The inscription was studied *in situ* by me.

215. 253 of 1911.

216. 257 of 1911; *SITI.*, Vol. III, No. 1004.

217. 232 of 1911.

218. 258 of 1911; *SITI.*, Vol. III, No. 1005.

219. 260 of 1911; *SITI.*, Vol. III, No. 1003.

220. 232 of 1911; 227 of 1911: *SII.*, XIII, No. 44; 230 of 1911.

Uttamāgram means rich or principal food served in a temple.²²¹ In a record of Gaṇḍarāditya the paddy (or rice) for the meals is given as one *kalam*.²²² The dishes are said to be *kummāyam*, *kāykarī*, *puḷingarī* *porikkarī* jaggery cakes, curd and ghee. *Kummāyam* seems to be a sweet dish made with green gram and jaggery. *Kāykarī* was a preparation for which pepper, mustard and salt were needed. *Puḷingarī* was made of pepper, mustard cumin, sugar, tamarind, curd, horse gram and plantain fruits. *Porikkarī* was a vegetable fried in ghee. The *uttamāgram* seems to have been a sumptuous meal which included a number of items and ingredients.²²³

Records mentioning gifts of sheep for lamps in the temple usually give the amount of ghee to be supplied to the temple. From an inscription assignable to the third regnal year of Gaṇḍarāditya²²⁴ and another of the second regnal year of Ariñjaya (A.D. 956-957),²²⁵ it may be taken that the following cubic measures were in use:

2 <i>uḷakku</i>	=	1 <i>urī</i>
2 <i>urī</i>	=	1 <i>nāḷi</i>
1 <i>nāḷi</i>	=	1 <i>paḍi</i> which had a cubic capacity of 108 inches. ²²⁶

Kalañju and *poṇ* are mentioned in inscriptions as coins. They were of equal value and both the terms are found in one and the same inscription when the value of land is mentioned.²²⁷ *Kāśu* seems to have been another denomination.²²⁸ Its value is found to be half that of the *kalañju*.²²⁹ It is possible that *Ilakkāśu* referred to in an inscription of the fifth regnal year of Rāja-

221. *SII*, III, p. 256 n.

222. 227 of 1911; *SII*, XIII, No. 44.

223. See *E.I.*, IX, pp. 92 ff: Naccinārkkiniyar in his commentary on the *Perumbānārruppadai* (1.195) says that *puḷingarī* was the same as *kummāyam*.

224. 228 of 1911; *SII*, XIII, No. 45.

225. 242 of 1911.

226. See A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India, 1000-1500 A.D.*, Vol. II, p. 783.

227. 255 of 1911; *SII*, III, No. 46.

228. 13 of 1908; *SII*, XIV, No. 8; 260 of 1911; *SITI*, Vol. III, No. 1003.

229. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas* (Second edition), p. 618.

rāja I²³⁰ had the same value as a *kāśu*.²³¹ Another coin was the *tulaipon* mentioned in one of the undated inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I.²³²

The approximate value of land may be gleaned from the transactions recorded in some inscriptions. One quarter of a *vēli* was sold for twenty-five *kaḷaṇḍju* as mentioned in an inscription of the third regnal year of Parāntaka I.²³³ Another inscription dated in the fourth regnal year of the same King also gives the same value, hundred *kaḷaṇḍju* for one *vēli*.²³⁴ An inscription of the third regnal year of Gaṇḍarāditya registers a transaction in which five *vēlis* were sold for five hundred *kaḷaṇḍjus*. However the record mentions that another land of five *vēlis* was sold for one thousand *kaḷaṇḍju*.²³⁵ Perhaps the value was determined by the nature and fertility of the land under transaction and the convenience it had for irrigation etc.

(4)

Administration of the temple:

The administration of the temple was carried on by an assembly called *Mūlapurudai* (*Mūlapariṣat*). It figures in most of the inscriptions, accepting gifts for the temple and disposing of lands on its behalf. Often the procedure for making a gift followed a set pattern: the proceeds from land were deposited with the temple. Even when the donor gave as gift his own lands, they had to be cultivated and the proceeds given to the temple by the donor.²³⁶

As mentioned earlier, sheep donated for lamps to be burnt in the temple were left under the care of shepherds. It seems that the temple did not accept the whole responsibility for the gifts made. The money accepted by the temple in most cases

230. 236 of 1911.

231. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 618.

232. 254 of 1911.

233. 248 of 1911.

234. 247 of 1911.

235. 255 of 1911; *SII.*, XIII, No. 46.

236. 227 of 1911; also 258 of 1911.

seems to be a security rather than a fund for the execution of the endowment.

A record of the fourth regnal year of Uttama Cōla²³⁷ refers to *Avanakkalam* and *Śrībhaṇḍāram*. *Avanakkalam* seems to have been some sort of an *archive* wherein deeds were registered.²³⁸ *Śrībhaṇḍāram* was the temple treasury wherein money given to the temple was deposited.

An inscription assignable to the third year of Gaṇḍarāditya refers to a fine (*daṇḍam*) levied on the *mūlapariṣat* or Tirukkuḍamūkkil in the thirty-eighth year of Parāntaka I for the *Pāṇḍippaḍai*, for paying which, it sold some land to temple of Tirukkīlkōṭṭattu [parama]svāmi. The land thus disposed off is said to have been received by the village assembly as *abhiṣeka dakṣiṇa* from the King. This shows that the village assemblies had something to do with the administration of the endowments made to temples for specified services.²³⁹

As said earlier, a record dated in the thirty-sixth year of Rājādhirāja I registers that the *mūlapariṣat* of the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple was exercising some control over the temple of Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiyār and Kanyā-Piḍārigal at Kumbhakōṇam.²⁴⁰ The *mūlapariṣat* decided to remit the *ūrkkūḷ irai* (local taxes) on some lands due from the temple of Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiyār and on receiving a certain amount of money agreed to pay all the taxes due by the latter.

As mentioned earlier, an interesting epigraph assignable to the period of Āditya II dated in the third year of the King refers to Kumbhakōṇam as Śrī Kuḍandai, the Vaiṣṇava name of the place,²⁴¹ while in all other inscriptions the name of the place is given as Tirukkuḍamūkku. The text of the record has not so far been published but an *in situ* study of it shows that the scribe had first incised Tirukkuḍamūkku, but later struck it off to incise Śrī Kuḍandai. All inscriptions end with the word *Paṇmāhēśvara*

237. 245 of 1911.

238. *SITL.*, Glossary.

239. 255 of 1911.

240. 14 of 1908.

241. 230 of 1911.

raḥṣai but in this record and in another inscription of the same King in the temple²⁴² the term *Āyirantiruvāḍi*, probably the Vaiṣṇava counterpart of the former, is mentioned, again indicating the management of the temple by the Vaiṣṇava. It appears probable that the Nāgēśvarasvāmi temple was under the control of the Vaiṣṇavas for some time in the tenth century.

(5)

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NĀGĒSVARASVĀMI TEMPLE
KUMBHAKŌṆAM

1. On the West wall of the shrine of the Goddess
Tamil in Tamil script
Pāṇḍya — Mārañjaḍaiyan

Registers in the 8th year (A.D. 870) of the King, a gift of 138 cows for milk and 100 *kāṣu* for two lamps by the King to the temple of Tirukkīlkkōṭṭattu Bhaṭārarat Tirukkuḍamūkkku. Ten *nālis* of milk were to be supplied daily to the temple.

The King may be identified with Varaguna II (Accn. A.D. 862).
No. 13 of 1908; S.I.I., Vol. XIV, No. 8

2. South wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the third year of the King, a gift of 25 *kaḷañju* of gold for a lamp to the god Paramasvāmi of Tirukkīlkkōṭṭam at Tirukkuḍamūkkil, a *dēvadāna* of Vaḍakarai Pāmbūr-nāḍu, by Pūvan Kaṇṇan of Neḍumpuraḷyūr in Malai-nāḍu.

The King may be identified with Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-55) and the inscription, dated A.D. 910.

No. 248 of 1911

3. South wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the fourth year of the King a gift of four *mā* of land for feeding a *Brāhmaṇa* in the temple, by Eḷuvan Mādēvan, a merchant of Nandipuram.

The King may be identified with Parāntaka I and the inscription, dated A.D. 911.

No. 247 of 1911

4. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the seventh year of the King a gift of 80 *kaḷanju* of gold for feeding *Brāhmaṇas* with *uttamāgram* in the temple, by an individual.

The King may be identified with Parāntaka I and the inscription, dated A.D. 914-915.

No. 237 of 1911

5. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

Records in the 27th year of the King a gift of land and gold respectively for feeding a *Śivayōgi* with *uttamāgram* in the temple and a perpetual lamp by an individual.

Two *nālis* of rice, *kummāyam*, *puḷiṅgari*, two jaggery cakes (*śarkarai vattu*), two plaintain-fruits, four betel-leaves and areca-nuts, one *ālākkū* of ghee and one *uri* of curd are listed as forming *uttamāgram* served to one person.

The record may be assigned to Parāntaka I and dated A.D. 934.

No. 232 of 1911

6. West and South walls of the central shrine

Sanskrit and Tamil, in Grantha and Tamil scripts
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the 28th year of the King a gift of money for a lamp by an individual, Aḍangan *alias* Pañcavan a native of Karuvūr in Milalai-kūrram.

This record may be assigned to Parāntaka I and dated A.D. 935.

No. 246 of 1911

7. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the 38th year of the King a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp by an individual, Maiñjan Kavaian, a native of Aiyyāru in Tirunārai-yūr-nāḍu.

The King can be identified with Parāntaka I. The record may be dated A.D. 945.

No. 250 of 1911

8. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Parakēsarivarman, "who took Madirai (Madura) and ḷam (Ceylon)

Records in the 40th year of the King a gift of 90 sheep, for a perpetual lamp, to the God Perumāṇaḍigaḷ of Tirukkīlkkōṭṭam at Tirukkuḍamūkkū, by an individual.

The record can be assigned to Parāntaka I and dated A.D. 947.

No. 235 of 1911

9. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Parakēsarivarman, "who took Madirai and ḷam"

Registers a gift of land in the 40th year of the King, to the temple, for a lamp and for burning incense (*śidāri*) and *Karpūra-ṇṇakku* in the main shrine, and for two lamps in the shrine of Sūryadēvar, by one Bhaṭṭan Mahādēva Nārāyaṇan.

The King can be identified with Parāntaka I. Date of the inscription: A.D. 947.

(*Karpūraṇṇakku*: ceremonial waving of lamp lighted with camphor before the deity during worship).

No. 253 of 1911

10. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

Registers a gift of land for feeding two persons at the temple by Villavan Pēraraiyan, a native of Kāvanūr which was a *dēva-dāna* of Ayirattali in Kīlār-kūrṇam, a sub-division of Tenkarai-nāḍu.

The King can be identified with Parāntaka I. Regnal year is lost.

No. 249 of 1911

11. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

Registers a gift of hundred *tuḷaiṇ* (a variety of coin) to the temple by the same donor who figures in the previous record (249 of 1911). His full name is given here as Villavan Pēraraiyan alias Siḍupayampāṇḍan.

The King is Parāntaka I. Year is lost.

No. 254 of 1911

12. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Gift of gold for 90 sheep for burning lamps in the temple by an individual. The record includes the agreement by two shepherds that one would continue to maintain the lamps even should the other die.

The King's name and year are lost. But this record may be assigned to Parāntaka I, as Kāvanūruḍaiyān of the previous records (249 and 254 of 1911) is mentioned in this record also.

No. 241 of 1911

13. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman

Records a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp to the temple by one individual, Kāri Viḷupparaiyan.

The King can be identified with Parāntaka I; Regnal year is lost.

No. 238 of 1911

14. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil Script

Cōla, Rājakēsarivarman

Records in the third year of the King a sale of five *vēlis* of land in Arisalūr by the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkkil to the

temple for 500 *kaḷaṇṇju* of gold and another five *vēlis* of land for 1000 *kaḷaṇṇju* in order to pay a part of 3,000 *kaḷaṇṇju* levied upon them as a fine (*daṇḍam*) by Maduraikoṇḍa Uḍaiyār (Parāntaka I) in his 38th year. Also mentions *Pāṇḍipaḍai* and (the temple of) Jalaśayana.

The King may be identified with Gaṇḍarāditya (A.D. 950-57) and the record may be dated A.D. 953.

No. 255 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 46

15. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla Rājakēsarivarman

Records in the third year of the King a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple by Kumaran Tūduvan, a Kaikkōḷa resident of Taṇjāvūr who was a member of the Virasōḷa-teriṇja-Kaikkōḷar.

The sheep are left in charge of two shepherds who are to supply 7 *nālis* and one *uri* of ghee every month for the purpose. Each has to supply 3 *nālis* and 3 *ālākkus*, which is one half of the required ghee for every month.

The King may be identified with Gaṇḍarāditya and the inscription may be dated A.D. 953.

No. 228 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 45

16. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla Rājakēsarivarman

Records a sale of land, in the third year of the King, by the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkkil, to Arayan Kalangāmalai, a *vellāḷa* resident of Taṇjāvūr, who endowed it to the temple for feeding one *Sivayōgi* daily with *uttamāgram* in the temple.

The King can be identified with Gaṇḍarāditya and the record dated A.D. 953.

No. 227 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 44

17. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, sarivarman

Records in the sixth year of the King, a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp to the temple by Ingaḷ-Mādēvan Kōdai Māraṇ, a native

of Ingaḷ-nāḍu. Two shepherds share the sheep, so as to maintain half a lamp (*araiṇḷakku*) each.

The inscription may be assigned to Rājakēsarivarman Gaṇḍarāditya.

No. 223 of 1911

18. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa Rājakēsarivarman

Registers a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple by Perunguḍi-kiḷān Bālāsriyan Amarāsitan Madhurāntakan.

The Rājakēsarivarman mentioned in the inscription may be Gaṇḍarāditya. The regnal year is lost.

No. 239 of 1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 336

19. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the second year of the King a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp to the temple, by Kaḍigāvan Kaḷḷān, one of Viraśōlateriṇja-Kaikkōḷar.

The record may be assigned to Ariṇjaya (A.D. 956-57) and dated A.D. 957.

No. 251 of 1911

20. West and south walls of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the second year of the King, a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple by Dēvan Rājādittan, one of Dānatonga-teriṇja-Kaikkōḷar.

This record may be assigned to Ariṇjaya and dated A.D. 957.

No. 242 of 1911

21. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the fifteenth year of the King, gift of a lamp to the temple by an individual, Kalayan Māṇikkam.

The record may be assigned to Sundara Cōla (A.D. 956-73) and dated A.D. 971.

No. 252 of 1911

22. North wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the second year of the King a sale of land to Kāḍan Āchchan who deposited the amount in the temple for maintaining a perpetual lamp.

This record may be assigned to Āditya II and dated A.D. 958.
No. 224 of 1911

23. North wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman
'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'

Records in the third year of the King, a grant of land to the temple by a chief Śirringaṇuḍaiyān Kōyilmayilai *alias* Parāntaka Muvēndavēḷān for expounding the system of Prabhākara.

The King can be identified with Āditya II and the record dated A.D. 959.

No. 233 of 1911; S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 200.

24. North wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman
'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'

Records in the third year of the King a sale of land by the assembly of Śrī Kuḍandai to Kōyilmayilai *alias* Parāntaka Muvēndavēḷān of Śirringaṇ in Inga-nāḍu, for feeding twenty *apūrvīs* versed in the *Vēdas* and five *śivayōgis* in the temple.

The King can be identified with Āditya II and the record dated A.D. 959.

No. 230 of 1911

25. North wall of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Parakēsarivarman, 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'

Records in the 4th year of the King a gift of 90 sheep, distributed equally among two *manṛādis*, for a lamp to the temple by *peṇḍāṭṭi* Dēvayan Paḷalakkan *alias* Avaniśikhāmaṇi, a resident of Kīlai-vēlam (quarter) at Tañjāvūr. The donor was connected with Queen Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Kīlānaḍigaḷ, mother of Āṇaimērruñ-jinār (Rājāditya).

The King can be identified with Āditya II and the record dated A.D. 960.

No. 226 of 1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 201

26. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa Parakēsarivarman

‘who took the head of the Pāṇḍya’

Records in the fourth year of the King a gift of land to the temple by Kōyilmayilai *alias* Parāntaka Mūvēndavēlān, for feeding 50 *Brāhmaṇas* in the temple.

The King can be identified with Āditya II and the record dated A.D. 960.

No. 231 of 1911

27. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman, ‘who took the head of the Pāṇḍya’

Records in the fifth year of the King a gift of gold for feeding one *Śivayōgin* daily in the temple, by Pērayan Tribhuvanasundari who was living in the quarter of Tañjāvūr called *Paḷaiyavēlam*.

The King can be identified with Āditya II, and the record dated A.D. 961.

No. 225 of 1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 204

28. West and North walls of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the fourth year of the King a gift of land for a perpetual lamp in the temple for the merit of Kāri Kolamban.

The King can be identified with Madhurāntaka Uttamacōḷa (A.D. 970-985). Astronomical details given in the record correspond to 22nd April, A.D. 975 -

No. 245 of 1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 129

29. Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Records in the 5th year of King a gift of land to the temple for the provision of bringing water thrice a day from the River Kāvērī, for bathing the deity, by Mādēvan Kaṇḍi, a resident of the Karraḷipirāṭṭiyār Vēlam, a quarter of Tañjāvūr.

The King can be identified with Uttamacōḷa. Astronomical details of the record correspond to June 16, A.D. 975.

(Not reported in any publication)

30. West and South walls of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the fifth year of the King, a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple, by Dēvan Nakkān, a shepherd.

The King may be identified with Uttamacōḷa and the record may be dated A.D. 975.

No. 244 of 1911

31. West and South walls of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the fifth year of the King a gift of sheep for a lamp in the temple by Sāttan Mādēvan.

The King may be identified with Uttama Cōḷa and the record dated A.D. 975.

No. 243 of 1911

32. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōḷa, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the eighth year of the King a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp in the temple by Śrī Uttamaśōḷa Nambirāṭṭiyār (Uttamacōḷa's Queen).

The King is Uttama Cōḷa and the record can be dated A.D. 978.

No. 234 of 1911

33. North wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the 8th year of the King a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp in the temple by an individual, (whose name is lost) one of the Uḍaiyār Gaṇḍarāditta-teriñja-Kaikkōlar.

The King is Uttama Cōla. Astronomical details given in the record correspond to 30th January, A.D. 979.

No. 229 of 1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 131

34. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Parakēsarivarman

Registers in the 13th year of the King a gift of land by Vīranārāyaṇiyār, Queen of Uttamacōla, for providing garlands of flowers to the temple.

The King is Uttama Cōla and the astronomical details given in the inscription correspond to 9th June, A.D. 982.

No. 240 of 1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 137

35. West wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla Rājakēsarivarman

Registers in the 5th year of the King a gift of 70 *ṇakkaśū*, to the temple for offerings to a silver image (*velli tirumēni*) by Dēvan Kuppai, one of Viraśōla-teriñja-Kaikkōlar. Also mentions the 3rd year of the Parakēsari, "who took the head of the Pāṇḍya" (Āditya II).

This record can be assigned to Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1014), and dated A.D. 990.

No. 236 of 1911

36. South wall of the central shrine

Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājendra Cōladēva

Records in the 6th year of the King a gift of land for offerings to the deity Śelvappirān, in the temple of Tirukkīl-kōṭṭam-Uḍaiyār by the assembly of Tirukkudamūkkil in Pāmbūrnāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkonḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

This record can be assigned to Rājendra I (A.D. 1012-44) and can be dated A.D. 1018.

No. 256 of 1911

37. East wall of the Sūryanārāyaṇa shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Rājendra Cōladēva

This record begins with the introduction "*Tirumanni vaḷara*" and records in the 8th year of the King a gift of money for offerings to the shrine of Candraśēkharadēva.

The King can be identified with Rājendra I and the record dated A.D. 1020.

No. 15 of 1908

38. North wall of the Sūryanārāyaṇa shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Vijayarājendradēva

The inscription commences with the introduction '*Tiṅgaḷērtaru*', and records in the 36th year of the King, the proceedings of the village assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkku, which decided on the tax remission on some of the lands belonging to the temples of Tirukkārōṇamuḍaiya Mahādēvar and Kanyapiḍārigaḷ.

The King can be identified with Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-54) and the astronomical details of the record correspond to 29th December, A.D. 1053.

No. 14 of 1908

39. North wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script
Cōla, Tribhuvanacakravartin Tribhuvanavīradēva
"who was pleased to take Madurai and ḷam"

Records in the 35th year of the King that Ālvār Tiruppuṇṇam-biyam Uḍaiyāṇ *alias* Sembiyan Pallavaraiyan of Vēḷūr had set up an image called Tiruppuṇṇam-biyam-Uḍaiyār in the eastern enclosure of the temple of Tirukkīḷkōṭṭam Uḍaiyār and presented 17,000 *kaśu* for offerings and lamps to that image and for a *makara-tōraṇa* to Tirukkīḷkōṭṭam Uḍaiyār.

The King can be identified with Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1218). The record can be dated A.D. 1213.

No. 260 of 1911; S.I.T.I., No. 1003

40. North wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanacakravartī Rājarājadēva

Begins with the introduction "*Śir-manni irunāngu tisai viḷaṅga*" and records in the 20th year of the King, a gift of land for repairs and jewels to the shrine of Maḍandaipāganāyanār by Kūttāḍum Tiruñānasambandar Maḍandaipāgan. The record also refers to a gift of land to the shrine of Kūttāḍum Tiruñānasambandēśvaram, within the temple, by the same individual.

The King can be identified with Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-56) and the record dated A.D. 1236.

No. 258 of 1911; *S.I.T.I.*, No. 1005

41. North wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script

Cōla, Tribhuvanacakravartī Rājarājadēva

Records in the 22nd year of the King a gift of land for providing for certain festivals in the shrine of Maḍandaipāga-Nāyanār situated in the temple, by *Brāhmaṇa* lady.

The King can be identified with Rājarāja III and the record dated A.D. 1238.

No. 257 of 1911; *S.I.T.I.*, No. 1004

42. North wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine
Tamil in Tamil script

Vijayanagar, Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Kōnēridēva Mahārāja

Registers that Timmaṇan Maḍandaipāga Kongarāyan, son of Śēdirāya-Māṇikkam, was granted food, house and land by the authorities managing the temple of Maḍandaipāga-Nāyanār at Tirukkuḍamūkku, for the services rendered by him to the temple.

Date of the record: Śaka 1412; A.D. 1490.

No. 259 of 1911; *S.I.T.I.*, No. 1002

* I am under obligation to the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore for kindly permitting me to use for writing this monograph the copies of the unpublished inscriptions in the Nageswaraswami temple that are in his office. My thanks are due to Sri S. Ponnuswamy, M.A. and Sri Y. Subbarayalu, M.A., Research Scholars working under me for their help in finalising the manuscript for the press.

Rammohan Roy and Bal Gangadhar Tilak on Social Legislation

BY

R. C. MAJUMDAR

An unreasoning blind faith in the unique achievements and infallibility of great leaders operates as a serious handicap to the study and research in the history of Modern India. This is best illustrated by the spirit of idolizing Raja Rammohan Roy and Mahatma Gandhi, two of the greatest Indians flourishing, respectively, at the beginning and the end of this period. What is more curious is the fact that some of the special traits in the character of these two which made them really great are sacrificed by their followers and devotees in order to shield their heroes against any criticism or comment. The most distinguished quality of Rammohan was the spirit of rationality as against blind faith. Yet, if anything is said about him which clashes with the current view, his followers do not argue on the basis of facts, but simply denounce the critic. Similarly Mahatma Gandhi put truth above everything else, but his disciples fight shy of this great ideal if it has even a remote chance of demolishing some of their pet views about the greatness and infallibility of their *Guru*, and fight, to put the heretic critic, unbeliever in Gandhi's infallibility and divinity, *hors he combat* in any way they can.

More than twelve years ago I challenged in a public lecture the truth of some of the current views about Rammohan Roy, namely that he was (1) the pioneer of English Education in Bengal; (2) the founder of, or mainly instrumental in founding, the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817; and (3) the father of the Bengali Prose. Abuses were showered upon me from certain quarters and one leading Bengali Periodical carried on a vile propaganda of abuse for about six months, all the while refusing to publish any reply to the critics. The campaign did not cease till a Bengali Monthly was good enough to publish an article of mine on the subject. But even though the other points were conceded, the credit for found-

ing the Hindu College was still given to Rammohan Roy. Apart from several articles in different Journals — including one in the Presidency College Magazine — I wrote an elaborate paper on the subject which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta (Vol. XXI, 1955, p. 39). Since then it is generally accepted that Rammohan Roy played no part in the foundation of the Hindu College. But if a cat has nine lives, historical errors have one hundred. So, even today, distinguished professors of History give credit to Rammohan for founding the Hindu College.

Similarly my statement in the *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century* (p. 54), that Rammohan was opposed to the legislative enactment prohibiting *Sati* was vigorously challenged by a writer in the *Radical Humanist*, who pitied my ignorance on even such a well-known topic. Fortunately, the *Radical Humanist* had the courtesy to publish my rejoinder and then the writer had the goodness to admit his error with the observation that such a thing would appear almost incredible in view of the general attitude of Rammohan Roy on the question.

Quite recently, Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar has offered an *apologia* for Rammohan in his book *History of Indian Social and Political Ideas from Rammohan to Dayananda*, published in January, 1967 (p. 8). In my book referred to above I pointed out that Rammohan “preferred steady pursuit of persuasive methods to any sudden change by legislation.” Dr. B. Majumdar interprets Rammohan’s action in a somewhat different way and says, “Rammohan was in favour of abolishing the practice “quietly and unobservedly” and not stopping it altogether immediately.” He then comments:

“Rammohan Roy’s cautious policy has been mistaken by some scholars as the denial of the right of a foreign Government to interfere in the social reform of the Hindus. Dr. R. C. Majumdar compares his attitude with that of Tilak with regard to the Age of Consent Bill and observes: ‘People who blamed him (Tilak) hardly realised that Tilak merely continued the traditions of Rammohan Roy, the pioneer of social reforms, followed by many Hindu leaders throughout the century.’ But the comparison is entirely misleading because Tilak carried on a vigorous propaganda against

the Age of Consent Bill even after its enactment whereas Rammohan Roy submitted to the House of Lords a petition in favour of the Regulation in July, 1831....”

The logic of this argument is difficult to understand. If Rammohan thought the legislation to be wrong when it was proposed it did not cease to be wrong after it was actually passed. Any action of Rammohan after the passing of the legislation does not alter the fact that in his opinion it was wrong for the British Government to effect social reforms by legislation. Dr. B. Majumdar has evaded this main issue by omitting to explain the real ground on which Rammohan opposed the legislation. It was not merely dictated by a policy of caution and gradual abolition, but was based on the fundamental principle that no social legislation should be undertaken by the British Government in India. This is quite clear from the following passage in the minute of Lord William Bentinck on the Suppression of Sati, dated 8, November, 1829. Referring to the views of Rammohan on the proposed legislation he says: Rammohan “apprehended that any public enactment would give rise to general apprehension, that the reasoning would be, ‘While the English were contending for power, they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration and to respect our religion, but having obtained the supremacy their first act is a violation of their profession, and the next will probably be, like the Muhamadan conquerors, to force upon us their own religion.’”

Now it is agreed on all hands that Tilak opposed the Age of Consent Bill “particularly on the ground that it was not proper for Government to interfere with the accepted social customs of the people,”¹ and his “main contention was that social reform should not be imposed upon the people. It should be evolved from within.”² If we compare it with the opinion of Rammohan, recorded by Bentinck, “that the practice (*Sati*) might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police” and not by any legislative enactment, is it very wrong to draw the inference that Tilak continued the traditions of Rammohan Roy, for which Dr. B. Majumdar has taken me to task. His further conclusion that the comparison is entirely misleading because Rammohan carried on agitation against

1. D. P. Karmarkar, *Bal Gangadhar Tilak — A Study*, p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Sati is likely to create the impression that Tilak was against the the principle of the Bill and did not make any effort to remove the evil for which the Age of Consent Bill was passed. Nothing can be further from truth. In a public meeting "Tilak proposed that people should voluntarily come forward to bind themselves to agree to certain measures of social reform and when the number reached at least 200, suitable arrangements should be made for legislation applicable only to the signatories. The measures of social reform that he proposed were, that girls should not be married before completing 16 years, that boys should be married before completion of 20 years, that men should not marry after 40 years of age and if they wanted to marry they should marry a widow, that there should be complete prohibition, that the custom of dowry should be put an end to, that a person should contribute 1/10th of his income for the promotion of these social reforms and that a widow should not be tonsured. This suggestion was not acceptable to the social reformers as being difficult of achievement."³

After explaining all these proposals in a speech Tilak requested his friends to take a solemn pledge to abide by them once they were considered and approved. It is noteworthy that G. K. Gokhale, Hari Narayan Apte and many others signed this pledge, but nothing came out of it. As regards the Age of Consent Bill, one of the reasons advanced by Tilak against it was that all such legislation would remain a dead-letter and that social reform should be primarily achieved by educating public opinion, the initiative in this respect being taken by the educated Indians. The result of the passing of the Bill certainly justified this view.

In conclusion it may be added that in his opposition to the Age of Consent Bill Tilak was supported by many eminent persons including Romesh Chandra Dutt, W. C. Bonnerjee and Surendra Nath Banerji.⁴ I have already pointed out that long before Tilak and since the days of Rammohan Roy there was a distinct school of opinion against legislation for social reform,⁵ and in opposing the Age of Consent Bill Tilak merely followed the tradition and cannot be held to be guilty of an unreasoning spirit of orthodoxy.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 44; T. V. Parvate, *Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, p. 40.

5. R. C. Majumdar, *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 68-9.

Pre- and Proto-History in India and Pakistan : New Discoveries and Fresh Interpretations

BY

H. D. SANKALIA

Since 1962,¹ new discoveries have been made both in India and Pakistan in the various branches of pre- and proto-history. Fresh interpretations of the old and new data have been attempted. Both these have helped in understanding the progress of Man through the millennia.

Early Stone Age

A deliberate attempt has been made in exploring new areas, and in trying to understand the evolution of the hand-axe industry, and further, as in Africa, efforts have been made to locate the *primary sites*, that is sites where Early Man was likely to have lived for some time and his traces (tools) have remained undisturbed.

Discoveries of hand-axes and cleavers on basalt and chert in Saurashtra² and South Gujarat³ have demoved the two important gaps that existed in the distribution of this culture in Western India. Now only Kutch and Sind, which from the northern extremities of this area, remain. However, as a result of the new discoveries it has become feasible to connect, the Early Stone Age of India with that of East Africa,⁴ though this connection remains unsubstantiated geologically.

1. See, Sankalia, H. D., "Prehistory and Protohistory in India," *The Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol. XI, (1963), No. 3, pp. 269-78; No. 4, pp. 355-64.

2. Sankalia, H. D., "Early Stone Age in Saurashtra," *Miscelanea en Homenaje al Abate Henri Breuil*, tomo II, Barcelona, 1965, pp. 327-46 and *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, (IAR), 1963-64, 1-21 (cyclo-styled copy).

3. IAR, 1964-65, IV, 2.

4. Dr. K. P. Oakley had suggested this possibility in *Frameworks for Dating Prehistoric Man*.

Intensive explorations have also been begun in Eastern India. Here recently the Districts of Bankura, Purulia and also Midnapore, West Bengal,⁵ have yielded one of the finest collections of advanced Acheulian tools, and these too on refractory material like quartz. Having seen these quartz ovates one wonders how far raw material did really affect man's skill!

Pebble tools and hand-axes have also been discovered in the Banda, Mirzapur and Varanasi Districts of Uttar Pradesh,⁶ and Monghyr District of Bihar.⁷ Likewise, such explorations in the Upper Son Valley⁸ of Madhya Pradesh, parts of which are today heavily forested, in the East and West Khandesh Districts of Maharashtra,⁹ and in the Districts of Adilabad, Nalgonda, Nellore, Cuddappa and Chittoor,¹⁰ Andhra Pradesh, have brought to light genuine pebble tools (see Fig. 1) of true Soanian type, as well as small hand-axes, unfortunately all occurring together with hand-axes and cleavers of Abbevillio-Acheulian character.

The excavations in the pebbly gravel bed in the Nala, joining the Ghataprabha river from the left at Anagwadi in Bijapur District, Mysore State,¹¹ have shown that:

- (i) the lowermost pebbly gravel is the horizon of the Early Stone Age industry.
- (ii) the assemblage is made up of varied forms of hand-axes and cleavers and other tool-types showing advanced Acheulian characters and besides contains unusual and unique forms of tool-types showing clear evidence of hafting, notches in the anterior portion (Fig. 2) and beak-shaped points.
- (iii) all the tools are almost in mint condition, thereby suggesting little transport and the situation of factory site in the nearby surrounding region.

5. *IAR.*, 1964-65, 1-83, 87, 94.

6. *IAR.*, 1961-62, p. 54; 1962-63, pp. 32, 37.

7. *IAR.*, 1962-63, p. 5.

8. *IAR.*, 1961-62, p. 24; 1962-63, p. 11.

9. *IAR.*, 1964-65, 1.47.

10. *IAR.*, 1964-65, I, 1-3.

11. *IAR.*, 1964-65, 1.55.

Similarly, excavations on the Kan river, near Bhadne, Dhulia District, and at Gangapur, Nasik, both in Maharashtra, have helped to mark off the hand-axe-cleaver industry from the later Middle Stone Age culture. At Gangapur, the tools were associated with the remains of *Bos*.

Excavations at the famous site of Attirampakkam, Chingleput District, Madras State,¹² showed that contrary to the prevailing opinion, the Acheulian hand-axes and cleavers were found embedded in the clay which is nothing but weathered basal shale and were quite fresh. This deposit in its turn was covered by detrital laterite gravel and contained tools like points, scrapers and longish flake blades. The overlying brownish silt was sterile, but had microliths right on the top.

The most intriguing has been, however, the excavation in the gravels at Mahadev Piparia, Narsinghpur District, Madhya Pradesh.¹³ Earlier it had been claimed that the basal pebbly gravel rested against the red-greasy clay, and that this bed showed an evolution of the hand-axe industry from a pebble tool industry, here called Mahadevian—after the type site—to the developed Acheulian stage.

The excavation showed that the basal pebble bed is overlaid by two different silts which, in their turn, are capped by red kankary clay (Fig 3). Further though the percentage of pebble tools is certainly more, the pebble bed contains hand-axes and cleavers, and a small percentage of Middle Stone Age tools in chert and quartzite. That is a clear proof that quite early in its formation, this bed was contaminated, for it is capped by thick deposits of sand, gravels and silt. This serves as a lesson viz. that we should exclusively depend upon so-called *in situ* gravel deposits.

While trying to locate the primary site in the Narmada Valley, efforts were made to understand how the basal bouldery gravel was framed (Fig. 4), and thus have some idea of the location of the old bed of the Narmada. This preliminary investiga-

12. IAR., 1964-65, 1-37.

13. IAR., 1964-65, 1-26.

tion suggests that a part, at least, of the boulder gravel might have been deposited by colluvial action and not as river aggradation. A very recent re-examination of the Narmada at Maheshwar, Khargone District, by Dr. R. V. Joshi, Shri S. N. Rajaguru and the writer showed that in this region the huge boulder bed was largely of alluvial nature, having a width of nearly 3 to 4 miles. While on this point, it may be mentioned that huge deposits of silt, sand and coarse gravel occur in all the Peninsular rivers of India, almost right upto the sources of these rivers. And it is an important point to be decided, viz. whether these formations are due to river aggradation and if so what led to the aggradation—climatic or tectonic movements or both.

Middle Stone Age

The Middle Stone Age identified as a separate phase in the Stone Age cultures of India, some 12 years ago, is also found to be of very wide extent. Not only a number of areas within India not hitherto known have given evidence of this culture, but excavations in the Sanghau cave, near Peshwar¹⁴ in West Pakistan, have yielded stratified deposits of this culture. And it has been thought by the excavator that this part of Pakistan formed a link in the passage of this culture from Iran or West Asia to India. How far the prophecy will come true cannot be said. Professor Boriskovsky, a leading Russian palaeolithic archaeologist, having studied the collections at the Deccan College, thought that the Indian Middle Stone Age industries were comparable with those of Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. We should note in this context the occurrence of stratified tools in a terrace at Dehra, Kangra District,¹⁵ East Panjab.

In South Rajasthan such stratified evidence of the Middle Stone Age has come from the Berach and Kadmalī in Udaipur and Chitorgarh Districts. Here certain tool types of the Early Stone Age, such as hand-axe and core scraper, continue in the

14. Dani, A. H., "Sanghau Cave Excavation" in *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. I, 1964, pp. 150 and p. 50 for contacts.

15. Mohapatra, G. C. *et al.* "Some Flake Tools in East Punjab etc." in *Current Science*, March 20, 1964, pp. 178, 180, and *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Silver Jubilee Volume, 1966, pp. 224, 228.

Middle Stone Age as well. Stray tools have been noted in the Thar desert.¹⁶ Such tools have also been discovered in Kutch.¹⁷

The new distributional data from India have not only confirmed the stratigraphical succession of this culture, but have shown that in areas like the Narmada Valley, it might have developed from the Early Stone Age. For here are found large discoid cores of quartzite, the flakes from which seem to have been utilized for making scrapers, etc.

Explorations in Madhya Pradesh along the Narmada have shown that the tools of this culture, though usually small, could be fairly large and probably included burins as well.¹⁸ Similar factory sites are situated elsewhere. One at Kovalli, Bijapur District, is amongst the outcrop of cherty limestone. Large and careful collection has given an insight into the nature of the industry.¹⁹ Palaeontological evidence has also been accumulating for placing the culture in the late Pleistocene, whereas two C-14 dates of carbonized wood buried deep in the gravels of the Mula river, Ahmednagar District, have given the date between 31,000 and 33,000 B.P.²⁰

Previously typical European Upper Palaeolithic blade tools like the Gravette and Chatelperronian blades and burins (Fig. 5) had been reported from Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. But these had occurred in a mixed deposit. Now on the Rallakalava, a small tributary of the Swarnamukhi, near Vedallacheruvu in Chittoor District,²¹ such tools have been found in a pure form, whereas the two earlier industries occur in the pebble and fine gravels respectively. Further work in 1967 has yielded over 600 tools along the foothills in the same region. Such an occurrence gives ground for assuming a cultural stage between the Middle Stone Age and the Late Stone Age.

16. Mohapatra, *et al.*

17. IAR., 1963-64, 1-21.

18. IAR., 1964-65, I-24.

19. IAR., 1964-65, I-56.

20. Information from Shri D. P. Agrawal. Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. C-14 Date List — August, 1966. (Cyclostyled copy.).

21. IAR., 1964-65, 1-2.

Late Stone Age

Regarding the Late Stone Age varied evidence has come forth. Excavations at Sangankal, Bellary District,²² definitely place it between the Neolithic and an Earlier Stone Age industry. (Fig. 6) Though this layer is not carbon-dated, the overlying Neolithic is now dated by C-14 dates around 2,000 B.C. So the Late Stone Age material found in a weathered soil, at the base of a colluvial deposit which on weathering afterwards developed a fairly mature red-brown soil, might be at least of 3,000 B.C. And this seems to be its age throughout the South. In fact, the evidence of the Teri Sites, Tinnevely, District, indicates a much earlier age.

At Adamgarh, Hoshangabad District, Madhya Pradesh,²³ microliths were found associated with pottery in black soil, whereas in another rock-shelter in Raisen District, near Bhopal, they were found with painted pottery and iron.²⁴ In a rock shelter at Lekhahia, Mirzapur District,²⁵ Uttar Pradesh, a little pottery with very small microliths was found on the top layer in a thin section of three feet (over 1 m.) but lower down there was no pottery, and the tools were bigger and non-geometric in nature. Some climatic change is also suggested by the varying nature of the layers. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the full report on the excavations at Langhnaj,²⁶ Mehsana District, Gujarat, dealing with the human skeletal materials, fauna and the archaeological material has been published in three parts. Though not yet absolutely dated, the fauna does not include domesticated species, and the culture seems to be of a hunting people, who lived at one place and buried the dead in a flexed posture.

Before turning to the Neolithic problem in Peninsular India, a reference must be made to the discovery of a rich Neolithic culture during the last 5 years, besides Burzahom, Anantpur Dis-

22. IAR., 1964-65, I, 53-55, and Sankalia, H. D., "Prehistoric Migrations in South India," *Times of India*, 28-3-1965.

23. IAR., 1960-61, p.

24. Information from Mr. J. Jacobson.

25. IAR., 1963-64, I-75.

26. *Excavations at Langhnaj, Archaeology*, Part I, by H. D. Sankalia; *The Fauna*, Part II, by Juliet Clutton-Brock; Part III, *The Human Remains* by Sophie Ehrhardt and K. A. R. Kennedy.

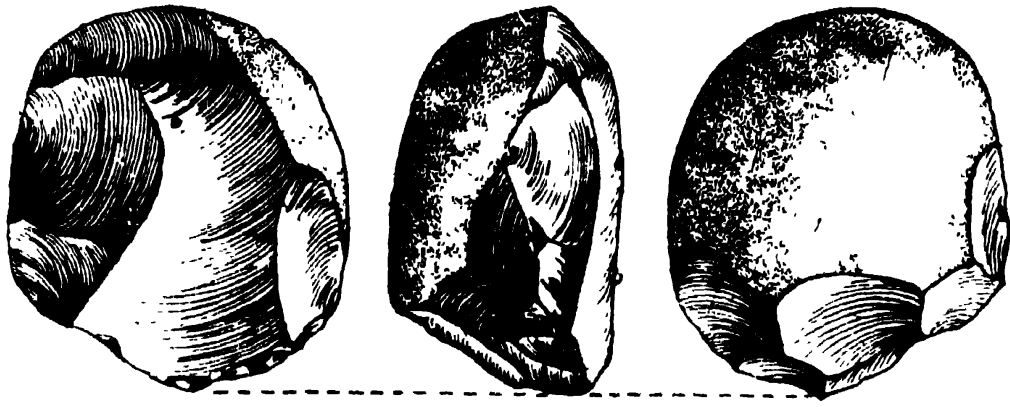


FIG. 1. Pebble tools of the Soanian type from Cuddappa

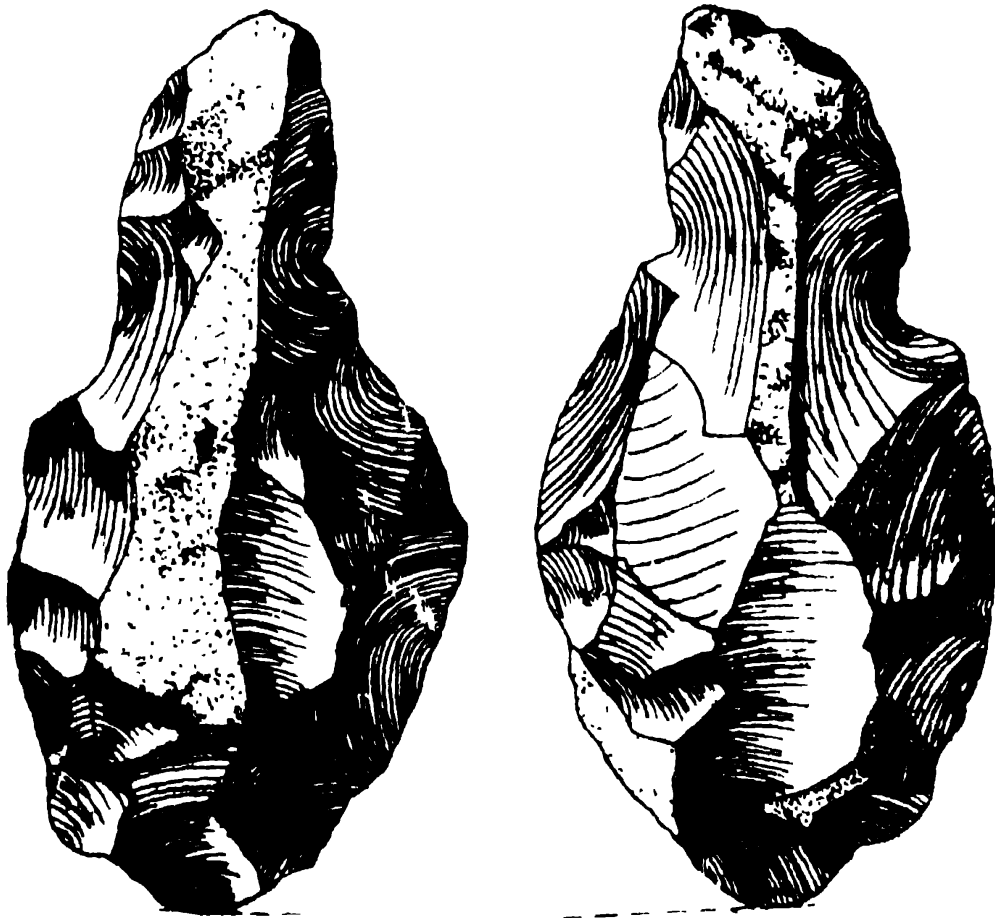


FIG. 2. Handaxe from Anagwadi, Bijapur District, with notches evidently for hafting



FIG. 3. Excavations at Mahadev Piparia, Narsinghpur District, M.P., showing from bottom upwards two silts capped by red-greasy clay



FIG. 4. Boulder bed resting over the rock and capped by red clay.
Pira Nala, Narsinghpur District, M.P.

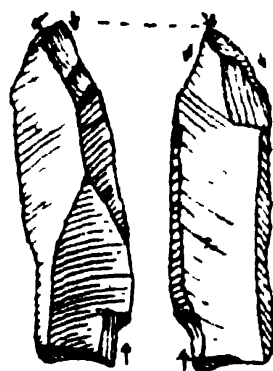
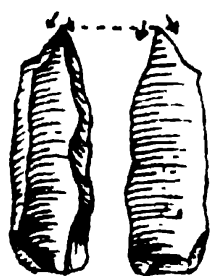


FIG. 5. Burins from Chittoor

BANGALTOTA, TRENCH 1, BELLARY-MOKA ROAD 1965.

SECTION FACING SOUTH

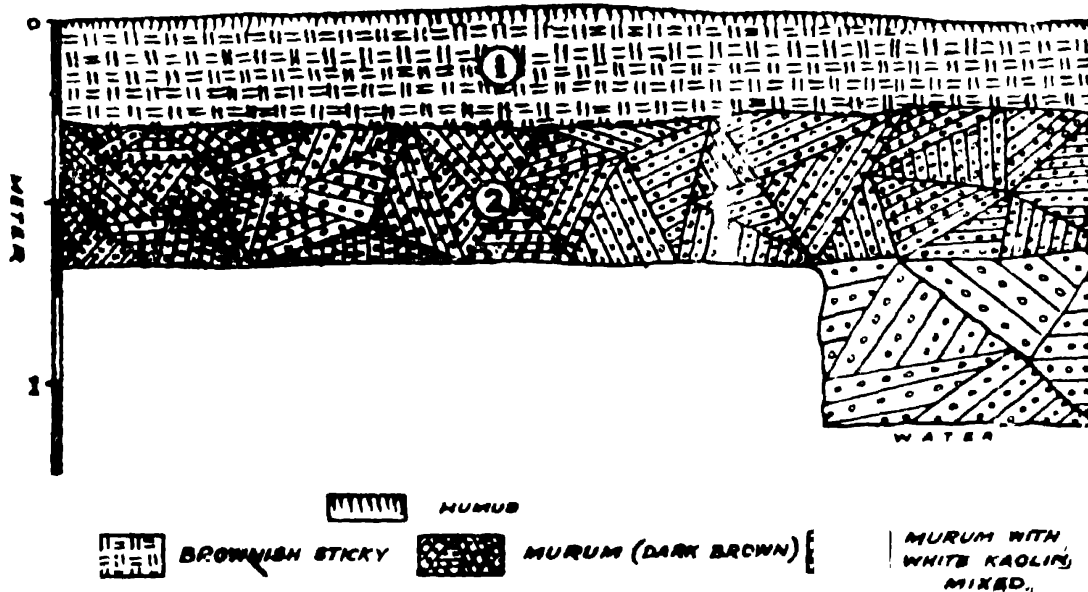


FIG. 6

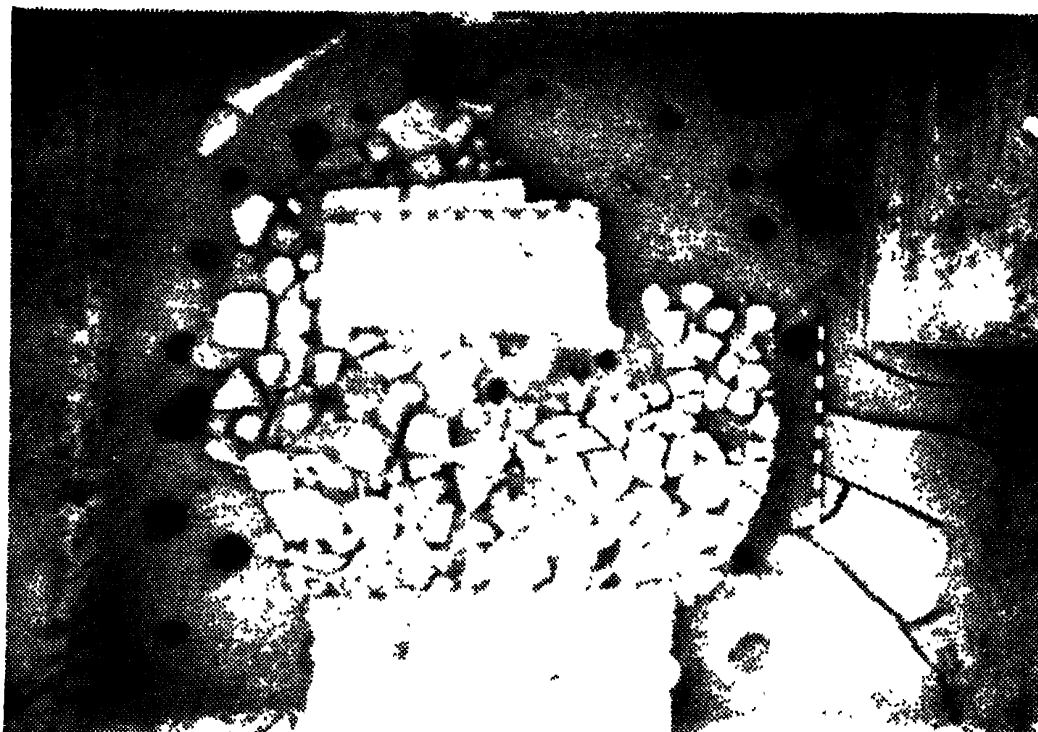


FIG. 7. Plan of a round hut exposed in the Early Neolithic levels at Sangankal, Bellary District

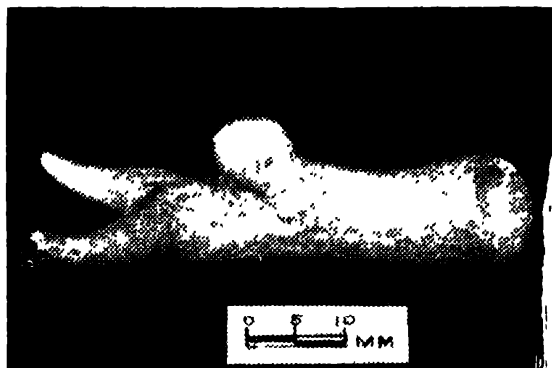


FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG 11

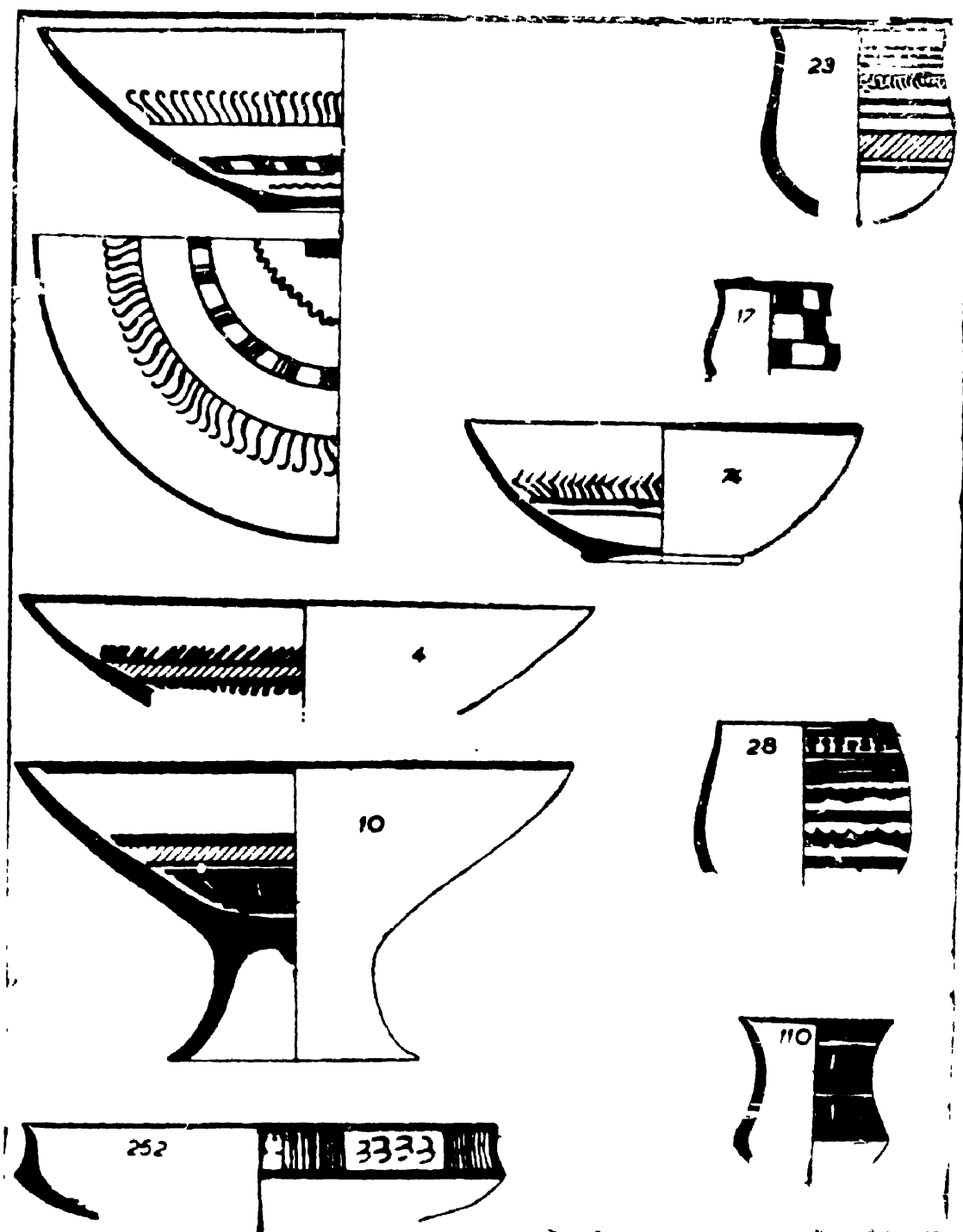


FIG. 12

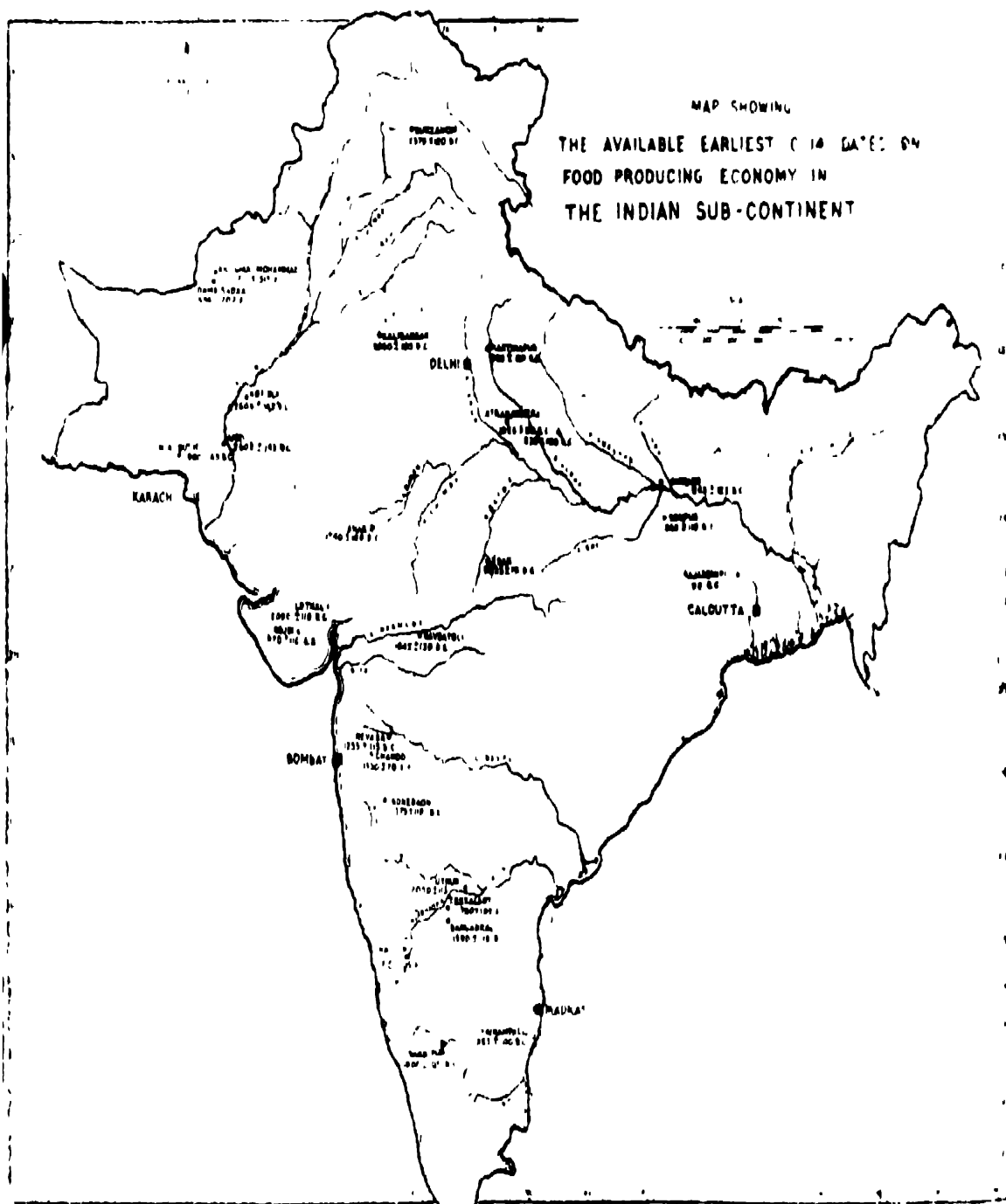


FIG. 13

trict in Kashmir.²⁷ Excavations at the site, 24 km. North-West of Srinagar have given the first clear indication of a pit-dwelling in India. These pits are cut into the Upper Karewa (ancient lake-beds) and are roughly circular or oval in plan, and about 1½ to 2½ m. (4 to 7 ft.) in depth. Postholes suggest that probably the roof which was presumably thatched was supported by wooden posts. In structures of Phase II were found mud-platform with partitions and storage pits. Burnt material over the successive floors suggests destruction by fire. Besides ground stone axes, black burnished pottery, occur bone tools, such as awls, harpoons and arrow-heads, finest so far found and they are indeed unique in India. The dead were buried within the habitation. On the five human skeletons in Phase II was found red ochre (Pl. XXVIA). Both primary and secondary interments, and in the former case crouched as well as extended, were followed. There is evidence of trepanning on the skull of Phase II. The pet animals—like wild dog, wolf and ibex—were also buried with the dead.²⁸

It is certain that the Kashmir Neolithic has affinities with the Chinese on the East, and with Central Asian and Iranian on the West, but the exact role of these countries in its formation has yet to be determined.

The Neolithic

No clear evidence for a pure Neolithic culture is yet available from Peninsular India, though in all other respects it appears that such cultures denote primitive or early agricultural communities depending also on animal husbandry in which besides cattle, pig, goat/sheep, and probably also the horse, played an important part. Excavations at Tekkalakota²⁹ and Sangankal³⁰ in Bellary District, and at Hallur³¹ in Dharwar District have exposed a few house plans, from which it is clear that the houses were usually round,

27. Nine sites have been discovered in the Jhelum Valley. *IAR.*, 1962-63, p. 9, pl. XX-XXVII.

28. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI.

29. *IAR.*, 1963-64, I-43; and Nagaraja Rao, M. S., and Malhotra, K. C., *Hill Dwellers of Tekkalakota*, Poona, 1965.

30. *IAR.*, 1964-65, I-53.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

raised on wooden posts (Fig. 7). These were covered with split bamboo screen, and occasionally the walls were fully or partly covered with clay mixed with cowdung. The roofs were presumably conical and invariably thatched. Some of these huts were 15 ft. (5 metre) in width. The floors were levelled by placing flat topped stones and then covered with clay and pastered with lime. The minimum "furniture" inside these huts consisted of a fire place made of three stones and a storage jar which stood on three terracotta clay legs. Within the empty space (i.e. the base of the storage jar and the floor) were kept ground stone axes, and sling stones. Though a large amount of animal bones, mostly of cattle, suggests dependence on animal food, still the discovery of *Dolichos biflorus* (*hulgi*) and *Elcusine coracona* (*Ragi*)³² from Hallur shows that these grains which form the staple food of the farmers in South India were probably first used in Neolithic times, i.e., about 1,500 B.C.

C-14 dates from Tekkalakota, Hallur and T. Narsipur along with the earlier ones from Utnur prove the existence of this culture during 2,100 B.C.—1,400 B.C.³³ with a probable origin in the Bellary-Raichur area, and later migration to the South and North respectively.

However, most significant is the identification of small bones from Period I, Phase I, of horse by Dr. Alur.³⁴ For this might help in associating these Neolithic folk with the Aryans.

Small-scale excavations in Maharashtra,^{34a} and Madhya Pradesh confirm this northward movement of the ground stone-axe culture, and also show the existence of several closely-knit cultures in which painted pottery and short blade industry figure invariably. C-14 dates for Eran, Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh are available, the earlier of which goes back to 1800 B.C.³⁵

32. From a Ms. report by Dr. Vishnu-Mittre.

33. C-14 dates by Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. Some not yet published. For references see below.

34. From a letter by Dr. Alur.

34a. Deo, S. B. and Ansari, Z. D., *Chalcolithic Chandoli*, Poona, 1965, and *Excavations at Songaon*, Poona District, *IAR*, 1964-65, p. 1-48. (Cyclo-styled copy).

35. See below for references.

Pottery fabrics still earlier than the Malwa have been discovered at Kaitha,³⁶ near Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, along with very distinctive tiny terracotta bulls and cows (Figs. 8-11) all belonging to Period II; that is a culture in which a black-and-red pottery with paintings in white is a striking feature. First-hand examination of the pottery at Ujjain and the site at Kaitha induces the writer to say that Kaitha I definitely includes some pre-Harappan fabrics and shapes which help in linking Malwa with Rajasthan and Sind.

All these definitely pre-suppose the existence of cultures, though at lower economic level than the Indus or the Harappan but contemporary with its end phases, in Central India, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Maharashtra and Andhra-Mysore.

The existence of these Chalcolithic-Neolithic cultures in the heart of India has been hitherto explained in two ways, first, as independent cultures or secondly, as cultures started by the Harappan refugees. A third alternative is suggested by the affinity disclosed in forms and fabric and some of the designs from the pre- or proto-Harappan pottery found at Kalibangan, Ganganagar District, Rajasthan, at Amri, Dada District, West Pakistan, with those from Navdatoli (and now Kaitha and other sites) in Central India. Even Kot Diji will reveal some affinities when detailed reports are available.

Here two things may be cited (Fig. 12). First the graceful bowls with concavo-convex profile from Amri, Period I-III; secondly, the Crook-design, or Togau C design.³⁷ The latter occurs on a rare dish as well as on bowls at Navdatoli³⁸ in Central India and also on a dish at Amri, but it is not so far found in the Harappan, Jhukar and Jhangar or the Cemetery-H culture at Harappa. Though a distance of nearly 1,000 miles separates Amri from Navdatoli and other Baluchi sites with distinct Iranian affinities the resemblance is quite significant and may be used for what it is worth. It may be that the Harappans drove out the

36. *IAR.*, 1964-65, I, p. 32. During 1965-66, even Painted Grey Ware has been found, between the NBP and Malwa ware. Thus Kaitha would give an unique pottery sequence.

37. Casal, *Fouilles D'Amri*, Texte, Vol. I, Planches, Vol. II, Fig. 7, 7a.

38. Sankalia, H. D. et. al, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navadatoli*. Fig. 25.

earlier inhabitants from Sind and the Punjab, some of whom migrated to Central India. This view as mentioned above is now supported by the Phase I pottery from Kaitha.

This naturally brings us to the Harappan problem. Renewed excavations at Kot Diji, 25 miles North-East of Mohenjo-daro and at Amri, Dadu District in West Pakistan, have revealed definitely pre-Harappan phases, and a few interesting features of the Harappan.

At Kot-Diji has been exposed a huge mud brick fortification, resting on a stone foundation.³⁹ This is attributed to the pre-Harappans. And though there is not much evidence of town-planning, still this pre-Harappan settlement has been described as a small town.⁴⁰ If this surmise is proved by subsequent work, then the Harappans would lose some of the credit for town-planning and fortification.

But as far as pottery etc. are concerned, the pottery is more akin to that of Baluchistan and distantly to that of Iran, than to that of the Indus plains, though it may be noted that in its later stages, it does show the famous "scale" pattern of the Harappans. It is said that this pre-Harappan culture was destroyed by the Harappans.

Amri⁴¹ which is nearer to Kirthar Hills of Baluchistan exhibits still greater Baluchi features in its pottery. The pre-Harappan was definitely not a town or a city and probably quite illiterate. In its lithic industry, pottery, beads, terracotta, houses and brick-sizes, it is quite different from the Harappan. The same thing is witnessed at Kalibangan⁴² across the border, in Ganganagar District, Rajasthan. Here there was a mud-brick settlement, with well-aligned lanes in the pre-Harappan phase. And in every way, pottery (which has some six different fabrics) lithic tools, agate and chalcedony beads, and brick-size—is different from the Harappan. Its pottery is derived from a common Baluchi-Iranian stock. One of the earliest C-14 dates for Kalibangan-I is 2290 B.C.

39. *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 1, 1964, pp. 39-43, pls. VI-XA.

40. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, *Civilization of the Indus Valley and Beyond*, 58.

41. Casal, *Fouilles D'Amri*, 1964.

42. *IAR.*, 1963-64, I-56; 1964-65, I-66.

Thus all these excavations do not help to understand the material origins of the Indus civilization.

As for the Harappan itself, every year more and more sites are being discovered in India and Pakistan. These not only confirm the wide range of this civilization embracing Western Uttar Pradesh on the East, and the Baluchistan coast on the South-West, but also its maritime activities through the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea as well as the land routes to Saurashtra through Kutch.

At Kalibangan,⁴³ a few features have been found. For instance, the preference for mud bricks, the baked bricks being reserved for drains, and bath-rooms, a wooden drain, a row of ritual fire-places with a central brick or terracotta pillar — a feature, be it noted, which also occurs in the Harappan at Amri — a road metalled with terracotta nodules, and a cemetery showing the normal extended burials in graves, and burials in urns, both having a varying quantity of funerary pottery.

In Kutch excavations at Deslpur⁴⁴ Nakhtrana Taluk, have not only revealed a full-fledged Harappan culture, but some new features as well. About 2 m. of the deposit belongs to the Harappan which is divisible into IA and IB. In Period IA houses were built with roughly dressed rubble stones, as well as with well-quarried slabs of shale or slate. There is also evidence of a massive stone fortification wall reinforced with corner towers and salients; and mud bricks platform. Two seals — one on steatite and the other on copper — and a lettered terracotta sealing, T. C. cakes, jasper and weights, stone blades as well as painted and unpainted pottery definitely establish its Harappan character. However, the pottery shows some special characteristics, the most noteworthy being a fine, thin grey ware, painted in bluish green colour with wavy lines on the outside of the vases. This pottery is said to have occurred at Mohenjo-daro, and called "Glazed Ware." In IB also occurs a bichrome ware, and a black-and-red ware with oblique strokes in white as in Ahar IB. The stud-handled bowl or handled saucepan but with a channelled section is noticed right from IA. Remains of a rubble fortification have also been noticed at

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*, 1963-64, I, p. 16.

Surkotda⁴⁵ in Rapar Taluka, whereas various pottery fabrics show contacts with post-Harappan cultures already revealed in Saurashtra. The discovery of large Harappan sites in Eastern Kutch with Desalpar in the centre *and not along the western coast* definitely indicates that the Harappans and possibly earlier groups of people from Sind had colonized Kutch by land as well as sea, some of whom also proceeded to Saurashtra.

End of the Harappan Civilization

Though the origins of the Harappan civilization still remain obscure, its destruction is now attributed to repeated floods⁴⁶ caused by tectonic disturbances in Lower Sind and the rise in sea-levels along the West coast of India. This view based on preliminary hydrographic surveys, though in need of confirmation, seems most plausible.

From this new line of investigation many important conclusions have been drawn, particularly about the duration of the Indus civilization, which are here summarized. After a careful study from the geological and hydrological points of view supported by a few bore hole excavations at Mohenjo-daro, Raikes,^{46a} hydrologist, suggests that

- (i) the Harappan Civilization did not endure for a thousand years (c. 2,500-1,500 c. B.C.) but at the most for a few hundred years;
- (ii) the so-called "early" and "intermediate" phases of Mohenjo-daro falling within this short chronology, and all other sites in the same general area of the Indus flood — plain were gradually engulfed by mud;
- (iii) this mud was deposited not by normal river floods, but by the creation of a dam or barrier on account of the uplift or a series of uplifts of the Indus Valley near Sehwan;

45. *Ibid.*, I, p. 21.

46. Raikes, R. L. "Physical Environment.....A Hydrological Approach," *East-West* (Rome), Vol. XV, pp. 179-193, and "The end of the Ancient Cities of the Indus," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 64, 1966, pp. 284-99, and "The Mohenjo-daro Floods," *Antiquity*, Vol. XXXIX, 1965, pp. 196-203.

46a. Raikes, R. L., "The end of the Ancient Cities of the Indus." *Am. Anthropol.*, 66 (1964), pp. 284-99, and "The Mohenjo-daro Floods," *Antiquity*, XXXIX, (1965), pp. 196-203.

- (iv) during this phase the inhabitants succeeded in keeping their city above the water and mud by successive reconstructions, including the use of mud-brick platforms;
- (v) some parts of the city might have been abandoned towards the end of this phase which would have occupied 100 years or so;
- (vi) the barrier was later breached and thus started a phase of rejuvenation of the river which made possible the re-occupation of parts of the city previously buried;
- (vii) there is no evidence for the abandonment of Mohenjodaro on account of the rising water-table and salinity (as inferred by Dales);^{46b}
- (viii) since the uplift, the prehistoric ports of Suktagen Dor, Sotka Koh, and the one discovered by Raikes himself at Bala Kot, near Sonmiani, about 50 miles from Karachi, were far removed from the sea;
- (ix) since the river and sea communications were thus interrupted the people were forced to resort to difficult caravan routes.

All these are certainly very important conclusions regarding the possible causes of the decline and destruction of the Harappan civilization. Raikes himself has suggested how very badly and urgently we need data regarding floods from Chanhudaro, and further careful stratigraphical excavations and reliable C-14 dates.

Meanwhile, it may be noted that both at Lothal and Kalibangan houses had been built on a series of mud-brick platforms, which were raised successively. This feature indicates that the inhabitants were aware of the danger of floods *before* they founded these cities, and this knowledge might have been gained at Mohenjodaro. Further if "the mud-brick platforms were built (at Kalibangan) in the recurrent endeavour to surmount the flood-level," could not these mud-bricks be used in a defensive

^{46b} Dales, G. F., "The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjodaro," Expedition, VI, 1964, p. 36.

wall against river-floods? Wheeler's^{46c} argument in rejecting the latter suggestion, while putting forward the former suggestion, seems to be inconsistent. Whatever it be,^{46d} it should be added that extensive floods also seem to have been a cause of the destruction of the Harappan and later sites in the Ganga Valley. How these floods were caused is still unknown. But it is not impossible that memories of floods like these might have given rise to the stories we have in the *Satapatha Brahmana* and later *Puranas*. Similar events might have been responsible for the Sumerian and later Biblical legends.

The floods also seem to have destroyed the Harappan or late Harappan settlements in the Gangetic Valley where now only rolled ochre-coloured pottery is found. The most important sites to have given such an evidence are Ambakheri and Bargaon, Saharanpur District.⁴⁷

Several C-14 dates from Lothal, Kalibangan and Kot Diji suggest that the end of the civilization came in about 1,700 B.C.⁴⁸ and not in 1,500 B.C., as presumed. Hence it is not right to accuse the Aryans, for in defence of Indra, the Aryan War-God, it might be said that there is not only little evidence of a massacre⁴⁹ at Mohenjo-daro, but no evidence for the presence of the Aryans there. In fact, they can plead a perfect *alibi*.

This Aryan question has been further complicated by the fact that the Painted Grey Ware which was attributed to an Aryan Group is now placed not earlier than 600 B.C. by C-14 dates at Hastinapur,⁵⁰ though a date from Atranjikhhera⁵¹ places it in the 11th-12th century B.C. However, other dates from the same site

46c. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, *Civilization of the Indus Valley and Beyond*, pp. 32-33.

46d. An alternative explanation has also been suggested. From the evidence at Kalibangan where all these platforms occur in the Citadel mound, and which is away from the river, it is felt that some important personages and public buildings were situated on those platforms.

47. *IAR.*, 1963-64, I, pp. 82-84.

48. Agrawal, D. P., *Science*, 1964, p. 950.

49. Dales, George, F., "The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjodaro," *Expedition*, No. 3, 1964, p. 37.

50. Agrawal, D. P., *et al* in *Radio Carbon*, 1964, pp. 226-32.

51. Agrawal, D. P., *et al* in *Current Science*, May 1964, pp. 266-69.

give much lower dates.⁵² This again creates a wide gulf between the destruction of the Harappan Civilization and the arrival of the Painted Grey Ware people. No explanation can be offered for this wide gap, except that the interval was filled up by the authors of the several Chalcolithic cultures in Sind, Saurashtra Rajasthan and Central India some of whom might be Aryans or peoples from Iran⁵³ though Raikes suggests that in Baluchistan the settlements were abandoned from about 2,300 B.C. until 1,100 B.C. as a result of natural disasters.

This work in India and Pakistan during 1962-64 has narrowed down a considerable part of the cultural gaps in terms of both geographical space and time. The general distributions of the three Stone Age cultures are now seen to cover most of the sub-continent, except the Gangetic plain and Assam. The progress of the earliest farming communities can also be traced from the Pakistan-Iran border to South India (see Map, Fig. 13).

Many C-14 dates have become known in this period. These provide a fairly continuous chronological scheme for the first three and half millennia before Christ.

Earliest farming communities in Sind

and Baluchistan	..	3600-2700 B.C.
Pre-Harappan in Sind and Rajasthan	..	2700-2200 B.C.
Harappan Civilization	..	2200-1700 B.C.
Southern Neolithic Culture	..	2100-1400 B.C.
Northern Neolithic Culture ⁵⁴	..	1800-1200/800 B.C.
Painted Grey Ware Culture	..	1200/800-400 B.C.
N.B.P. Culture	..	400-100 B.C.

52. Agrawal, D. P., *et al* in *Current Science*, January 1966, pp. 4-5.

53. Sankalia, H. D., "New Light on the Indo-Iranian or Western Asiatic Relations between 1700 B.C.-1200 B.C. in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVI, 1963, pp. 312-332 and Agrawal, D. P. "C-14 Dates, Banas Culture and the Aryans" in *Current Science*, March 5, 1966, pp. 114-117.

54. No separate category of the Chalcolithic has been made, because basically these cultures in Malwa, the Deccan, U.P., Bihar and West Bengal fulfil the conditions laid down by Gordon Childe for defining a neolithic culture or stage. For all practical purposes these cultures were self-supporting peasant communities depending upon animal husbandry, primitive agriculture and some hunting, every settlement making its own lithic tools, pottery and beads of stone and clay. The tools of copper alone were imported, perhaps from a site like Ahar in Southern Rajasthan.

**Reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh
(1626-1672)
POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS**

BY

PROF. H. K. SHERWANI, *Hyderabad*

Parentage and Accession

As has been mentioned elsewhere,¹ Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh was the son of Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and Ḥayāt Bakhshi Bēgum, the daughter of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, founder of Haidarabād. He was born on 28-10-1023/21st November, 1614, and it is related that when the astrologers were consulted they predicted a great future for the young Prince but were unanimous that the Sultān should not see the child till he was twelve. Although the King would not see him, he made all arrangements for the proper education and bringing up of the Prince and appointed Mir Quṭbu'd-dīn Comptroller of the Prince's household. At the age of five he was put under Mirza Sharīf Shahristāni who was the son-in-law of the *Pēshwa* Mir Mu'min. Tutors were changed as the Prince grew up, and at the age of twelve he began to be instructed in important episodes of World History and "the experiences of kings".²

On his death on 13-5-1035/1st February, 1626, Sultān Muḥammad had left three sons and one daughter, of whom the eldest was 'Abdu'l-lāh³ who ascended the throne the next day. The first

1. Sherwani, *Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, pp. 1 and 2.

2. Nizāmu'd-din Aḥmad, *Ḥadiqatu's-Salātīn*, p. 9.

3. There were three other sons and one daughter. The daughter, Khadijā Sultāna was married to Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur (1627-57), one son, Ibrāhīm Mirzā, died in the second year of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign, while two sons by one Khurshīd Bibī survived; *Ḥadiqā*, 25, 200-201. Thèvenot says that 'Abdu'l-lāh was not the eldest but the second son, and was "the son of Brahman lady, who had other princes by her late husband." The elder brother "was imprisoned and later poisoned." Apart from the fact that Thèvenot and other European travellers of the period were ill-informed

potentates who sent their Envoys to condole the death of the late King and congratulate the new King were Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II who sent a special Envoy Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan, and Murtaza Nizām Shāh who sent Mīr Ja'far, both of whom brought with them most valuable presents for the new King. A few days later came Ikh̄lās Kh̄n, Envoy of Prince Kh̄urram, later Shāh Jahan, for the same purpose.⁴

Foreign Relations

(i) Iran

The relations of the Quṭb Shāhi monarchy with Iran had been intimate ever since the establishment of the dynasty, but with the intensification of the Shī'ah faith in Iran under the Ṣafawī monarchs these relations had become even closer. Muḥammad ibn Kh̄ātūn, who was destined to be the *Peshwa* of the kingdom, was sent by Sultān Muḥammad to Iran in 1024/1615, and he was there for two years. When he returned he was accompanied by the Iranian Ambassador Qāsim Bēg who was later suc-

regarding the events at the court, we have the testimony of *Ḥadiqā*, 200, where it is related how well the King treated his brothers even when one of them was inordinately rude to him. *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, 391, says that 'Abdu'l-lāh had an elder brother, Muḥammad Kh̄udā Bandah, and Sultān Muḥammad had appointed him his heir and successor; but 'Abdu'l-lāh's mother brought round the other group composed of Gharībīs (or *afaqīs*), Turks and some ḥabashīs and put 'Abdu'l-lāh on the throne.

Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh

Kh̄udā 'Abdu'l-lāh Bandah. Quṭb Shāh = Princess of 'Adil Shāh Bijapur.	Kh̄adija Sultāna = Muḥammad	Ibrāhīm Mirza	Sultān- Quli Mirza	Shahzāda Mirza
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Kh̄adija Sultāna's marriage to Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, *Ṣafar* 1047/June 1637; *Basātinu's-Salāṭīn*, 295. Kh̄adija Sultāna was evidently 'Abdu'l-lāh's elder sister as he uses most respectful epithets of address in his letter to her; letter No. 19, *Makatīb Sultān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh*, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Library, Karachi, 7/27; Salar Jung Library, Adab, *Nathr Farsi*, 295. *Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh*, 1626-56, Methwold (Moreland, *Relations of Golkonda*, p. 10) says that 'Abdu'l-lāh had three other wives besides the princess of Bijapur.

4. *Ḥadiqā*, 31, 32, Evidently not merely the Mughal Emperor but also his Viceroy in the Deccan had his Envoy at the Quṭb Shāhī Court. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, 1580-1627.

ceeded as the Iranian Envoy by Muḥammad-Qulī Bēg. It was on 'Abdu'l-lāh's accession that Muḥammad-Qulī Bēg was allowed to return, accompanied by the Qutb Shāhī Envoy Khairāt Khān with rich presents for the Shāh. When the Ambassadors reached Surat for embarkation for Iran they received urgent summons from Shāh Jahan at Agra who asked them to take his autograph letter to the Shāh. They embarked from Surat to Bandar 'Abbās, but when they reached there they found that the Shāh had already expired on 22-5-1037/19th January, 1628.

The Iranian Ambassador had precedence over the diplomatic corps, and he was always mentioned before the Mughal Ambassador even after the Deed of Submission of 1637 when the name of the Shāh of Iran was replaced by that of the Mughal Emperor in Friday sermons. As long as 'Abdu'l-lāh was independent in his internal affairs, the name of the Shāh of Iran was mentioned in Friday prayers before the name of the King. The high place which Iran had in the estimation of the King of Tilang-Āndhra was due entirely to the bonds of faith, as both the monarchs belonged to the Shī'ah faith. This rather invisible bond was disliked by Emperor Shāh Jahan, and when opportunity came and he got complete hold on the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, he had it snapped.

But 'Abdu'l-lāh was never free from the latent Iranian influence, and bided his time. The Deed of Submission of 1636 and the galling defeat of 1656 had left scars on the face of the Qutb Shāhī policy. Even before the Mughal Empire was rent asunder by the fraternal War of Succession 'Abdu'l-lāh wrote to "his uncle

5. *Ḥadiqā*, 81-83. Muḥammad ibn Khātūn, one of the renowned *peshwas* of the Qutb Shāhī monarchy, came to Haidarabad from Iran in 1009/1600-1. As is related in the text he led the embassy to Iran in 1024/1615. He was appointed *Wakil* and *Peshwa* on 9.10.1043/29th March, 1634. He was steeped in knowledge and, different to all other *peshwas*, his name is always prefixed by the honorific title, 'Allāmah. It is related that it was only after conversations and discussions with the learned that he began his official routine, while on every Tuesday, the official holiday, he spent most of his time in the company of the learned. In 1059/1649 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but he was not destined to reach Mecca and died at Mokha on the South Arabian coast; *Ḥada'iqā's Salāṭīn*, Salar Jung, MSS. *Tarikh Fārsī*, 213, fol. 194 b — 201 b; Munshī Qādir Khān Bidrī, *Tārīkh Qutb Shāhī*, Salar Jung, MSS., *Tarikh Fārsī*, 116.

who was in Iran" to represent to the Shāh "with the great humility" that Aurangzēb and Muḥammad Sa'id had invaded his kingdom and beg the Shah to go over to his rescue in case anything like that should take place again. In another letter, also to "his uncle", he said that the presents he had sent to His Majesty through his Envoy, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Khātūn were still lying with the Shaikh's representatives in Iran and they should be presented to His Majesty at once.⁶

The Mughal War of succession brought another opportunity for strengthening Ṣafawī relations. When the immediate pressure of the Mughals was removed, both 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh felt comparatively free to shape their policy *vis à vis* the Shāh. The Shāh therefore wrote almost simultaneous letters to both that as the Mughal Empire was in a turmoil it was time that they should jointly face "the enemies of the Apostolic Household ('Ahl-i Bait') boldly and revive the glories of the Shī'ah faith." This must have partly led to the revocation of the religious clauses of the Deed of Submission of 1636.⁷

(ii) *The Mughals*

(a) *Up to the Deed of Submission, 1637*

The year 1626 seemed to synchronise with the end of an epoch in the Deccan. It marked the death of the peace-loving Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, followed four months later by that of the war-like Mālik 'Ambar, while a little more than a year later the Emperor Jahangir too died. Shāh Jahan was well acquainted with the affairs of the Deccan, and it was not long after his accession that he sent Muḥiyu'd-dīn as his Envoy to Gōlkonda and his brother Mu'īnu'd-dīn as his Envoy to Bījapur. The policy of the new Emperor was visibly an expansionist one, and while he wanted to curb whatever power was left with Ḥusain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, he also wished to have a foothold in Orissa and harass the Quṭb Shāhī State from the North-East. He thus wanted to squeeze the two kingdoms into submission.

6. *Makātīb*, fol. 39(a). The Shāh was 'Abbās II who ruled Iran from 1641 to 1666.

7. *Munsha'āt Tāhir Wahid*, quoted in Najīb Ashraf Nadawī, *Ruqqa'āt 'Ālamgir*, pp. 276-77.

The excuse for invading the Deccan soon appeared, Khān-i Jahān Lōdī, one of the foremost nobles of the Empire, allied himself with Husain Nizām Shāh and occupied the Mughal territory of Bālāghāt. On Shāh Jahan's ultimatum the Nizām Shāhī forces retreated, but one of their Generals, Syed Kamāl, would not quit Bīr. The Emperor now decided to go to the Deccan in person. He reached Shādiābād-Māndū on 9-7-1039/12th February, 1630. At Māndū he gave audience to a number of Dakḥnī amirs such as Yāqūt Ḥabashī, Khalōji Bhonslē, Udaya Jayarām etc., and received the homage of Sa'adat Khān, the Mughal Governor of Khāndēsh. The Emperor arrived at Burhānpūr on 26-7-1039/1st March, 1630.⁸ Once on the gateway of the Deccan Shāh Jahan accelerated the pace of the Mughal armies. He sent three armies against what was left of the Nizām Shāhī possessions. Passing the line of the Painganga a part of the imperial army attacked Dharūr which fell into Mughal hands early in 1040/1630-31.⁹

No doubt overawed by the success of the Mughals against the Nizām Shāhīs who had been left with only the fort of Daulatābād, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh sent the Mughal Envoy Shaikh Mu'inu'd-dīn with *pēshkash* from Bijapur, while his brother, Shaikh Muḥiyu'd-dīn reached Burhānpūr with a *pēshkash* from Ḥaidarabād. But it was reported that the 'Ādil Shāhīs had allied themselves to the Nizām Shāhīs and had reached the banks of the Mānjira. They were pursued by A'zam Khān right up to Mangāon, the home of the Nizām Shāhī amīr, Tanaji Doria, which was captured. Nusairī Khān was sent to complete the conquest of the Tilangana country and the first citadel he captured on the way was Qandhār on 15-10-1039/18th May, 1630.¹⁰

8. 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Lāhōri, *Badshāh Nāmāh*, 248, 240; Muḥammad Ṣwāleḥ Kambo, *'Amal-i-Ṣwāleḥ*, 215. Bīr, headquarters of a district in Mahārāshtra State, 18° 59' N., 75° 46' E.

9. *Lahori*, I, 339.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 374.

Dhārūr; Maḥbūbnagar district, Āndhra Pradēsh; 18° 45' N., 76° 10' E. Qandhār; headquarters of a taluqā in Nandēṛ district, Mahārāshtra State; 18° 53' N., 77° 12' E. The capture of Qandhār by the Mughals proved to be a bad omen for Shāh Jahan, for only a few days after this Shāh Jahan's beloved Empress, "the Lady of the Taj", breathed her last on 17.11.1040/7th June, 1631, and Shāh Jahan left Burhānpūr with her mortal remains on 24.9.1041/4th April, 1632, reaching Agra on 1.12.1041/9th June, 1632.

The days of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty were now numbered. Daulatābād was captured by the Mughals on 19-12-1042/17th June, 1633 and Husain, the last of the Nizām Shāhīs, was sent as a prisoner to Gwaliōr.¹¹

In the meantime considerable pressure was exercised on the Quṭb Shāhī territory in the North East. The fort of Manṣūrgarh was the last Quṭb Shāhī outpost a few miles from the Orissa frontier, and Shāh Jahan, while still at Burhānpūr, ordered Baqar Khān, Governor of Orissa, to advance into the Āndhra territory and capture it.¹² The fort was strongly garrisoned by 3,000 horse and 12,000 foot-soldiers. The first hurdle was the extremely narrow pass of Chatardādā, "which is so narrow that even a few gunmen and bowmen can defend it". Two *kos* from Chatardādā was Khērāpāra and four *kos* from there was Manṣūrgarh. Bāqar Khān reached Manṣūrgarh on 8-5-1040/3rd December, 1630, evidently without encountering much opposition. Bombardment of the fort began, and the Quṭb Shāhī army was scattered even on the first onslaught. "Many were killed, others taken prisoner, while many fled to the jungle". Bāqar Khān now gave the charge of the fort to Mir 'Alī Akbar and handed over the general administration to Šafī-Qulī.¹³

The Deccan was now hemmed in by the Mughal forces on all sides, and it was easy to lay real or artificial blame on the remaining two Deccan Sultānates. Shāh Jahān left the capital again for the South on 18-4-1045/21st September, 1635. His presence there once again produced an electrical effect. He sent two ultimata in the form of imperial *farmāns*, one to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and the other to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh in which they were squarely reprimanded for their sins and admonished for the future.

11. 'Amal-i Šwāleḥ, 436, 447, 483; Lahori, I, 496.

12. The Manṣurgarh Campaign, Kambo, 396; Lahori, I, 332.

13. According to Kambo, 396, Manṣurgarh was a fort constructed by Manṣūr, "a slave of Quṭbu'l-Mulk". There are slight variations between Lahori, I, 332, and 'Amal-i Šwāleḥ, 396, e.g. with regard to the number of footsoldiers guarding the fort, but they are not very important. Both agree that resistance was meagre, which might have been on account of either the pusillanimity of the garrison or the better equipment and morale of the invaders.

The *farmāns* to “‘Ādil Khān” and “Qutbu’l-Mulk” respectively were both couched in a language meant for just subordinate amirs. Among “‘Ādil Khān’s” sins were the occupation of the Nizām Shāhī territory, the umbrage Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh had given to Shahji and the non-payment of the *pēshkash*. The *farmān* which was addressed to “Qutbu’l-Mulk” referred to the marks of kindness shown by the Emperor in the past; and he was warned that the Emperor belonging to the Sunnī creed would in no case countenance that any Companions of the Prophet or his successors should be decried and scolded in public within “Qutbu’l-Mulk’s” dominions. He was also told that the name of the Shāh of Iran should not be mentioned in Friday sermons. A demand was made of the arrears of *pēshkash* in the form of jewels of the finest water, elephants of the best breed such as *Dāk Samandar*, as well as other presents which should be handed over to the imperial Envoy. In the end the *farmān* categorically stated that in case “Qutbu’l-Mulk” continued to be recalcitrant his country would be attacked by the victorious army of the Empire and it would be himself who would be responsible for what might happen.¹⁴

In the meantime Shāhji had proclaimed an infant scion of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty Murtaẓa, King of Ahmadnagar and occupied a number of forts from Poona and Chakan to Bālāghāt but he could not withstand the Mughal might, and was forced to surrender the boy in December, 1636. Moreover Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh had been sending money to the commanders of the forts at Udgir and Ossa surreptitiously and advising them not to surrender those forts to the Mughals. But the forts were occupied by the imperial army. On 11-8-1045/10th January, 1636, ‘Ādil Shāh sent an abject *‘arzdāsh*t or petition through his Envoy Mīr Abu’l-Ḥasan with costly presents, and this was reciprocated by the Emperor who sent his Envoy Mukarramat Khān who was received by the King five *kos* from Bijapur followed by the signing of the Deed of Submission on 25-12-1045/23rd May, 1636.

The *Inqiyād Nāmāh* or the Deed of Submission which marked the end of the independent status of Tilang-Āndhrā, was signed

14. *Lahori*, II, 129-33.

in the same month.¹⁵ Like the *Inkiyād Nāmah* of Bījapur it was not a treaty between two independent sovereigns at all. For, one of the two parties was the *murīd-i-maurūsī* or "hereditary disciple," 'Abdu'l-lāh "Qutbu'l-Mulk" and the other was "the preceptor", the Emperor. "Qutbu'l-Mulk" thereby promised on his behalf as well as on behalf of his progeny the following:

(i) The names of the twelve *Imams* would be replaced by those of the four Caliphs, in Friday sermons, while the name of the Shāh of Iran would be replaced by that of Emperor.

(ii) Gold and silver coins would be struck according to the formula passed by the Emperor.

(iii) As from the ninth regnal year, two lacs of *hons* would be sent annually to the Emperor which would now total 8 lakhs, provided that the price of jewels, costly presents, elephants etc. already sent would be accounted for.

(iv) 'Abdu'l-lāh would consider His Majesty's friends as his friends and His Majesty's enemies as his enemies.

(v) 'Abdu'l-lāh swore on the *Qur'ān* in the presence of the imperial Envoy, 'Abdu'l-Latif that he would abide by every word of the document, and if he were to stray from the right path then the Emperor would be justified in ordering his servants to conquer the kingdom.

(vi) If "‘Adil Khān" were to try to conquer the Qutb Shāhī territory 'Abdu'l-lāh would seek the help of the Emperor to drive him out; but if the representative of the Emperor in the Deccan would not forward his petition and he would be forced to pay indemnity to 'Adil Khān then the amount so paid would be deducted from his *pēshkash*.

Even a cursory glance at the articles of the Deed would show that henceforward the Qutb Shāhī State had become, as Jadu Nath Sarkar says, a vassal of the Emperor. 'Abdu'l-lāh's abject-

15. Full text of this decisive "Deed of Submission"; Lahori, II, 177-81. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, 36, is wrong when he says that the Qutb Shāhī monarch became "a vassal of the Mughal Empire" in April, 1636.

Udgīr; headquarters of a taluqa in Osmānābād district, Mahārāshtra State; 18° 24' N., 77° 7' E.

Ossa; headquarters of a taluqa in Osmānābād district, Mahārāshtra State; 18° 15' N., 77° 30' E.

ness as is evident from the very first sentence, was such that he divested himself of the royal title and called himself the “hereditary disciple of the Emperor. He was no more master of his own mint as the coins were to be struck in the name of the Emperor. He had thus given up one of the great privileges of medieval kingship. He was willing even to change the *Khutba* according to the dictates of the Emperor thus completing the circle of subservience. He ceased to be the arbiter of his foreign policy, for, now onwards, he would consider Shāh Jahan’s friends as his friends and Shāh Jahan’s enemies as his enemies; and even when the ‘Adil Shāhi troops were to attack his dominions he would have to crave the help of the Emperor’s Viceroy and drive them out.

It is remarkable that the only direct pressure exercised by Shāh Jahan on Tilang-Āndhra was at its furthest corner at Mansūrgarh. The effeteness of the State had reached such a level that the fear of the Mughal Empire consequent on the elimination of the Nizām Shāhi rump, and the pressure on Bijapur were enough for ‘Abdu’l-lāh to change the status of his dominions to a mere protectorate of the Empire.

The aftermaths of the two Deeds of Submission are significant. Muḥammad ‘Adil Shāh had shown some resistance, and now the Emperor ordered the restoration not only of the fort of Pareṇḍa but also of the Konkan coast including the port of Chaul to the ‘Adil Shāhi territory. He also promised that “so long as ‘Adil Khān remained faithful” his territory would not be touched.”¹⁶ On the other hand the treatment meted out to ‘Abdu’l-lāh was rather shabby. The Mughal Envoy, ‘Abdu’l-Laṭīf and the jeweller, Nihāl Chand, were sent to the Qutb Shāhi capital to assess the value of the jewels included in the *pēshkash*. While they were at the court they saw on ‘Abdu’l-lāh’s finger a ring with a fine studded ruby, twelve *rattis* in weight and estimated to cost fifty thousand rupees. When they reported to the Emperor of the existence of such a valuable ornament, he ordered that the ring should be sent to the capital and its value be deducted from the *pēshkash*.¹⁷

16 Lahori, II, 204-205. The treaty is dated 3.12 1096/19th April, 1637.

17. *Ibid.*, II, 209-10. *Ratti* equals 8 barley-corns.

The final treaty, '*Ahd Namah* (this time it was not a *farmān* though the "treaty" was unilateral), was signed by Shāh Jahan on 7-4-1046/29 August 1636 in which "Qutbu'l-Mulk" was lauded that he had accepted the position of "subservience and humility" to the Throne. His past sins were forgiven as he had introduced the names of the four Caliphs as well as the name of the Emperor in Friday sermons, had already coined gold and silver coins with the imperial formula, had sent the arrears of *pēshkash* and agreed to pay an annual tribute of two lakh *hons*. The Emperor was also gracious to assure that as long as Qutbu'l-Mulk did not deviate from correct conduct the integrity of his territories would be guaranteed. This treaty was accompanied by the Emperor's portrait studded with precious stones and pearls.¹⁸ On his part 'Abdu'l-lāh sent his own portrait studded with gold and jewels to the Emperor along with presents worth forty lakhs of rupees and a letter owning allegiance to him. It was peculiar that this letter filled 16 lines with the Emperor's titles without daring once to name him.¹⁹

Shāh Jahan left Daulatābād for the North on July 11, 1636; three days later he appointed the seventeen year old Prince Aurangzēb, Viceroy of the four Provinces of the Deccan.²⁰

(b) *From 1636 to the defection of Muḥammad Sa'id in 1656.*

The two decades beginning with the Deed of Submission of May 1636, and ending in the defection of Muḥammad Sa'id Mir Jumla to the Mughal camp in 1656, are dominated by that intrepid Ardistānī, who had created a virtual State within the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom for himself, mocked at the dwindling power of his master

18. *Ibid.*, II, 210-11. 'Abdu'l-lāh actually went to the Jāmi' Masjid of Haidarabad to see that the change in the *Khutbah* was actually made; *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, 393.

19. 'Abdu'l-lāh's *Arzdasht*, *ibid.*, 212-15.

20. *Lahori*, II, 211-15. The four provinces constituting the Viceroyalty of the Deccan were (i) *Khandēsh*, (ii) Berar, (iii) Daulatābād, (iv) *Tilangana*, which was the name given to the territory lying South of Berar from the line of Painganga to the Northern and North-Eastern frontier of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom which stretched up to the river Mānjira to the North-West of Haidarabad. *Sarkar*, I, 43, *Lahori*, I, 205.

'Abdu'l-lāh and then crossed over to 'Abdu'l-lāh's deadly enemy, Prince Aurangzēb, Viceroy of the Deccan. It is necessary to remember that the receding authority of the Qutb Shāhī monarchy *vis à vis* the Mughals was finally brought to a breaking point by Muḥammad Sa'id.

With the signing of the Deed of Submission the Qutb Shāhī kingdom lay so low that probably no campaign worth the name could be undertaken without the connivance of the Mughal Emperor. We have evidence of Shāh Jahan having directed the great campaign headed by Mīr Jumlā which finally eliminated the kingdom of the Karnāṭak, the name now given to the remnant of the erstwhile Empire of Vijayanagar. One of the reasons why the Mughals did not seem to be exercising a direct influence on the affairs of South India immediately after 1636 was the continuous change in the Viceroyalty of Mughal Deccan after Prince Aurangzēb's "retirement" in 1644. As many as five Viceroys were successively appointed between 1644 and 1652, the longest term being that of Shāistā Khān, the Emperor's brother-in-law, who held charge of the Southern Provinces from 1549 to 1652. These rapid changes worsened the economic structure of the Provinces, and it is no wonder that only after the appointment of Prince Aurangzēb as Viceroy of the Deccan a second time in 1652, a charge which he kept till the War of Succession in 1658, that a spurt was made to revivify Mughal influence in the Deccan.

Meanwhile 'Abdu'l-lāh was wooing the favours of the Emperor not merely by giving inordinate respect to the Imperial Envoy and personally receiving him five miles from the capital, but also by continuing to write most abject letters to the Emperor. These letters were in the form of petitions with himself as the suppliant, expressing sense of service ('*ubūdiyyat* = slavery) and actually agreeing to pay His Majesty two thirds of the booty which was acquired from "the Rāyal of the Karnāṭak". One of these letters was evidently written after a partial or total conquest of the Karnāṭak, for he stated therein that the Emperor had appointed certain functionaries to partition the Karnāṭak between Gōlkonḍa and Bījapur but they had treacherously allied themselves "with the Rāyal and the zemindars of the territory". These zemindars had, however, been overpowered by Mīr Jumlā. All this, the Sultān

said, only "in order to bring the matters to the notice of His Imperial Majesty."²¹

The Emperor's eldest son Dārā Shikōh, nominally Governor of the Punjab, was always at the elbow of Shāh Jahan, and was virtually his chief adviser even before he fell ill and the great struggle for succession began ending in the Battle of Samūgarh on May 29, 1658. We have a number of letters or rather "petitions" (*Arzdāsh*t) written by 'Abdu'l-lāh to Dārā when he was in power at Delhi in which he called himself the *murīd* or disciple of Dārā, and begged him also as "a disciple in perpetuity" to use his good offices with the Emperor for the just apportionment of the booty of the Karnāṭak. In another letter to Dārā he filled three pages delineating the titles of the Emperor and said that it was a matter of the highest honour that his letters had been read by the Emperor's Majesty.

Apart from the gradual subservience of the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy to the Muḡhals as evidenced by 'Abdu'l-lāh's letters to Shāh Jahan and Dārā Shikōh, there is another indication of the way the wind was blowing. The onslaught of Bijapur on what was left of the erstwhile Vijayanagar Empire began in 1031/1622-23 when Karnūl was conquered and annexed to the kingdom. This was followed some time later by the capture of Ikkērī (which, however, changed hands more than once), Sīrā and Bangalore.²² It was not till April 1642 that 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered his army to march into the territory of the Rāya, Venkaṭa III.²³ The Gōlkonda forces were, however, not uniformly successful, and in 1645 'Abdu'l-lāh issued orders for the cessation of hostilities. Shāh Jahan now seems to have asserted his authority in the Karnāṭak and commanded both 'Abdu'l-lāh and Ibrāhim 'Adil Shāh to conquer and partition the Karnāṭak territory among themselves. There are also other instances of such an exercise of authority. Thus in an

21. '*Arḍ'iz wa Ittihad Namaḡāt Sultan 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh*, MSS., Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu, Karachi, No. 14; *Makātib*.

22. *Basātin*, 273. See *Further Sources*, I, 337-38.

Ikkērī, Shimoga district, Mysore State, 14° 7' N., 79° 19' E.

Sīrā, Tumkūr district, Mysore State; 13° 45' N., 76° 57' E.

23. Venkaṭa III, died in October 1642, and as he had no legitimate children he was succeeded by his nephew Śrīranga III, the last scion of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagar.

'arzdāsh̄t to the Emperor, Prince Aurangzēb said that Muḥammad Mu'min was appointed the Emperor's personal representative in the Karṇāṭak, and this greatly upset 'Abdu'l-lah. In 1069/1658 Aurangzēb, who had now crowned himself Emperor, sent Mustafā Khān and Saif Khān Bijapuri to supervise the administration of Gaṇḍikōṭa. These tendencies show a remarkable acceleration in the Mughal authority in the affairs of the Karṇāṭak and perhaps Aurangzēb's ultimate intention to be the overlord of the far South after the elimination of the Sulṭānates which seemed to be in sight.²⁴

The fuse was ignited in an unexpected corner. Muḥammad Sa'id Ardistānī, who had joined Quṭb Shāhī service when he was already middle-aged, had risen to dizzy heights as Mīr Jumlā and Commander-in-chief of the Quṭb Shāhī forces in the Karṇāṭak and had created a special place for himself in the economy of the kingdom. After the conquest of Gaṇḍikōṭa in 1650 he had made that great fortress the centre of his activities as well as his vast jagirs which extended to an area 300 miles long and about 60 miles broad. He kept a personal body-guard, 5,000 strong, besides the Quṭb Shāhī forces which were under his command. He had managed to amass prodigious wealth, and his diamonds could only

24. *Further Sources*, I, 353, quoting Macleod, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie*, pp. 180-190. Appointment of Muḥammad Mu'min; *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, MSS. Aṣafiyah, Inshā-i Fārsī No. 86, fol. 74 (a); Muḥammad Kāzīm, *'Ālamgir Nāmāh* I, 440.

There is little doubt that the campaigns in Western and Eastern Karṇāṭak by Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa were undertaken at the instance of the Mughal Emperor. The Gaṇḍikōṭā *Kaifiyat*, translated in part by Dr. Venkataramanayya in his article on "Mir Jumla's Conquest of Karnataka from Telugu Sources", *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, pp. 221-2, is explicit that "Mir Jumla, a wazir of the Padshah, came to the south on behalf of Alamgir Padshah". Dr. Venkataramanayya says (p. 223) that there is a "palpable mistake" in this statement, for Mīr Jumlā did not come on behalf of 'Ālamgir but as a "servant of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh". But one feels that while Mīr Jumlā was "a wazir of the Padshah," he was acting under the order of the Mughal Emperor. There is a clear differentiation between "Pādshāh" and "Ālamgir Pādshāh." Under the Deed of Submission, the foreign affairs of the kingdom had come under the sway of the Mughal Emperor, and, as the Gaṇḍikōṭā *Kaifiyat* says the campaign was undertaken at his instance. This is further corroborated by a copper-plate grant in which a certain incident is referred to in the time of the occupation of the

be weighed in maunds.²⁵ His influence at the Court was so great that Tavernier, who traded in diamonds and other precious stones, had to go from Masulipatam to Ganḍikōṭa before going to Haidarabad simply because his diamonds had to be passed by Mīr Jumlā before being shown to the King, and it was after a full fortnight's stay at Ganḍikōṭa that he was allowed to proceed to Haidarabad²⁶. Quite naturally Mīr Jumlā's great power and authority exercised the jealousy of the royal entourage which reacted on the haughtiness and sense of independence on his part as well as on the part of his family.²⁷

It was a silly and very untoward episode which set the State ablaze. Puffed up with pride Muḥammad Sa'īd's son Muḥammad Amin would not be under anybody's discipline especially when his father was away at Ganḍikōṭa. It is related that once he dared to go to the Palace dead drunk and was sick while he was lying on the velvety tapestry of the Throne in the very sanctum of the Palace. Mīr Jumlā had already sensed the danger that lay in his path and had informed the Shāh of Iran as well as the King of

region by "the Nawabu of Golkonda on behalf of the Pachchayi" or the Emperor; *A.R.E.*, 1920-21, no. 10., referred to in *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, p. 225. See n. 68 below, and 'Abdu'l-lāh's letter to the Shāh of Iran, *Makātib*, letter 1, extracts in n. 39 below. Of course the Emperor at the time the campaign was initiated was Shāh Jahan not 'Alamgīr.

25. *Bernier*, 17; *Thèvenot*, 144, says that he owned 20 maunds of diamonds.

26. *Tavernier*, pp. 200-32.

Ganḍikōṭā, Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 47' N., 70° 16' E.

27. Muḥammad Sa'īd was born about 1591. Various dates are ascribed to his arrival in the Deccan, and range from the later period of Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's reign (*Tavernier*, Ball's edition, 165) to 1630 (*Sarkar, Aurangzeb*, I, 193). *Ḥadiqā*, 215, says that Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd was appointed Sarkhel in R.Y. 14 or 1048/1638-39. *Tavernier* and other European travellers are not very reliable regarding their historical perspective or events at the Court. Thus *Bernier*, 18, says that Muḥammad Sa'īd was intimate with the King's mother (Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam) and this was one of the causes of the growing estrangement between the King and himself. This is incomprehensible as the venerable lady was born in 1001/1592-93 and must have been past 60 when the rift between Mīr Jumlā and the Sultān took place. Muḥammad Sa'īd also must have been over fifty when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Quṭb Shāhī army of the Karnāṭak. See Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Life of Mīr Jumlā*, p. 2, n. 2.

Bijapur that he wanted to seek asylum in their dominions,²⁸ but evidently neither of them was willing to accept him. He had carried on negotiations with Prince Aurangzēb who was then at Aurangābād, and it is reported that he had actually asked him to invade Gōlkonḍa and make short work of the tottering kingdom.²⁹ He had informed the Prince that the Dabīr or Chief Secretary of the kingdom was a relation of his, and undertaken to defray the expenses of the Mughal army marching on the capital to the extent of fifty thousand rupees per day.³⁰

'Abdu'l-lāh summoned Mīr Jumlā to the Court, but as he did not comply with the royal command the King imprisoned Muḥammad Amīn at Kovilkonḍā for his insolence and confiscated his property.³¹ On his part Shāh Jahan granted a *mansab* of 5000 to Muḥammad Sa'id and that of 2000 to Muḥammad Amīn. At the same time Prince Aurangzēb was ordered to march on Haidarabād with the avowed object of the collection of arrears of *pēshkash*.

Aurangzēb now sent his son Muḥammad Sultān in advance, and ordered Hādīdād Khān, Governor of Mughal Tilangāna, to join him at Nāndēṛ with his forces. This joint army reached the Northern tip of Husain Sagar lake, above five miles from the centre of the city, on 5-4-1066/22nd January 1656. It became clear to 'Abdu'l-lāh that he could not face the Mughal army, and he sought safety in flying to the ancient capital, Gōlkonḍa, with his entou-

28. Sarkar: *Aurangzēb*, I, dilates on this aspect a good deal. Secret negotiations with Prince Aurangzēb, *ibid.*, 221. See also 'Ināyat Khān: *Shah-jahan-Namah*, E. and D., VII, 108 ff. The dates given here are according to 'Ināyat Khān's version.

29. Gribble: *History of the Deccan*, I, 173, where the translation of Mīr Jumlā's letter as given in Bernier, I, 38-39, is quoted. This is followed by the curious episode of Aurangzēb visiting Haidarabad dressed as an Ambassador with the purpose of "seizing" 'Abdu'l-lah, and the ruse leaking out. There is no doubt that Aurangzēb carried on secret negotiations with Mīr Jumlā, but his coming to Haidarabad incognito is improbable and is not corroborated by other authorities.

30. Bernier, p. 18.

31. 'Inayat Khān, 108, Imprisonment at Kōvilkonḍa, *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, fol. 75(a) where Aurangzēb informs Shāh Jahan of Amīn's imprisonment in that fort. *Kovilkonḍa*, Mahbūbnagar district, Andhra Pradesh, 17° 45' N., 77° 47' E.

rage.³² The King now released Muḥammad Amīn with some of the belongings of Mīr Jumlā, but Muḥammad Sultān continued his march to the fort and ordered trenches to be dug and mines to be laid. Haidarabad was occupied the next day, but the army was forbidden to do any harm to the city as it was the object of the Prince to conciliate the people as far as possible.³³ The city and the palaces were nevertheless pillaged. Evidently 'Abdu'l-lāh had lost his morale, and he now sent 200 caskets full of priceless gems and other presents in order to conciliate Muḥammad Sultān. But just then Aurangzēb appeared on the scene. He came by forced marches from Aurangābād, having covered nearly 630 kilometres in just eighteen days. He reached Gōlkonda on 10-4-1066/28th January 1656, and immediately began to engage the Quṭb Shāhī defenders.

'Abdu'l-lāh had no alternative left except to beg for a cessation of hostilities. But the battle raged and the siege of the citadel was further tightened and continued for nearly seven weeks. There were many sorties and daily battles particularly opposite Mūsā Burj of the citadel. At one stage 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered the fighting to stop and sent Mīr Faṣīḥ as his Envoy to the Mughal camp with four boxes full of jewels and elephants and horses with gold trappings, with the request for the grant of an interview to his venerable mother Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgum with Aurangzēb, but the

32. *Ibid.*, 111. *Khāfi Khān* says that 'Abdu'l-lāh retired to Gōlkonda when he heard that the Prince had reached Mēdchal, while Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, I, 229 says that he fled to the citadel on 22nd January, 1656.

There is a discrepancy of one year between the dates given by 'Ināyat Khān on the one hand, and Muḥammad Wāris (*Shāh Jahān Nāmāh*) and Muḥammad Swāleh (*Amal-i Swāleh*) on the other. The episode of the invasion of Gōlkonda and the occupation of Haidarabad is placed by 'Ināyat Khān in 29 R.Y., while the other two chroniclers have placed them in 30 R.Y. See *E. and D.*, VII, 109, n. 1. I have kept the dates but applied them to 30 R.Y., i.e. 1066/1655-56.

Medchal, town in the north-east of Haidarabad district, Andhra Pradesh; 17° 36' N., 78° 27' E.

33. The motive; 'Ināyat Khān, 112. The royal palace at Haidarabad pillaged; *Aurangzēb*, *op.cit.*, 232 quoting, *Adāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, fol. 110(a). According to Sarkar Aurangzēb reached Gōlkonda on 8th February, 1656, but 'Ināyat Khān is clear that he was already there on 10.4.1066/28th January, 1656.

request was turned down and fighting restarted.³⁴ Aurangzēb now ordered Mirza ‘Abdu’l-Latīf to go to the Karnāṭak with 2000 horses and bring Muḥammad Sa‘id to the Mughal camp.

And now an event took place resulting in a diplomatic victory for Aurangzēb. Evidently the Emperor Shāh Jahan lured by ‘Abdu’l-lāh’s petitions to himself and to his favourite son Dārā Shikōh, was perhaps feeling for him in his utter helplessness. He now sent his brother-in-law Shā’istā Khān with a robe of honour and a rank of 7,000 for Muḥammad Sultān as well as a *farmān* to ‘Abdu’l-lāh granting him a free pardon. But like the diplomat that he was, Aurangzēb simply suppressed the *farmān*.³⁵ Not knowing what had happened, ‘Abdu’l-lāh now sent his eldest son-in-law, Nizāmu’d-dīn Aḥmad, who was the right-hand man of the King, “with jewels, elephants and horses”, and with an offer of the marriage of the King’s second daughter to Prince Muḥammad Sultān. The Prince now persuaded his father to grant an interview to Hayāt Bakhshī Bēgum, who was brought to Shā’istā Khān’s camp on 22-5-1066/8th March 1656.³⁶ She was treated well and had the audience of Aurangzēb the next day. When she came face to face with the Viceroy, she begged pardon for her son’s misdeeds and also requested the Prince to be considerate to him. Aurangzēb made it plain that an armistice could only be granted if she offered one crore of rupees on ‘Abdu’l-lāh’s behalf. On further entreaties on the part of the Queen, Aurangzēb agreed that the amount might be paid in three instalments, and further reduced his demand by two lakhs of *hons*.³⁷ Consequent on this agreement the imperial army evacuated the trenches opposite Gōlkonda on 19-5-1066/5th March, 1656. On 19-6-1066/4th April, 1656 took place the marriage of Prince Muḥammad Sultān to ‘Abdu’l-lāh’s daughter, and it was decided that ‘Abdu’l-lāh on his

34. *Khāfi Khān*, 397.

35. *‘Indiyat Khān*, 115.

36. Thus *‘Indiyat Khān*, 116. This was another insult to the royal house of Golkonda that the venerable queen should be brought merely to Shā’istā Khān’s camp in the first instance.

37. Qābil Khān, *Adāb-i ‘Ālamgīrī*, Salar Jung Library, Adab Nath Farsi, No. 132. This valuable manuscript has been quoted profusely by Najib Ashraf Nadawi in his excellent (though partisan) book, *Ruqqa’āt-i-‘Ālamgīr*.

A‘zamgarh, n.d. The manuscript contains 39 letters from Aurangzēb to “Quṭbu’l-Mulk,”

death would be succeeded by his Mughal son-in-law. The Princess brought with her gems and other valuables worth ten lakhs as a present from her father, while it was agreed that the dowry of the bride should be two and a half lakhs of hons as well as the fort of Ramgir and the adjoining district. It was only now that the imperial *farmān* pardoning 'Abdu'l-lāh for his misdeeds, which Aurangzēb had received on 9-5-1066/24th February 1656, was handed over to 'Abdu'l-lāh.³⁸

In the meantime Muḥammad Sa'īd had arrived near the capital and pitched his camp four *kos* from Ḥusain Sāgar somewhere near the modern Bolāram. On the 18th of March he received the imperial *farmān* and robe of honour sent to him by Prince Aurangzēb from his camp. The Prince was already expecting him, and had sent Mālōji Nuṣairī Khan and Shamsu'd-dīn to him. He now proceeded to meet the Viceroy of the Deccan "accompanied by his army, consisting of 6000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry, 150 elephants and an excellent park of artillery together with his goods, cash, material, furniture, gold, embroidered weapons, diamonds, rubies and other acquisitions."³⁹ With this defection of Muḥammad

38. Full text in Girdhārīlal Aḥqar's *Tārīkh-i Zafarah*, p. 31. See also Tavernier, p. 137 and Manucci, I, 235. The bride was given the title of *Pādshāh Bibī* after her marriage; see Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, I 209. Date and detail in *ʿInāyat Khān*, 117. *Khāfi Khān*, 400, says that the amount of the dowry was 14 lakhs of rupees. The title, "*Pādshāh Bibī*" did not prove to be auspicious to the Princess, as her husband was imprisoned for life by his father for siding with Shujā' in 1660 during the War of Succession; he died in prison in 1087/1677. It was rather unbecoming that after having transferred Ramgir as a part of the Princess's dowry 'Abdu'l-lāh wanted it back in his petitions to Dārā Shikōh, who was still in power; see, for instance letter to Dārā, 'Arā'iz, letter No. 5, fol. 14(b). Evidently he could not budge from Aurangzēb's orders when he was on the spot, but surreptitiously approached Dārā against Aurangzēb's verdict.

'Abdu'l-lāh's "misdeeds" are enumerated by *Khāfi Khān*, p. 401. Apart from Mīr Jumlā's affair he was squarely blamed for helping "ʿAdil Khān" of Bijapur when his capital was invested by imperial forces, and for according asylum to Shivaji after his escape, under the delusion that he would hand over the forts conquered from "ʿAdil Khān" and "*Nizāmu'l-Mulk*" to 'Abdu'l-lāh. This is how ʿAdil Shah and Nizām Shāh are named in the Mughal chronicles.

39. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Mīr Jumlā*, p. 80. There is a graphic description of the complicity of Muḥammad Sa'īd with Aurangzēb in the pathetic letter 'Abdu'l-lāh wrote to Shah ʿAbbās II of Iran (1641-66) imme-

Sa'id, who was no more Mir Jumla but Mu'azzam Khān, a Mughal *mansabdar* of 6000, a page of his life as well as that of the history of Gōlkonda — Haidarabād had been turned.⁴⁰

diately after the "treaty" between himself and the Mughals. It is the first letter in *Makātīb*, *op.cit.* It is a long letter describing the stages which led to the annihilation of the freedom of the Quth Shāhi State by the Mughals. The letter begins with the religious ties (of Shī'ism) which bound Iran and the Qutb Shāhi dynasty. It then continues:

"When Muḥammad Sa'id's son was imprisoned for his imprudence, Sultān Khurram (Shāh Jahan) set aside all previous treaties and understandings and sent 30,000 horse under Prince Aurangzēb to the Deccan in order to 'liberate' Mir Jumla and his family. While Aurangzēb marched from the North (*sic.*) Muḥammad Sa'id, who was in league with him, marched from the Karnatak with 6000 horse and 70,000 foot soldiers. It so happened that just then the units of my army were distributed in different parts of the State, the two (invading) armies joined hands in the vicinity of the city of Haidarabad where my army could not be counted to more than four or five thousand horse. There was thus no alternative except to shut myself up in the fort of Muhammadnagar also called Gōlkonda. Aurangzēb's army was consequently able to occupy Haidarabad which had not experienced foreign rule for 170 years. The battles which ensued lasted more than three months. The fort was besieged and the defenders hard pressed while there was absolutely no hope of any external help. Money to the tune of thousands, lakhs and crores, jewels, gold and silver utensils, highly valuable china, priceless manuscripts collected for generations, which could not be carried to the Fort, have been looted. It was only after a tribute of 20 lakhs of *hons* had been paid that I was relieved. Sultān Aurangzēb left Gōlkonda accompanied by Muḥammad Sa'id with all the money, jewellery, diamonds, rubies and all the rest of the moveables which he had acquired through sheer embezzlement and treachery...

In the end I beg your Imperial Majesty to open a front at Qandhār against the Mughals who had conquered the Karnatak with the help of the traitor, Mir Jumla Muḥammad Sa'id, and played havoc on the city of Haidarabad."

The whole letter is pathetically worded and 'Abdu'l-lāh's tone is apologetic right through. There are some inaccuracies, such as the statement about the advance of the joint forces of Prince Aurangzēb and Muḥammad Sa'id on Gōlkonda, but they have been made in order to enhance Muḥammad Sa'id's guilt. Two important points are worth noting, namely (i) that the Karnatak was conquered at the instance of Aurangzēb; (ii) that 'Abdu'l-lāh instigated Shāh 'Abbas II to open a second front at Qandhār.

40. *Makātīb*, *op.cit.*, p. 81. Muḥammad Sa'id left Haidarabad on April 16, and when he and his son reached Indūr (present Nizānābād) Muḥammad Bēg handed over to him Shāh Jahan's farmān conferring on him the Mughal title of Mu'azzam Khān

(c) From 1656 to 'Abdu'l-lāh's death in 1672

The period covered by the last sixteen years of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign was full of revolutionary changes all over the country. The illness of Shāh Jahan leading to the complete control of Dārā Shikōh on the administration of the State to the extent of poisoning the Emperor's ears against Aurangzēb, caused a turmoil in the Empire. Aurangzēb left Aurangābād on February 5, 1658, along with his youngest brother Murād, defeated Jaswant Singh at Dharmatpur or Dharmat near Ujjain, inflicted a decisive defeat on his elder brother Dārā-Shikōh at Samūgarh on June 8, 1658 and assumed the reins of Government on July 31. He confined his aged father to a part of the Agra fort. He defeated his second brother Shujā at Khajwā near Banaras on January 14, 1659 and Dārā at Deorāi near Ajmer on March 24, 1659, while his youngest brother Murād was held in the Gwāliōr fort. It was after the battle of Deorāi that Aurangzēb formally crowned himself Emperor on June 5, 1650. Dārā was executed in September, Shujā had to fly to Arakan where he was murdered by the local ruler in 1661 and Murād was done to death the next year.⁴¹

In the Western hinterland another revolution was being wrought, and that was the rise of the Marāthas under Shivāji. It is not necessary to detail here the slow but sure rise of this diplomat and strategist from his first clash with the Muḡhals on the occasion of their invasion of Bījapur in 1657 right up to his accession as Mahārāja Shivāji Chatrapati in 1674. His murder of Afzal Khān in 1659, his mutilation of the Mughal Governor Shā'ista Khān in 1663, his two sacks of Surat in 1664 and 1680, the treaty of Purandhar and his submission to Rāja Jai Singh in 1665, his summons to and escape from Agra, from where he returned home

41. We have a number of interesting letters from Aurangzēb to his father as well as his brothers written before and during the War of Succession, and while Shāh Jahan was confined in a corner of Agra Fort. They throw a flood of light on the inner politics of the period. They are included mainly in *Adāb-i 'Alamqirī*, Asafiyah MSS. Inshā, 87. They have been utilised profusely by Najib Ashraf Nadawi in *Muqaddama Ruqqa'at-i 'Alamgir*, pp. 334-406, and those covering the period ending in the War of Succession, partly copied in *Ruqqa'āt-i 'Alamgir*, Vol. I. There are also a number of letters included in general chronicles as well as in some other collections which have been so utilised.

via the Qutb Shāhi territory in 1666 and his recognition as Rāja by the Emperor are well-known. But the continued struggle with the intrepid Marātha, coupled with campaigns in other parts of the farflung Empire, left little time for Aurangzēb to turn to Qutb Shāhi territory immediately.

When Muḥammad Sa'id crossed over to the Mughal camp the question of the ownership of the vast Karnāṭak territory came immediately to the fore. The cession of the Rāmgir (or Ārāmgir) district, between the Painganga and the Godāvarī, to the Mughals "as a part of the dowry of 'Abdu'l-lāh's daughter" provided a short-cut between Mughal Tilangāna and the Karnāṭak, and the question of the ownership of Mīr Jumlā's conquests more or less hinged on the possession of this district. While 'Abdu'l-lāh claimed that the Karnāṭak had been conquered by Muḥammad Sa'id, then the Mīr Jumlā of the kingdom, Aurangzēb averred that Muḥammad Sa'id was now a nobleman of the Mughal Empire entitled Mu'azzam Khān, and as such Aurangzēb claimed the territory as a part of the Empire. But in spite of the offer of a *pēshkash* of five lakh *hons* as well as other manoeuvring on the part of the Sultān, Shāh Jahan was perhaps prevailed upon by Dārā to declare Karnāṭak to be a *jāgīr* of the Empire and confer it on Muḥammad Sa'id. Mughal armies under Muḥammad Hāshim and Krishna Rao actually marched into the territory and occupied it, barring the great fortresses of Siddhout and Gaṇḍikōṭa which were occupied by 'Abdu'l-lāh's army.⁴²

The continued preoccupations of Aurangzēb were too varied for him to attempt a final blow on the Qutb Shāhi State. Moreover there was a clash of the policies of Aurangzēb and Mu'azzam Khān regarding the priority of invasion. Aurangzēb wanted to eliminate Gōlkonda first, while Mu'azzam Khān would begin by attacking Bijapur. Evidently Muḥammad Sa'id had the ear of the Emperor Shāh Jahan and he actually persuaded him not merely not to molest Gōlkonda for the present but actually to

42. *Adāb-i 'Ālamgiri*, letters 56(b), 59(b) etc., referred to in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzēb*, I, 246 ff.

Siddhout or Siddhavatam, headquarters of a taluq in the Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 29' N., 78° 59' E.

For the part of the Mughals in initiating the Karnāṭak campaign see n. 24 above.

allow 'Abdu'l-lāh to reoccupy Udayagiri⁴³ on the pretext that the territory never belonged to Muḥammad Sa'id. Aurangzēb thereupon appointed a one-man commission to enquire into the affair and when the commission reported that Udayagiri had been a part of the territory conquered by Muḥammad Sa'id he ordered that the town in dispute should be restored to Muḥammad Sa'id's officers and only a Quṭb Shāhī Qil'ahdār should remain at Udayagiri.⁴⁴

'Abdu'l-lāh's strength lay in the continued authority wielded by Dārā at the Mughal Court. As long as Aurangzēb had not crushed his authority at Samūgarḥ and at Deorāi he had a lever with which he could attempt to turn Shāh Jahan's policy in his favour. We have a series of his "petitions" addressed to Dārā in which he flattered him as the heir to the imperial throne and called himself as "the disciple who reveres ("worships") his *murshid* (spiritual guide), the Emperor", he also considered it "a matter of high honour" that his letters should reach the Emperor's presence at all and said that the *pēshkash* which "this servant has sent to His Majesty is as utterly humble as the gift of a mere ant to the Presence of the Abode of Solomon himself". In another letter to Dārā he requested that (1) The Province of the Karṇāṭak which had been acquired after spending lakhs and crores should be restored to him; (2) that the fort of Rāmgīr, which had been his property by right of inheritance, should be given back to him; and (3) that the amount of *pēshkash* which had been paid into the imperial treasury should be set off against the total demand, and he should be allowed to pay it by instalments. In one of the few dated letters to Dārā, written in *Shawwal* 1065/July-August, 1655, 'Abdu'l-lāh thanked him for the presents and the robe of honour which a messenger had brought from the Prince, and requested that everything which might mar the good relations between the two States should be removed. In another letter 'Abdu'l-lāh said that he offered his

43. *Ibid.*, 89(b); Sarkar I, 245-6. *Udayagiri* (not *Udgīr*, as in Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Mīr Jumlā*, 106) in the Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 52' N., 79° 19' E.

44. *Ādāb*, letters, fol., 160 a-b, 89 b-90 b etc. utilised in *Mir Jumla*, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

humble duties in the path of service and obedience to His Majesty "the Refuge of the Khilāfat", the Emperor.⁴⁵

There are three interesting letters from 'Abdu'l-lāh to Prince Aurangzēb which show that the Sultān had been alerted by the march of Aurangzēb northwards and had begun to think of the possibility of his success. The first letter significantly expressed satisfaction at the confinement of Muḥammad Sa'īd at Daulatābād, which occurred in December 1657. Evidently Aurangzēb took care to inform 'Abdu'l-lāh of this, and the Sultān said that it "is impossible to thank your Imperial Highness for the service done to me". In the same vein of flattery 'Abdu'l-lāh showed his "deep concern" at the news that Aurangzēb was leaving the Deccan for the North. The letters ended with the complaint that the imperial officials were not paying heed to the Prince's orders the *pēsh-kash* should be levied in instalments and stated that he was sending Mir Faṣīḥu'd-dīn to represent the true facts of the case. In the second letter he "humbly" entreated the Prince to return to the Deccan. The third letter was evidently written after the battle of Samūgarh and before the assumption of the royal dignity by Aurangzēb. He was addressed with almost royal titles but only as Pādshāhzāda Muḥammad Aurangzēb. 'Abdu'l-lāh realised that all along he was backing the wrong horse, and now he offered his "humble thanks to God in words which are beyond the power of the tongue to translate", for the success which the Prince had attained.⁴⁶

45. *Makātīb*, op.cit., fols, 9(a)-27(a). The humility of 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh vis-à-vis Dārā Shikōh could not be more pronounced than in these letters. The petition for the restoration of Rāmgīr and the Karnātak was obviously a counter-move to Aurangzēb's action in the Deccan, as it was his pressure which made 'Abdu'l-lāh cede the important district of Rāmgīr as a marriage portion of his daughter, and it was Aurangzēb's pressure again which led to the virtual annexation of the Karnātak to the Mughal Empire. These letters show the double dealing on the part of 'Abdu'l-lāh as well as his lack of foresight. When the change at the imperial capital suddenly came after Samūgarh he had to cross over to Aurangzēb's side with great loss to his self-respect and independence.

Rāmgīr or Ārāmgīr, Manthani taluqā, Karīmīnagar district, Andhra Pradesh 18° 47' N., 79° 30' E.

46. *Makātīb*, op.cit., 33(b), 36(b), 39(b). It was characteristic of 'Abdu'l-lāh to have rolled over completely with nonchalance. In the case of the Mughal campaign against Bijapur I have followed the dates as given in

The Bijapur campaign of 1657 and the initial success which was attained was to a large extent Muḥammad Sa'id's work, though it had the cooperation of Prince Aurangzēb as well. The reason for the aggression given by the imperialists was the thin veneer of the supposed question of the parentage of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II who had succeeded his father Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh on 4th November 1656. Muḥammad Sa'id reached Aurangābād on 18th January 1657, the strong-hold of Bīdar was occupied on the 31st of March, Kalyanī on the 29th of July, while Muḥammad Sa'id's recall to Delhi put an abrupt stop to the whole campaign. This was the second time within eighteen months that Aurangzēb's ambitions were nipped in the bud, and he now realised that he must proceed up North to try his luck at the gamble for power. 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was much too weak and prostrate after the events of previous years even to hint at helping his brother-in-law of Bijapur in his fight for independence.

Aurangzēb was safely on the throne as Emperor 'Ālamgīr in 1658. His preoccupations with Shivaji came to an end for the time being with the Treaty of Purāndhar which was signed in June 1665. By a stroke of diplomacy, Rāja Jai Singh, the Mughal Commander-in-Chief had drafted the treaty in such a way that Shivaji, who had so long been fighting the Mughals in alliance with Bījapur, now became an ally of the Mughals, and at their instance began to harass and annex the Konkan forts. It is significant that in a secret letter to Aurangzēb Jai Singh writes that it would be "highly expedient to show imperial favours to Quṭb Shāh now, and to induce him to give up the idea of joining the Bījapuris."⁴⁷ Jai Singh started from Purāndhar on 19th November, 1665 and the first contact with the Bījapuris was made on 25th December. In four days' time Jai Singh was within twelve miles of Bījapur. It was probably now that 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh began to feel strong enough to help his brother-in-law, and the rumour that the Quṭb Shāhi army was approaching Bījapur to help the 'Ādil Shāhi army must have taken Jai Singh aback.⁴⁸

Basātīn, 365; they are at variance with Sarkar: *History of Aurangzēb*, III 262, 276, and with *Mīr Jumlā*, 12 by a few days.

47. Jai Singh to Aurangzēb, end of August 1665, *Haft Anjuman*, 72(a) quoted in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzēb*, IV, 106.

48. Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 114.

The rumour hardened into facts, and we have a letter from 'Abdu'l-lāh to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh which was sent through the Prime Minister of Bijapur, 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, in which he said that it had come to his notice that the "Rāja of bad temperament" ("Rāja-i bad-riwāj") had taken up arms against Bijapur and the two States had been joined by treaties in a bond of unity and common purpose in such a way that they coalesced into each other as if they were one body. "So I wish to send a possé of cavalry and infantry under one of our officers in whom I have the greatest confidence so that the enemy may be driven out of the Deccan". In reply to his letter 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh assured 'Abdu'l-lāh that his army was equal to the task of driving the enemy out and no help was really needed. But as 'Abdu'l-lāh wished to send his troops he was most welcome to do so. He thereupon sent 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry under Nēknām Khān, "who was known for his foresight, his bravery and his strategy" to Bijapur".⁴⁹ The two armies moved to surround Jai Singh in a pincer movement. In a series of engagements the Mughals were certainly victorious on the field but could not crush the 'Ādil Shāhī-Qutb Shāhī armies. There was practically no major fighting and the Mughal army retreated to Dhārūr and thence to Aurangābād where it arrived on 20th November, 1666. In spite of protracted fighting the Mughals had to agree to *status quo ante*, and the Qutb Shāhī forces were ordered home⁵⁰

(iii) Bijapur

This episode naturally leads us to the relationship between 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh and his contemporary rulers of Bijapur, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II. Ever since the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh there had been a series of marriage alliances between the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the Qutb Shāhīs. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II had married Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shāh's sister Chānd Bībī, who came to be known as Malika-i Jahān. This dynastic union was further cemented by the marriage of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh to 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh's sister Khadija Sultāna

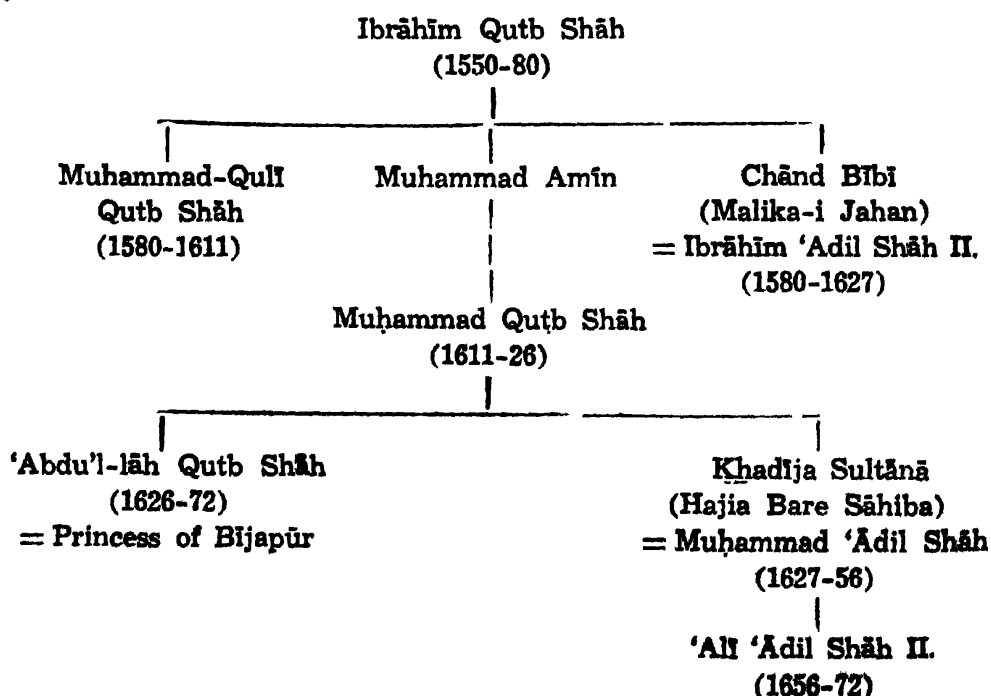
49. *Basīṭ*, pp. 412-13, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, E and D, VII, 278, gives the number of Qutb Shāhī forces as 6,000 horse and 25,000 footsoldiers.

50. *Ālamgīrnāma*, 1019.

which was celebrated with great *éclat* in February, 1633.⁵¹ These unions were not merely *mariages de convenance* but were, in a way, natural, as both were the only remnants of the five Bāhmani Succession States and both were the bulwarks of the Shī'ah persuasion after the elimination of Ahmadnagar. There was again a lateral relationship between the ancestors of the two dynasties, as Chānd Bibī, Queen of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I, was the direct descendant of Qarā Yūsuf's son, Jahān Shāh, while the Quṭb Shāhīs traced their descent from his other son, Mirza Sikandar.

But there was a pull in another direction as well. The expansionist tendencies of the Succession States after the disruption of Bāhmani Deccan had left a tradition of frontier clashes which proved to be their bane and persisted right through their history except during short periods when they were endangered by strong external pressures. The League of the Four Sultāns, the appeals of Chānd Bibī and Malik 'Ambar and the alliance of Bijapur and Gōlkonda at the time of grave peril were exceptions rather than the rule. This attitude of temporary understanding is well described by Faizī Sarhindī who observes as early as the reign of

51. The following table would show the relationship of the two dynasties:



See *Basātīn*, 191, 362; *Hadiqā*, 133 ff., Lahori, I, 359; Moreland, *Relations of Golkonda*, p. 10.

Akbar that the settled rule among *dakhni* States was that "if a foreign army entered their country they united their forces and fought, notwithstanding their dissensions and quarrels they had among themselves."⁵²

The Mughals perceived this spring-like attitude especially when both the States were in their downward trend, and successfully put an end to their autonomy simultaneously, so that neither of them should be able to help the other in any effective manner. Even the demands for *pēshkash* were made simultaneously. When Shāh Jahan sent an ultimatum to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh in the beginning of 1631 he mentioned that his overlordship extended both to the territories of Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa and it was necessary that both should coin money in his name and have his name mentioned in the Friday sermons.⁵³ After the elimination of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, which had close relationship with the 'Ādil Shāhīs, the latter were the natural butt of the Mughals. After some struggle, however, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah was forced to accept the hegemony of the Emperor and agree to 40 lakhs as *pēshkash*.⁵⁴ But the final curtain was drawn in 1637. While both Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Qutb Shāh were blamed for not submitting their *pēshkash* it is significant that 'Abdu'l-lāh was further charged with "having broken the bonds of servitude and to have prepared the way for an alliance with 'Ādil Khān", who had in his turn made common cause with Shāhji the sequestrator of the Nizām Shāhī territory. The two imperial *farmāns* which were virtually an ultimatum were sent simultaneously, through Mukarramat Khān to Bījapur and 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf to Gōlkonḍa.⁵⁵ It is again significant that both the Kings of Bījapur and Gōlkonḍa had to travel more than five miles from their capitals to meet imperial Envoys, and both the Kings were rewarded by Shāh Jahan's bejewelled portraits. In both cases the word *Inqiyād* or "Submission" was used and the unilateral treaties or *farmāns*, that of 6th May 1636, with "Ādil Khān" and that of April-May 1636 with "Qutbu'l-Mulk" were more or less identical in their purport. But what is interesting from the point of view

52. Faizī Sarhindī: *Akbarnāmah*, E. and D., VI, 131.

53. *Basātīn*, 302.

54. *Lahorī*, I, 411.

55. 'Amal-i *Šwāleḥ*, II, 148-50; *Lahorī*, II, 126-27.

of Gōlkonḍa-Bijapur relations is that while “‘Adil Khān” was pampered as the strongest ruler (*ḍuniyāddār*) of the Deccan and the chief potentate of the region”, he was ordered not to send anything in money or in kind (“*naqd-o jins*”) to “Quṭbu’l-Mulk”. On the other hand a wave of suspicion was created in the mind of ‘Abdu’l-lāh Quṭb Shāh who was made to say in the *Ta’ahhud Nāmāh* or “Deed of Agreement” of April-May, 1936 that “if ‘Adil Khān tries to conquer my country, I would request you to come and help me”, and in case the Emperor or his Viceroy by-passed his entreaty and he was made to pay to “‘Adil Khān”, then an amount equal to such a payment would be deducted from his *pēshkash*.⁵⁶

On the first such contacts came with the invasion of the Karnāṭak by the armies of ‘Abdu’l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad ‘Adil Shāh. The scions of the great dynasty which once ruled Vijayanagar, Venkaṭa III and his successor Srīranga III, were fast losing ground and their small kingdom was being swallowed up slowly but surely by their vassals as well as their enemies.⁵⁷ It was therefore only natural that both Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa-Haidarabād should try and fill in the vacuum. The first to step in was Bijapur, and it was at the instance of one of the warring local chiefs, the ruler of Tarikere, that Muḥammad ‘Adil Shāh sent an army under Randaula Khān who captured Ikkēri with the help of Kenge Hanuma in Dēcember 1637. Sira followed, where he appointed Shāhjī as the Governor of the district, and Bangalore and many other forts were taken the next year.⁵⁸

56. The negotiations as well as the *farmāns* and “agreements” are interspersed in *Lahori*, II, 130-204. These are all Deeds of Submission and Deeds of Promises following what are really farmāns or orders issued by Shāh Jahan leaving no loopholes for any discussion. What is significant is that there was no possibility of the two Sultānates joining hands in any venture except at the instance of and with the consent of the Emperor.

57. Venkata III, 1630-42, Srīranga III, 1642-1681 Neither Venkata nor Srīranga ruled their small States effectively upto the end Venkata III, “retired to the mountainous tracts in the Chittoor district, where he sojourned in a helpless condition for some time and died on 10 October, A.D. 1642”, while as to Srīranga, “though he continued to rule probably till A.D. 1681, the information pertaining to the last years of his rule is meagre, and no definite conclusions are possible in the present state of our knowledge” — *Further Sources*, I, 347 and 369 respectively.

58. *Further Sources*, I, 343; *Basātīn*, 345-46.

Bangalore: now chief town of the Mysore State; 12° 58' N., 77° 38' E.

These sweeping movements of the Bijapur army, which made short work of resistance in the Karnāṭak, were not to the liking of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. In 1542 the Gōlkonḍa army marched along the East coast and subdued a number of coastal towns right upto Pulicat and Armagon. But it was not till Muḥammad Sa'id Mīr Jumlā was commissioned by the King to march into the interior of the Karnāṭak that an effective advance was made and far reaching results were accomplished.⁵⁹ The diplomacy and progress of Mīr Jumlā were so definite and the clash so imminent that Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh had to make an agreement ("‘Ahd Namah") in Ṣafar 1056/March-April, 1646 to the effect that "the territory, spoils of war, goods, jewels and cash of Sri Ranga Rāyal were to be amicably divided between Bijapur and Gōlkonḍa in the proportion of 2:1". This agreement was regarded as of supreme importance and was the subject of a considerable amount of communication between 'Abdu'l-lāh and Shāh Jahan.⁶⁰ The immediate effect of the agreement was the siege of Vellōre in April 1649 by the combined Quṭb Shāhi and 'Ādil Shāhi armies and the promise of the Rāyal to pay a large war indemnity. But this unity almost immediately led to discord between the two as the whole indemnity to the tune of fifty lakh *hons* and a large number of elephants was taken over by the Bijapuris.⁶¹

59. The word "Karnāṭak" as used for the country of Mīr Jumlā's advance southwards is a misnomer as, for the most part, it covered the southern part of the present Andhra Pradesh and the northern part of the region where Tamil was spoken. The reason why the name Karnāṭak was given to the region was purely historical. Originally Kannada was spoken in a large part of the old Vijayanagar Empire, but after the fall of the capital in 1565 the Empire gradually receded into the Telugu and the Tamil regions. Still the name "Karnāṭak" stuck to the receding kingdom, even when it had to forgo practically all the territory where Kannada was spoken.

For Mīr Jumlā's campaigns see below.

60. The 'Ahd Nāmah; Jagadish Narayan Sarkar: *Mīr Jumlā*, pp. 15-16; app. A, p. 298. The date is derived from *Golconda Letters*, 5(a)-7(a) where a reference to Shāh Jahan's *shikār* near Kabul is read along with *Lahori*, II, 500-1 and 509 mentioning that Shāh Jahan left Lahore for Kabul on 18.2.1056/26th March, 1646.

61. *Mīr Jumlā*, op.cit., 17, referring to Zuhūri's *Muhammadnāma*, MSS. Kapurthala State Library, 276-85, which, Jagadish Sarkar says, is "indispensable for Mīr Jumlā's campaigns in the Karnatak."

The rift seemed to be permanent, and as the representatives of the two Sultānates overshadowed the authority of the local Nāyaks, the latter were also divided into two warring groups. The Nāyak of 'lānjōre "threw himself at the mercy of Mīr Jumla", and the Nāyak of Jinjī "also solicited his protection." On the other hand Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura, who did not see eye to eye with the Nāyak of Tanjōre, appealed to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh for help. It was in 1647-48 that 'Ādil Shāh sent Muḥaffaru'd-dīn Khān Muḥammad to enter the Quṭb Shāhī territory and raze the border forts to the ground.⁶² 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh immediately appealed to the Emperor to intervene. In a series of despatches to his Envoy at the Mughal Court, 'Abdu's-Ṣamad Dabīru'l-Mulk, the Sultān complained to Shāh Jahan that while no attention was paid to the agreement by Bījapur, "even the territory which was Gōlkonḍa's share" had been taken over by the Bījapurīs. In a despatch to Mīr Faṣīhu'd-dīn, who had apparently succeeded 'Abdu's-Samad at the Imperial Court the Sultān asked him to approach Shāh Jahan that a *farmān* be issued under which both "'Adālat Panāh" (meaning 'Ādil Shah) and himself should be bound by the agreement and the territories pertaining to Tānjōre and Jinjī be partitioned accordingly. He also wanted the Emperor to appoint two officers, one accredited to Gōlkonḍa and the other to Bījapur, to settle matters. He further expressed his willingness to modify the agreement, if necessary, in such a way that 'Adil Shah might be allowed to keep all the moveable spoils of war while the territory taken from the Rāyal and his confederates might be divided equally between Bījapur and Gōlkonḍa.⁶³

'Abdu'l-lāh also sent a number of despatches to his Envoy at Bījapur, Hājī Naṣīra, in which he commanded him to see Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh as well as the Queen of Bījapur, his sister,

62. Mīr Jumla, 18, relying upon *Muhammadnāma*, 362-79; *Golconda Letters*, 5(a)-7(a), 25(a)-(b), 151(b)-153(9).

63. Makātīb, *op.cit.*, 73(b), 74(b). For the history of Jinjī especially its conquest by Bījapur see Srinivasachari, *History of Gingee and its Rulers*, 153-182, which is a lucid account of the operations among the Nāyaks of the various parts of the Vijayanagar rump. See *Basātin*, 317-321, 328; also Vridhagirisan: *The Nāyaks of Tanjore*, 330 ff.

Jinjī, headquarters of a taluqa, South Arcot district, Madras Province, 12° 15' N., 79° 25' E.

and remind them that the high policy of the two kingdoms was based on their mutual regard for each other, and it was incumbent that they should hold mutual consultations and keep each other informed of any matter which might affect the welfare of either. One of the despatches asked Hājī Naṣira to bring it to the notice of the King of Bījapur how greatly hurt 'Abdu'l-lāh was by the occupation of certain *parganās* near Gaṇḍikōṭā and Gutṭī by the Bījapuri forces. In another letter he again asked the envoy to seek special audience of His Majesty "and my revered sister" and impress upon them that there should be no question of any "duality" in the matters pertaining to Karṇāṭak." "I undertake to inform His Majesty (Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh) of every action I take in the matter, and in the same way I expect reciprocity on the part of His Majesty as well".⁶⁴

But this peaceful—or weak-kneed—policy of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh could not prevent war with Bījapur. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh must have been rather puffed up by the grant of the title of *Pādshāh* by Shāh Jahan in 1061/1651, an honour which was unique on the part of Delhi as no other southern potentate—not even the Sultān of Bījapur—had so far been recognized as King by the Delhi rulers.⁶⁵ The capture of Gaṇḍikōṭā by Mīr Jumlā on 24-8-1652 was a thorn on the side of 'Ādil Shāh, who complained to Shāh Jahan that 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's army had captured Gaṇḍikōṭā "without the knowledge of the Emperor." On the other hand 'Abdu'l-lāh tried to clear his conduct by instructing his Envoy at Delhi that Gaṇḍikōṭā was within his sphere and the King of Bījapur should have no objection to its capture whatsoever. He also instructed his Envoy at Bījapur to impress on the King the wrong that Siddi Raihān had done him by unlawfully attacking the territories of Gaṇḍikōṭā and Gutṭī and he should be properly warned not to commit such encroachments in future.⁶⁶

64. *Makātib*, 75(b), 76(a).

65. *Basāṭin*, 346.

66. *Mīr Jumlā*, 27-29; *Makātib*, 73(a), 75(b). The date of the capture of Gaṇḍikōṭā as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in *Mīr Jumlā*, Appendix B. It had been agreed before 3-11-1058/9th November, 1648 (the date on which the Bījapur Commander, Mustafā Khān died) that Mustafā should be kept in occupation of Jinjī while Mīr Jumlā should keep his hold on Gaṇḍikōṭā; *Basāṭin*, 327.

Both the Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijapur forces were in war array, and a clash was only to be expected. Khān Muḥammad of Bijapur besieged the stronghold of Guttī but soon abandoned it to pursue Mīr Jumlā at Gaṇḍikōṭā itself which he had made the centre of his government. It fell to Raja Ghōrpādē of Mudhol to dislodge Mīr Jumlā from Gaṇḍikōṭā, and to make him sue for peace. After fairly long pourparlers it was agreed that he should pay an indemnity of two lakh and fifty thousand *hons*, while on the other hand Gaṇḍikōṭā and Kokkanūr were to be returned to Mīr Jumlā. The terms were agreed to by Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh in January-February 1652.⁶⁷ The sum total of the treaty was that the flag of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was again flying on the ramparts of Gaṇḍikōṭā, and except for a loss of some prestige Mīr Jumlā's diplomacy had won the day.

Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh was succeeded to the throne of Bījapur by his nineteen year old son 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II, on 26-1-1657/4th September, 1656. He had to encounter many difficulties during his reign of sixteen years. The title of Pādshāh granted to his father by the Emperor did not prove auspicious to the Mughal-Bījapur relations and the war which followed proved to be a cementing force between 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and his nephew 'Alī: Ādil Shāh II, leading to the withdrawal of the Mughal forces. 'Alī died less than four months after 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's death on 21st April 1672.

Progress of Quṭb Shāhi arms in Eastern Kaṛṇāṭak

We have dealt with the intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijapur as well as the conflict between these two kingdoms consequent on the penetration of Gōlkoṇḍa

67. Mīr Jumlā, 30-31, based on *Muhammadnāma*, 406-15, and Foster: *English Factories in India*, IX, 99, 111. Bāji Rao Ghōrpādē of Mudhol was a scion of the Ghōrpādē family who had cordial relations with the Bahmanīs and after them with the 'Ādil Shāhīs. See Apte: *Mudhōl Sansthānchya Ghōrpādē Gharānchya Itihās*; for their relations with the 'Ādil Shāhīs, see specially ch. 4, pp. 93-164. The Persian 'Ādil Shāhī farmān in favour of Bāji Rāo Ghōrpādē is reproduced in extenso on p. 37 of the appendix, followed by its Marathi and English translations. See also Sherwani: *Mahmūd Gāwān the Great Bahmanī Wazir*, Appendix V, pp. 242-44. Kokkanūr, in the Raichūr district, Mysore State, 15° 27' N., 70° E.

arms mainly in Eastern Kārṇāṭak and of Bijapur mainly in Western Kārṇāṭak. It is clearly difficult to extricate the military exploits of Gōlkonda in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh from political pressures, especially when the Deed of Submission of June 1637 on the part of 'Abdu'l-lāh and its prototype five weeks earlier on the part of 'Adil Shāh had made both the Quṭb Shāhi and the 'Adil Shāhi monarch subservient to the fiat of the Mughal Emperor. We have it from the Dutch sources that the Emperor actually "commanded the Sultāns of Bijapūr and Gōlkonda to conquer and partition the Kārṇāṭak between themselves."⁶⁸ It is possible that the Mughals foresaw the final elimination of the two kingdoms and the subsequent annexation of the country south of the Tungabhadra by themselves.⁶⁹

The period of the advance of the Quṭb Shāhi forces into Eastern Kārṇāṭak was practically covered by the reign of Venkaṭa III who was proclaimed Rāya at Vellōre in 1635, and his successor Srīranga III about whom practically nothing is known after 1658 when his capital, Chandragirī, passed into Quṭb Shāhi hands.⁷⁰ It was in 1052/1642 that 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh commissioned Mīr Muḥammad Sa'id Ardīstānī to advance into the Kārṇāṭak as perhaps a counter-move to the advance of the 'Adil Shāhi army which had penetrated into large parts of the Western Kārṇatak. Muḥammad Sa'id had proved his loyalty to the Throne time and again. He had filled the post of *Sarkhēl* with distinction since 1048/1638-9 and impressed the Sultān with his qualities of head and heart. The King summoned him and granted him robes of honour, while orders were passed to the officers of several batta-

68. Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagne*, (ii) pp. 180-90, referred to in *Further Sources*, I, 353. See also n 24 above.

69. Bernier has some interesting observations regarding the reasons why Gōlkonda was spared for such a long time. According to him the reasons were: (1) The Mughals were busy elsewhere; (2) they preferred to penetrate the Deccan step by step; (3) the Kings of Gōlkonda were wise enough to help the Kings of Bijapur secretly against the Mughals. Bernier also avers that there was no fortress between Daulatābād and Gōlkonda which was strong enough to resist the Mughals. Bernier: *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Oxford, 1914, p. 192.

70. *Further Sources*, I, 368, where the rest of Srīranga's life history is traced to 1681, but it is stated that "information pertaining to the last years of his rule is meagre".

lions and companies to join him in his great work. 'Ali Razā Khan, *sarlashkar* of Konḍaviḍu-Murtazānagar, the head of the Royal Guards, Ghāzī 'Alī Baig, the head of the Marāṭha cavalry, Dādājī Kantia, 'Alam Khan Paṭhān, Naikwārīs like Asīr Rāo who had shown his mettle in previous reigns, Venkaṭa Reddy, 'Ainu'l-Mulk, Shujā'u'l-Mulk and others with numerous cavalry and artillery were commanded to proceed to the front. Orders were further issued that articles of food for soldiers, followers and steed should be procured mainly from Masulipatam, Konḍāpalli and Konḍaviḍu, and "should be paid for according to the price current in the market", while the vendors were required to accompany the army. In order to expedite and organise the work at the front, a regular postal system was established between the camp and the capital by means of *dāk chowkīs* and arrangements were made to send daily news from the army headquarters to the capital by means of fast messengers and pigeons.⁷¹

The army thus collected consisted of 40,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 horsemen. It was concentrated at Murtazānagar-Konḍaviḍu, the headquarters of the Province adjacent to Eastern Kārṇāṭak.⁷² From Konḍaviḍu it took the straight road South, and by forced marches, evidently without any opposition, it reached Nellōre on the third day. Nellōre is situated in a vast plain stretching North and South and was protected by a large fort with strong circum-

71. Date of Muhammad Sa'id's appointment as Sarkhel; *Hadiqa*, 190. The superiority of foot-carriers of official mail through *dāk chowkīs* is thus described by Tavernier (*Travels in India*, Calcutta, 224): "As a matter of fact foot messengers are faster than horsemen, for, at the end of every two leagues, when the runner reaches the stage hut he throws his letters in the hut, but they are immediately picked up and carried by another fast runner to the next stage." *Hadiqa*, 295-302.

72. Strength of the Qutb Shāhi army, Macleod, *op.cit.*, (ii) 167, 177. *English Factories*, 1642-45, pp. 44-5. For the capture of Nellore see *Hadiqa*, 302-3.

Nellōre; headquarters of a district in Āndhra Pradesh; 140° 27' N., 80° 2' E.

Konḍāpalli; Vijayawada taluqa, Krishna district, Āndhra Pradesh. 16° 37' N., 80° 33' E.

Konḍaviḍu; Narasaraopēt taluqa, Gunṭūr district, Āndhra Pradesh, 16° 16' N., 80° 16' E.

Masulipatam; headquarters of the Krishna district, Āndhra Pradesh; 16° 9' N., 81° 12' E.

vallation and battlements. There were a number of sorties by the garrison but they were all repulsed and the fort occupied. The next strong fort on the way South was Ḍamlūr or Ḍaṇḍalūrū, which was so strong and so well guarded that Muḥammad Sa'id had to write to the capital for a large body of mine-layers. On their arrival trenches were dug and fired on 20-1-1052/11th April, 1642 and the fort was occupied. Venkaṭa now gathered together a large force consisting of his own army as well as Velugōṭi Timma, Dāmerla Venkaṭa of Madraspaṭnam and Poonamalle and other local chiefs. But the allies were defeated on 1.2.1052/21st April, 1642 and Muḥammad Sa'id was able to occupy the large Sṛiharikōṭa island and a number of other forts. Highly strung by the shock of this defeat, Venkaṭa fled 'to the mountain tracts in the Chittoor district' where he died on 10th October, 1642.⁷³

Ghazi 'Ali Baig was acting Commander of the Qutb Shāhi forces in the absence of Muḥammad Sa'id who had gone to the capital to pay homage to the King. 'Abdu'l-lāh was anxious to strengthen Ghazi 'Ali Baig's hands and he now sent other picked officers to help him such as Syed Muẓaffar (who was destined to play an important part in Qutb Shāhi politics) Shāh Ghazanfar Khān, son-in-law of Randaula Khān, Commander-in-Chief of the Bījapūr army, and others.⁷⁴

After the rains had subsided, the Qutb Shāhi army left Nellōre and proceeded to the fort of Nakbat, the defending garrison of which left the fort in the middle of the night leaving it to be occupied by the invaders.⁷⁵ Three days later the army reached Rāpūr. It was brought to the notice of the royal army that "Sangrezraj" who was one of the most powerful rāyas of the locality, was bringing ten or twelve thousand horse and a very large number of foot soldiers to defend Rāpūr.⁷⁶ As the fort was

73. Ḥadiqā, 303-4. *Further Sources*, I, 347, referring to Macleod, *op.cit.*, 176-87, and *English Factories*, 1642-5, pp. 44-5. *Dumrūlū* or *Dundalūrū*, perhaps *Gandalūrū*, Rājampēt taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° 16' N., 79° 7' E. *Sriharikōṭa*, island lying length-wise astride the Pulicat lake, Nellōre district, Andhra Pradesh.

74. Ḥadiqā, 306.

75. *Ibid.* Nakbat, perhaps *Nagulapad*, in Atmākūr taluqa, Cuddapah district.

76. *Rāmpur*, no doubt *Rāpūr*, headquarters of a taluqa, Nellōre district; 14° 12' N., 79° 36' E.

in the centre of a large forest and it was risky to depend on such a vast jungle, it was decided to construct two small forts from which attacks might be made. It is recorded that the foundation stone of these forts was laid by the Commander himself and it was he who struck the first tree with his hatchet which led to the clearing of the forest around. It is worth noting that we come across the names of Venkaṭa Reddy, his brother Timmā Reddy and Rāwalji Kāntia as officers who were placed in charge along with Khairāt Khān and Syed Muḥammad Mazendrāni. The great fort at Rāpūr was entered on 19.10.1052 '31st December, 1642. The next large fort, Kullūr, was reached five days later (24.10.1052/5th January, 1643). There seems to have been a considerable struggle and the fort was not occupied before the end of *Shawwāl* 1052/January, 1643.⁷⁷

Moving further North, thus completing three quarters of the circle with its apex at Nellōre, the army reached the great redoubt of Udayagirī which had changed hands a number of times previously.⁷⁸ There was only one entrance to the fort, which was constructed on an eminence of the Velikonḍa range. There was a chasm five hundred yards wide and a few thousand yards in depth which precluded any attempt to scale the fort. It so happened that Srīranga III the Rāyal, who had come to the tottering throne on 29th October, 1642, was facing an internal crisis by the rebellion of Damarla Venkaṭa of Kālāhastī and of Krishnappa of Jinjī. It was, however, not an easy matter to capture the fort. It appears that Muḥammad Sa'id somehow won over the Rāya's Commander, Mallaiya, who pointed to him a secret passage to the great fort. The Quṭb Shāhī army took immediate advantage of the pointer and captured the fort without any resistance. The news was whisked to the capital which it reached on 10.4.1053/18th June, 1643. The Sulṭān was so pleased with the Commander's success that he presented him with robes of honour and made him Mīr Jumlā, a title with which he is generally known in history.⁷⁹

77. *Hadīqā*, 307-10. Kulūr or Kulūrū, in the Atmākūr taluqa, Nellōre district; 16° 29' N., 79° 22' E.

78. *Udayagirī*, wrongly named "Udgīr" in *Hadīqā*, 314-16.

79. It is this title by which Muhammad Sa'id is generally known in the history of South India. The title is generic and pertains to the highest administrative office in the land, and there have been many others who bore

Mir Jumlā's victory naturally led to the occupation of Siddhout.⁸⁰ But it was not without further struggle that he could keep his hold on Udayagiri. Sriranga was able to excite the jealousy of the Sulṭān of Bijapur and obtain from him in June 1643 considerable help in the shape of 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot soldiers. With this array he "marched against Udayagiri, and dislodged the Gōlkonḍa forces from the fort" in January 1644.⁸¹ But Sriranga had only a breathing time, for early in 1645 Mir Jumlā again attacked the citadel, and the Rāya's General Chinana, whom he had sent as the head of an army of 50,000 to oppose him, quietly surrendered it to the Quṭb Shāhī Commander.⁸²

This second capture of Udayagiri naturally led Mir Jumlā onwards, and he was able to annex a number of fortresses in the Cuddapah district such as Kaliṭūr, Duvvūru, Chennūru, Badvēl, Porumamilla and Kamlāpuram, while the Maṭli Chief, Kumāra Ananta II who was the overlord of the territory where these towns were situated, had to pay a considerable amount of money by way of tribute.⁸³ From Udayagiri the road was clear to the

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80. *English Factories*, VIII, 24-6; *Hague Transcripts*, Series 1, referred to in *Mir Jumlā*, 15; *Yazdāni Commemoration Volume*, *op.cit.*, p. 224, where the conquest of Siddhout is described as in the *Kaifiyat* of Cittavelli, L.R. 22, pp. 223-26.

81. Macleod, *op.cit.*, ii, pp. 180; *English Factories*, 1642-5, pp. 115-116, referred to in *Further Sources*, 351.

82. Macleod, *op. cit.*, 394, 400; *English Factories* 1646-50, pp. 25-6, referred to in *Further Sources*, p. 357.

83. Duvvūrū, in Prodattur taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° 50' N., 78° 39' E. Chennūrū, in the Cuddapah taluqa; 14° 34' N., 78° 48' E. Badvēl, headquarters of a taluqa. Cuddapah district; 14° 45' N., 79° 4' E. Porumamilla, in the Badvēl taluqa; 15° 1' N., 78° 40' E. Kamalāpuram, headquarters of a taluqa, Cuddapah district 14° 36' N., 78° 40' E.

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South by the East coast. Mir Jumlā circled the English factory at Fort St. George and occupied Tirūpatī and Chandragirī. He had to negotiate with the officers of the Dutch factory at Pulicat, and the town was occupied on 11th December, 1646. He finally captured San Thome, South of Madras and Chingleput "which in strength and impregnability was equal to the seventh heaven".⁸⁴ San Thome and Chingleput were the farthest points reached by the Quṭb Shāhīs, for although there was little obstruction on the part of the Rāya or his feudatories, the Bījapurīs barred the way, and as we have already seen, this led to the partition of the Karnāṭak country. In the end Gaṇḍīkōṭa and Kokkanūr were occupied by Mir Jumlā, who made the former the chief town of his considerable conquests.

The period from the defection of Mir Jumlā to 1662, when we first meet his astute successor Riṣā Qulī Bēg, entitled Nēknām

to be in document No. 241 on p. 303, namely the *Kaṣfiyat* of Cīttavelī, L.R. 22, pp. 223-26.

The Chiefs of Maṭlī, now a small village on the Mandavi river in the Rāyāchoṭī taluqa, Cuddapah district (14° 6' N., 78° 48' E.), exercised considerable power and assumed the title of Rājā or Rāju about the middle of the 17th century. They extended their authority over the three taluqas of Badvēl, Siddhouṭ and Pollampēṭ. The Chief who had to bow before Mir Jumlā was Kumāra Ananta. The Maṭlīs now onwards became the feudatories of Gōlkonda and after the fall of the Sultānate they enjoyed the same status under the Mughals. See Brackenbury: *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, 1915, pp. 38, 39. See also Venkaṭaramanayyā: *History of Cuddapah District*, (typescript) pp. 142-45; *Further Sources*, I, 357 Venkaṭaramanayyā: "Mir Jumla's conquest of Karnataka", *Yazdāni Commemoration Volume*, p. 224, where the *Kaṣfiyat* of Chittiveli is translated nearly in *extenso*. The relations of Mir Jumlā with Madras and Fort St. George are described in detail by Srinivasachari in his *History of Madras*, pp. 53-55.

84. *Mir Jumlā*, 16, 17, based on Thèvenot, 102; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Introduction 24; *English Factories*, 1646-50, 70; *Golconda Letters*, 150 (b)—151 (b), 69 (b)—70(a).

Tirūpatī; Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh; 13° 38' N., 79° 24' E.

Chandragirī; headquarters of a taluqa, Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh; 13° 35' N., 79° 24' E.

Pulicat, Chingleput district, Madras State; 13° 25' N., 80° 21' E.

San Thome or *St. Thomas' Mount*, about 3 miles, South of Fort St. George, Madras, now a suburb of Madras city; 13° N., 80° 14' E.

Chingleput, headquarters of a district, Madras Province, 12° 41' N., 80° 1' E.

For the farthest limits of the Quṭb Shāhī dominions in general and its southern boundaries in particular see Sherwani: "Reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, Economic Aspects, II," *J.I.H.*, December 1964, map opposite p. 680.

Khān, was taken up by an attempt to make Karnāṭak an appanage of the Mughal Empire by Aurangzēb. But his pre-occupations at Delhi and the shifting of Muḥammad Sa‘id’s interests first to the North and then to Bihar and Bengal, made the Karnāṭak a far cry. Muḥammad Sa‘id had left Tupaki Krishnappa of Jinjī⁸⁵ and Bālā Rāo as his representatives in the Karnāṭak, and they soon came into conflict with the assertive Dutch and English factories at Masulipatam and Madras. But with the decline of Mughal influence in the kingdom ‘Abdu’l-lāh tried to regain his authority in the region, and in 1662 appointed Nēknām Khān, Governor of the Karnāṭak.⁸⁶ The English factors at Masulipatam were still greatly concerned with the question of Mīr Jumlā’s junk which had been captured by the English and renamed St. George or the Great George. The English were so much perturbed at Nēknām Khān’s “harsh demands” that they now wished to square the disputes with Muḥammad Sa‘id’s representatives. On 24th May, 1661 the Agent at Madras wrote to Masulipatam that “the Nabob’s junk should be satisfied to him or to his factors at Masulipatam and the ship handed over to his representatives”.⁸⁷

85. The name has evidently been distorted to “Tappa Tap” in Chamber’s letter dated 24-5-1661; *English Factories*, 1661-4, p. 40.

86. Nēknām Khān’s original name was Rizā-Qulī Bēg. His father, Bahman, was in the service of Shāh ‘Abbās Safawī but he got into the Shāh’s displeasure and was executed in 1004/1595-6. Rizā-Qulī wended his way secretly to India and took service with the Mughal commander Mahābat Khān. On Mahābat Khān’s death in 1045/1535-6 Rizā-Qulī came to Haidarabād and was appointed on the staff of Muḥammad Sa‘id Mīr Jumlā. He was constantly working with him till his defection in 1066/1656. Rizā-Qulī thereupon retired. On seeing that the Karnāṭak was slipping from the Quṭb Shāhī grasp, those in authority advised the Sultān that it would be better to entrust the reconquest of the country to Rizā-Qulī as he knew all about the region. He was thereupon made the Commander-in-Chief in that region and given full powers of appointment and dismissal by the King. Later, when he had brought the Chiefs and Zamindars under the aegis of the Quṭb Shāhī sceptre the King bestowed on him the title of Nēknām Khān. He was a man of benevolent disposition and opened out his purse strings to help the indigent and the needy. He also patronised the learned, the *savants* and the poets:—‘Alī b. Taifūr Bustāmī; *Hadā’iqu’s-Salaṭīn*, MSS Salar Jung, *Tārīkh Fārsī*, 213, fol., 201(b)—204(b).

87. *English Factories*, 1661-4, p. 40. The controversy about the customs has been fully discussed in Sherwani, “Reign of ‘Abdu’l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, Economic Aspects, I”, *J.I.H.*, August, 1964, pp. 464-7.

We have a series of letters from the English Agent at Madras to his Chief at Masūlipaṭam which clearly show the tussle which was going on between Nēknām Khān and the English over the question of customs as well as the demand for the stationing of the Quṭb Shāhī officers and troops at Madras. Nēknām Khān had his camp at Tiruvallūr, about 25 miles West of Madras, and from there he exercised pressure on the English. He had already demonstrated his mettle by laying siege to San Thome which seems to have slipped away from the Quṭb Shāhī grip, and by forcing the Portuguese garrison into surrender in May, 1662. The English were, in a way, hemmed in by Nēknām Khān from the South as well as from the West. They had coveted this "neglected east coast town" to the extent that they would not have minded exchanging it for Bombay, but their hopes were now shattered.⁸⁸

The star of the English seemed to be on the wane right along the Gōlkoṇḍa coast. The Quṭb Shāhī Governor of Masūlipaṭam is reported to have come to Pēṭāpōli and occupied a garden belonging to the English Company. When Salusbury, the English Agent, protested to the Governor "he bade him be silent".⁸⁹ The pressure from "the new Nabob" was so great that Winter wrote on 7th January, 1664 that he was nervous as he had come within five miles from Madras.⁹⁰ However he had the hardihood to detain two elephants belonging to "the Nabob", but on receiving a "sharp letter" from him he had to return them forthwith. The English were afraid that Nēknām Khān would stop provisions from reaching Fort St. George and make the English accept their demands.⁹¹

While the English were not prepared to make an offensive and defensive alliance with 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh as it was their desire "not to be engaged in any act of hostility", they had to approach Nēknām Khān to protect Fort St. George. There is a letter from the Company to the Agent and Council of Madras dated 18th December, 1665 that, lest the fort should be attacked

88. *Tiruvallūr*, Chingleput district, Madras Province; 13° 9' N., 79° 57' E. See Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 58; *English Factories*, 1661-4, p. 147.

89. Winter's letter to Oxendon at Surat, dated 24.1663; *English Factories*, 1661-4, p. 147.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

91. *English Factories*, 1665-7, p. 118.

by the Dutch, French or others, "we desire you to engage the king of Golkonda, his Nabob or any other of the natives that have the power near the fort to assist you in the preservation thereof".⁹² Nēknām Khān had actually to protect the fort against the Portuguese by means of a "siege" which lasted from 19th June 1666 to 8th July 1666.⁹³ Following the same policy, the King issued a *farmān* forbidding the Dutch to show any hostility to the English "on pain of our displeasure", and when some Dutch ships threatened an English ship her captain averred that he was "under the protection of the King of Golconda".⁹⁴ The authority of the King had increased to such an extent that according to another *farmān* the Dutch were forbidden to meddle in any of English shipping on the whole of the coast from Manikpattān to the coast of Gingerlee beyond St. Thome".⁹⁵

In spite of these good turns on the part of the Qutb Shāhī authorities the English at Madras remained adamant regarding their share of customs, and Foxcraft, who was the first to be appointed Governor of Madras by the Company, was still refusing to accept the terms offered by Nēknām Khān. He had therefore to blockade Madras again in 1670, this time to enforce the demands of the Gōlkonda administration on the English. The blockade lasted a month.⁹⁶ The dispute finally came to an end when Langhorne assumed the Governorship of Madras. Nēknām Khān was able to issue a "Cowle" (*Qaul*) dated 23rd February, 1672 under which it was stipulated that the Qutb Shāhī Governor would be entitled to only half the customs of the town of Chennapaṭam, including the arrears which were paid forthwith, while the town of Madraspaṭam was to remain with the English in perpetuity.⁹⁷

This was the last important act of Nēknām Khān as the Qutb Shāhī Governor of the Karnātak. He had turned the scales in

92. *Ibid.*, 109, 239-41.

93. *Ibid.*, 234.

94. *Ibid.*, 242-43.

95. *Manikpattan*, on the southern tip of Lake Chilka in Orissa.

96. Srinivasachari, *op.cit.*, 66.

97. Document in Love, *Vestiges of old Madras I*, 344-45.

"Chennapatam or Srīrangapattanam was the town growing up round the fort, while the older and the already existing village of *Madraspatnam* was a separate but approximately contiguous, village to the north." — Srinivasachari, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

favour of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh in a miraculous way and extricated Quṭb Shāhī authority from the quagmire in which it had fallen after Muḥammad Sa'id's treason. He died almost at his desk on 10-1-1082/19th March, 1672 a little over three weeks before the Sultān's death. His mortal remains were taken to Gōlkonḍa with great pomp and buried in the royal necropolis on a platform outside the mausoleum of Ibrahim Quṭb Shāh and almost facing the tomb of Muḥammad Amīn, father of Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.⁹⁸

98. Nēknām Kḥān's grave is distinguished by his tombstone on which is inscribed the Sultān's farmān *in toto*. The farmān is dated 12.6.1084, i.e., the second year of Abu'l-Hasan's reign, and is virtually the grant of the village of Mangalwāram, renamed Ḥasanābād, for the upkeep of the tomb and distribution of alms for the repose of the soul of the deceased. It is also unique as the posthumous titles of "Ghufrān Panāh" and "Maghfirat Panāb" were accorded to him, an honour which is usually bestowed on a deceased monarch. The inscription on the tombstone is copied verbatim and translated into English in S.A.A. Bilgrami's *Landmarks of the Deccan* pp. 176-78. The date of his death, 10.12.1082, is inscribed on the tombstone and corresponds to 29th March 1672, not "12th May 1672 (1083)" as in A. M. Siddiqui's *History of Golconda*, p. 181; Nēknām Kḥān died a little over three weeks before, not after, 'Abdu'l-lāh's death.

APPENDIX

MILITARY ORGANISATION

The picture of the military organization in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh is far more clear than that under his grandfather Ibrahim, although the Telugu *kaifiyats*, the *Ta'rif Husain Nizām Shāh* and other documents give us a fairly clear view of the great battle fought on 23rd January, 1565 at Banihatti South of the Krishna, 32 miles South of Talikota.¹ In 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign we have the testimony not only of the European travellers who had their friends in the army especially its artillery establishments but also of the Mughals who began to exercise their increas-

1. For this battle, wrongly called the Battle of Talikota and the Battle of Rakshasi Tangadgi see Sherwani, *The Battle of the Krishna*, J.I.H., December, 1957. For military organisation and equipment under Ibrahim Quṭb Shāh see J.I.H., April 1962.

ing control over the affairs of South India. Then we have rather a live account of the progress of the King from Haidarabād to Masulipatam and back in 1639 left to us by Nizamu'd-din Ahmad who was an eye-witness to the pomp and glamour which attended the great procession consisting of as many as forty or fifty thousand military and civil officers and followers. The vivid account left to us by the European travellers is sometimes prejudiced and at many places incorrect but it can be made the base of our observations with regard to the military equipment of the period.

As was the case with most of the countries of the world the army of Tilāng-Āndhra was based partly on feudal levies and partly on soldiers paid by the King. In his letter to Colbert, the Finance Minister of Louis XIV of France, Bernier speaks at great length about the military organisation of the Mughals, their feudal levies, the pay of the soldiers and their uniform etc. It is only by the way that he says that "in the Deccan alone, the (Mughal) cavalry amounts to twenty or twenty five thousand, sometimes to thirty thousand, a force not more than sufficient to overawe the powerful king of Gōlkonda and to maintain the war against the king of Bijapur and the Rajas".² Thèvenot who is not very accurate about historical facts relating to the Deccan, says that while the "Omrahs" or feudal lords are paid (in terms of their land) for five lakhs of troops they pocket half the amount and provide levies only to the extent of half. He further says that "a trooper (who ought to be a Mughal or a Persian) is paid 10 chequins a month and for that he has to keep two horses and four or five servants. A footsoldier is paid five chequins and for that he has to carry a musket and keep two servants".³

Tavernier, who was in the Deccan a number of times between 1639 and 1662, says that the common soldiers of the infantry division wore only 3 or 4 ells (about 5 yards) of calico "which is barely enough to cover their front and back." It appears that most of the soldiers were Hindus, for Tavernier says that their

2. Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, O.U. Press, 1914, p. 218.

3. *The Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Careri*, p. 140. Thèvenot is not correct that the troopers were necessarily "Mogul or Persian," for we find quite a large number of the highest officers who were Hindus. "In the campaign against Bijapur in 1652, he (Mir Jumla) brought into action a large army, consisting of Moghals, Afghans, Pathans and Rajputs;" *Mir Jumla*, 41, 42.

hair was tied in a knot on the top of the head. Their main weapon was a "broad sword like the Swiss.... The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours and much neater", for the iron with which these arms were made was of a superior quality. Horsemen carried bows and arrows, a buckler, a battle axe, a head piece or helmet and a jacket of mail which hung from the head piece to the shoulders.⁴

There were definitely vast stores of fire-arms which must have accompanied the armies undertaking various campaigns. Bernier says that Mīr Jumlā kept a formidable body of troops, with a corps of artillery which was "composed principally of Franks and Christians."⁵ When there was an immediate danger of the Deccan being attacked by the Mughals 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered the strengthening of the border fortresses specially Qandhār. Its sixty battlements were strengthened by five or six large cannon each, which could fire as much as four or five maunds of stone missiles at a time, and a number of *minjanīqs* or catapults. Moreover orders were sent that the Superintendent of the royal arsenal should issue quilted cloaks, coats of mail, helmets and armlets.⁶

There are gleanings of the military organisation of the Sultānate in the diary of the progress of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh to the East coast in 1639 kept by Mirza Nizamu'd-din Ahmad who accompanied what may be termed a moving court and a moving city. The hundred palanquins carrying the royal ladies and their entourage were accompanied by one thousand horsemen, one thousand footsoldiers, lancers and carabineers.⁷ In the order of precedence in the procession which was formed on the emergence of the King from his capital we find the *Lashkar Khāṣa Khēl* or the Royal Body Guard placed immediately after the "Majlisīs" or the Privy Councillors. On the other hand the members of the Corps of Body Guards had to be careful on pain of death, and it is reported that when the cavalcade stopped at Amankal which was two *gao* or twelve miles from Pangal, seven soldiers of the *Khāṣa Khel* were found negligent in their duties and were executed.

4. *Tavernier*, 127, 128.

5. *Bernier*, 17.

6. *Hadiqatu's-Salatīn*, p. 120.

7. *Ibid.*, 232.

A number of forts came to be inspected on the way, one of which was Mustafanagar-Kondapalle, "one of the greatest forts of Tilāṅg" amidst "a range of hills covering about 40 farsakh." The hill, on the top of which the fort was constructed, was "full of wells and tanks and of greenery all round". The King ordered that it should be further strengthened by the addition of a few thousand carabineers and that the godowns should be filled with grain. He also ordered that an arsenal should be constructed within the fort.⁸

Another typical fort was that of Gaṇḍikōṭa which Tavernier calls "one of the strongest cities in the kingdom of Golkonda" and which had been captured by Muhammad Sa'id Mir Jumla "only eight days" previous to Tavernier's arrival on the 1st of September, 1652. The fort was situated on a high mountain with only one gate which was about 25 feet broad. On the top there were large rice and millet fields which were watered by local springs. Tavernier noticed that there were many French soldiers, mainly gunners, and one of the French engineers, Claudius Maille of Bourge, had been employed to cast brass cannon. At Gaṇḍikōṭa Tavernier was the guest of an English gunman as well as an Italian gunman.⁹ There were quite a number of English gunners also who had left Fort St. George to join Mīr Jumlā's army of the Kaṛṇāṭak because they had better prospects, and he "readily offered protection to any runaways from Fort St. George garrison."¹⁰ This process seems to have continued, for we find English gunners like Christopher Wilkins in Quṭb Shāhi service in 1662.¹¹ Evidently when Mīr Jumlā crossed over to the Mughal camp he took with him his artillery "manned by English and French gunners."¹²

In spite of the growth of professional soldiers who were paid by the State treasury through their commanders, feudal system

8. *Ibid.*, 190, 244. Methwold says (*Relations*, 11) that Kondapalle had "great ponds of water", scores of fruit and other trees and large rice fields at the top, while 12000 soldiers guarded the fortifications which were both natural and artificial.

9. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, p. 198-200.

10. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Mir Jumla*, p. 42, quoting *English Factories in India*, 1651-54.

11. *English Factories*, 1661-64, p. 175.

12. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, p. 370

still continued to some extent. During the Sultān's progress to Masūlipaṭam the concourse passed by the *Muqāsās* of Pithoji Kantia, of *Khān* A'zam Rashid *Khān* and of 'Alī Akbar 'Ainu'l- Mulk where they made presents of 1500, 1000 and 1500 *hons* respectively. It is however, not clear whether these *Muqāsādārs* had to provide army personnel or not.¹³

Thus it may be averred that the army was well equipped both in arms and in general equipment. It is no wonder that even with the waning of the Quṭb Shāhī power on account of lethargy, inertia and the increasing power of the Mughals, coupled with the defection of Mīr Jumlā and many other nobles of the kingdom, the army gave such a good account of itself almost everywhere. Its organisation was so well conditioned that even after Mīr Jumlā's treason it remained a force to be reckoned with, and the new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Nēknām *Khān* could advance to San Thome and expel the Dutch from there.

13. *Muqasa* or *Mukasa*: "A village or land assigned to an individual either rent free or at low quit-rent on condition of service, or a village held *khas* by the State, the revenue being paid to the Government direct"; Gune *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, p. xxiv. Nawab 'Aziz Jung defines *Mukasa* as the grant of a part of a village as a *jagir* the rental of the whole of the village being collected from the rest by the State direct; A'zamu'l-'Atiyat, p. 41. It differed from *jagir* in that it was not a part of the village which was responsible for the rental but the *jagirdar* who held the whole village.

Some Fresh Reflections on Yaśovarṃa of Kanauj and Muktapīḍa of Kaśmīr

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As in the case of some other *Rajas* in Indian history, the discovery and reconstruction of the story of Yaśovarṃa, the great monarch of Kanauj and a dominant ruler of Northern India during the VIII century A.D., constitute a fascinating process of progress. It is a story from unknown to known, gradually developing into one which is still better known. During the last part of the XIX century, historians first noted him from a Prākṛt poem, the *Gaiḍavāho* by Vākpati,¹ and then piecing up with other evidences, literary and archaeological, indigenous and foreign, ultimately filled up a gap in Indian history.

During recent decades, the discovery of new material on the subject has rather come to a stop. Nevertheless, the work of reconstruction and reassessment on this chapter of Indian history is still going on. There are certain conclusions that have been reached. These include the existence of Yaśovarṃa as a historical person, his dominant position in the age and his final defeat by the Kaśmīr King. There however, still remain certain other points which demand further discussion, particularly in regard to the dates relating to Yaśovarṃa and his opponent, Muktapīḍa of Kaśmīr. However, if one were to carefully investigate the points, one would discover that one of the major causes responsible for the confusion is the different interpretation of the Chinese sources,

1. Vākpati, *Gaiḍavaho*, *A Prakrit Historical Poem by Vākpati*, ed., with an introduction by S. P. Pandit, *Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series XXXIV*, 2nd ed. by N. B. Utgikar, (Poona, 1927). Amongst research works on Yaśovarṃa, V. A. Smith's "Kanauj and King Yaśovarṃa", *J.R.A.S.* (London, 1908), pp. 784 ff. and R. S. Tripathi's *History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest*, (Benares, 1937) are still important.

which are an important factor in determining the dates of the Kings of both Kanauj and Kaśmīr.

Previously, on account of lack of first-hand knowledge of Chinese language and historiographical practices, most research scholars in Indian history indulged more in speculations than in a careful examination of those sources. And, consequently instead of the old problem being solved, now controversies were rather brought into the field. Under such circumstances, a fresh reading of the records written in Chinese on the subject and their comparison with Indian sources and recent interpretations, would be helpful in clarifying several matters.

When one discusses the Chinese sources on Yaśovarman and his contemporaries, it should be remembered that most of the scholars in Indian history depended only on the translations made by A. Rémusat² and Ed. Chavannes respectively.³ But none of the scholars was in a position to know exactly the texts, their sources and authenticity, compilers and dates. Thereafter, whenever these works were cited, they were merely referred to as 'Chinese Annals' or 'Chinese Chronicles' or 'Chinese Records', without any distinction.

Actually, there are, so far as we know, five works relating to Yaśovarman and Muktāpīḍa. The earliest one is the *Hui-ch'ao wang Wu T'ien-chu-kuo chuan* (*Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India*),⁴ written by Hui-ch'ao, a monk from Silla kingdom in present Korean peninsula, during 727 A.D., when he completed his journey to the Indian subcontinent and Central

2. Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*. (Paris, 1829).

3. Ed. Chavannes, transl. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. (Petersburg, 1903).

4. A full English translation with a study of this *Memoir* is being prepared by me. The book will be published under the title of *On Hui-ch'ao's Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India*. Parts of the work have been published in the form of articles, namely, "Hui-ch'ao's Record on Kashmir", *Kashmir Research Biannual*, (Srinagar), No. 2 (1963); "Hui-ch'ao and His Works: A Reassessment", *Indo-Asian Culture*, (New Delhi), Vol. XII (1963-64); "Some New Light on Kuśinagara from 'the Memoir of Hui-ch'ao'," *Oriens Extremus* (Wiesbaden), Vol. XII (1965); and "West India According to Hui-ch'ao's Record", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), Vol. XXXIX (1966).

Asia. The *Memoirs* was at one time regarded by scholars as a lost work, but luckily it was rediscovered from Tun-huang by P. Pelliot.⁵ A number of books and articles have been published, and a full translation in German by W. Fuchs has also been brought out in 1938 and 1939.⁶ It is rather strange that this important and first-hand Buddhist record has yet to be noticed by scholars in Indian history.

Among other four works, the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* (*The Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* (618-906 A.D.))⁷ was compiled by a Board of Historians under the titular leadership of Liu Hsü (887-946 A.D.) and it was completed during 945 A.D.; the second, *T'ang-hui-yao* (*The Statutes of the T'ang Dynasty*),⁸ was compiled by Wang P'u (922-982) in 961 A.D. The third one is the *Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei* (*The most Important Documents from the Imperial Archives*),⁹ compiled by Wang Ch'in-jo (962-1025), Yang Yi (974-1020) and their colleagues between 1005-1013 A.D. And the fourth, the *Hsin-T'ang-shu* or *The New History of the T'ang Dynasty*¹⁰ was compiled by the T'ang History Board headed by Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072) and Sung Ch'i (998-1061) during 1060 A.D.

The main aim of this paper is to narrate these Chinese records relating to Yaśovarman and his rival, Mukṭāpīḍa of Kāśmīr, compare them with Indian sources along with the author's own reflections, so as to solve certain problems or clarify certain doubts on the topic.

Among the problems relating to Yaśovarman of Kanauj, those of the chronology and extent of his territory are controversial. According to S. P. Pandit, "Yaśovarman must, accordingly, have reigned in the latter part of the seventh century and the first part

5. P. Pelliot, "Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. VIII (1908), pp. 511-512.

6. W. Fuchs, "Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726", *Sitzung. der Phil. -hist. Klassen* v. 22 (1938-1939).

7. Hereafter, it is referred to in this article as CTS. The edition that is used in this paper is the Pai-na-pen.

8. *T'ang-hui-yao*, hereafter referred to as THY, new reprint, (Chung-hua shu-chü, Shanghai, 1955), pp. 1786-1787.

9. Hereafter ref. to as TFYK, Wu-hsiu-t'ang wood block ed. printed in 1754 A.D.

10. Hereafter ref. to as HTS, the Pai-na-pen edition.

of the eighth century,"¹¹ as dated by the Kaśmīr historian, Kalhaṇa, during the middle of the XII century. In contrast to this traditional date, V. A. Smith assumes "that Yaśovarman ascended the throne of Kanauj between 725-731 A.D., in or about 728 A.D."¹² And "at an earlier date, apparently between 730-740 A.D., Yaśovarman had himself indulged his ambition and led victorious armies to distant conquests."¹³ R. S. Tripathi suggests that if one were to place the reign of Yaśovarman between 725 and 752 A.D. there would be "little margin for error".¹⁴ R. C. Majumdar states that "the date of Yaśovarman is not definitely known, but his reign may be placed between A.D. 700 and 740." In a recent book, Buddha Prakash also holds the traditional date, saying that "Yaśovarman rose to power in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D."¹⁵

The extent of Yaśovarman's kingdom is less controversial, but the exact date of his conquest of East India and the identification of the places he conquered are uncertain. V. A. Smith has accepted the description of Vākpāti, and said: "There is nothing incredible in the assertion that a powerful king (i.e., Yaśovarman) occupied at Kanauj a good central position, should have carried his arm eastwards across Bengal, southwards to the Narmada, and northwards to the foot of the mountains."¹⁶ R. S. Tripathi, however, holds a critical view of the information furnished by Vākpāti; thus he considers that the ambitious monarch, perhaps, only attempted "to regain the control of the lower course of the Ganges."¹⁷ And it may be that the complete success of his campaign

11. S. P. Pandit, *op.cit.*, pp. lxvii

12. V. A. Smith, *op.cit.*, J.R.A.S. (1908), p. 775

13. *Ibidem*, p. 777.

14. R. S. Tripathi, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

15. R. C. Majumdar, *et.al.* *The Classical Age, The History and Culture of Indian People*, vol. III, (Bombay, 1954), p. 129. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and civilization*, (Agra, 1965), p. 103. A Cālukyan inscription records the fighting between Vijayāditya and the Lord of Uttarāpatha. There are scholars who think that this Lord of the whole of the North India was Yaśovarman and this was the reason why they dated the starting of Yaśovarman's reign before 700 A.D. This speculation, however, still lacks definite proof. I would prefer to accept the theory put forward by H. C. Raychaudhuri, that the North Indian lord was one of the later Guptas. Cf. *Political Hist. of Ancient India* (6th ed.), pp. 610 f.

16. V. A. Smith, *op.cit.*, J.R.A.S. (1908), p. 779

17. R. S. Tripathi, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

induced his panegyrist to invest him with the halo of a 'World-Conqueror'."¹⁸ R. C. Majumdar, on the one hand, rather disbelieves that Yaśovarman had conquered all the regions in the North and South India as claimed by Vākpati; on the other hand, with the help of epigraphical evidence, he accepts that Yaśovarman might have extended his authority over Magadha, carried his arms as far as Bengal, and might have come into conflict with Cālukyan King.¹⁹

In the *Memoirs* of Hui-ch'ao, though no date is mentioned as to when he visited Kanauj, it is yet deducible from the date of his return to Kucha in 727 A.D. In other words, he seems to have travelled to Kanauj sometime in 723 or 724 A.D. In the *Memoirs*, he states:

"Further from Vārāṇasī country [walked] westerly for . . . month, I arrived at the residential city of the Central Indian king, it is named *Ke-na-chi-tzu* (Kanyakubja). The territory of this Central Indian king is very broad, the inhabitants here are populous. The king possesses nine hundred elephants, the rest of great chiefs each possesses two to three-hundred elephants. The king himself often led troops in battles, frequently fought with [other] rulers, and the Central Indian king is always victorious."²⁰

Although no name of this Central Indian king is given by the Sillian monk, since the time of his visit was about 723-24 A.D. the powerful ruler whom he described should have been no other than Yaśovarman. Moreover, the descriptions such as "the territory of this Central Indian king is very broad", "the king himself often led troops in battles, frequently fought with [other] rulers, and the Central Indian king is always victorious", etc. are very much identical with the expressions of Vākpati.²¹

18. *Ibidem*.

19 R. C Majumdar, *loc-cit*.

20. Quoted and translated from Fujita Toyohachi, *Hui-ch'ao wang wu-t'ien-chu-kuo chuan chi'ien-shih* (*Expository notes on the Memoirs of Hui-ch'ao's Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India*, ed. by Ch'ien Tao-sun Peking, 1933), pp. 10 b, ff.

21. Cf. S. P. Pandit, *loc.cit*.

The part relating to East India in the *Memoirs* of Hui-ch'ao is damaged, and the situation in that region and its relation with Yaśovarman are not definitely recorded. Notwithstanding, there are still helpful references in the *Memoirs*, which are precious for tracing the date of Yaśovarman's eastern campaign.

In one place of the *Memoirs*, Hui-ch'ao states that all the four holy *stupas* erected at Kuśinagara, Sārnāth, Rājagṛha and Mahābodhi are "situated within the territory of Magadha kingdom."²² In another place, he says that "within the territory of the Central India, there are four great stupas; [of them,] three are situated on the north of the Ganges: the first one is at Anāthapiṇḍika garden of Srāvastī, the second one is at Amrapali-aram garden of Vaiśālī, and the third one is at Kapilavastu. The fourth one is lying between the two streams of the Ganges, i.e. the stupa of the Triple Precious Stairs."²³

Here, the Sillian monk has clearly made a distinction between Central India and Magadha. This distinction is further re-affirmed in another place. When he describes the territory of South India, he states that it is "adjoining the borders of the Central India, the West India and the East India in the north."²⁴ Should Yaśovarman have already conquered Magadha and the East India at the time of Hui-ch'ao's visit, to say about 723-24 A.D., there would be no necessity for him to record the discrimination. The only reasonable explanation may be that, at the time of his visit to Central India, Yaśovarman, though he was already powerful and

22. Quoted and translated from Fujita/Ch'ien T'ao-sun, *op.cit.*, p. 8 a.

23. *Ibidem*, pp. 13 a-15 b. A few months ago, when I wrote the paper "the Korean Record on Vārāṇasī and Sārnāth" (published in the September issue of the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* (Hoshiarpur, India, 1966), I was still unable to find out the significance of discrimination of Magadha and Central India as recorded by Hui-ch'ao. The view presented here is my latest opinion.

24. *Ibidem*, p. 17 a. Some argument may be put forward, saying that this reference of Hui-ch'ao might be merely geographical, and without any political significance in it. But if one studies the *Memoirs* of Hui-ch'ao carefully, one would find that the Sillian monk's reference to the Five Regions of India always related with political situation of the country. For example, he recorded that Central, South and West India as well as North India, all had their own Kings. Therefore, the division mentioned by him meant both political and geographical.

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rising, had not yet conquered the East. He was, perhaps, just making himself a mighty figure in Indian politics, busily administering his kingdom. He "often led troops in battles, frequently fought with [other] Indian rulers" and won most, searched for opportunities to expand his authority, but not yet achieved the great glory of the 'World Conquest'.

It was probably after these preparations and trials, that Yaśovarman had finally succeeded in overrunning the territory of Magadha and the Gaiḍa land, sometime between 726 and 731 A.D. Following that triumph, he felt settled, dominant and safe; thus he sent his Minister *Bhadanta Po-ta-hsin* (Bhaṭṭasena?)²⁵ to the Chinese Emperor, Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty and prayed for diplomatic recognition. This event has been carefully recorded in the official documents. The Chinese records may be translated here as follows:

"During the tenth month of the XIX year of the K'ai-yüan age (i.e. November 4 to December 3, 731 A.D.), the Central Indian king, Yi-sha-fu-mo (Yaśovarman), sent one *Bhadanta* named Po-ta-hsin to the court with the presents of local product."²⁶

It seems that after his victorious expedition to Magadha and Upper Bengal in East India, Yaśovarman, like many other fallen heroes in history, gave less attention and effort to his armies, enjoyed himself with "ladies of his harem" and played "loves to

25. R. C. Majumdar noted: "Chavannes and Dr. P. C. Bagchi give this name (Buddhasena) of the envoy. But other authorities named him Seng-po-ta (Sanghabhadra)". R. C. Majumdar *op.cit.*, p. 130, fn. 2. However, both the reading of original texts and identification of the envoy's name are doubtful. According to CTS ch. 148, p. 12 a, only the title of Ta-te-seng is given, but the name of the envoy is not mentioned. The title is a Chinese translation of Sanskrit honorific title *Bhadanta*. In TPYK ch. 971, both the title and personal name are given. As the Chinese historians were familiar with Indian subject — this is evident from the use of *Bhadanta* — the name of the envoy cannot be Buddhasena as suggested. Otherwise, the name might be rendered as Fo-t'o-szu which was more familiar to the Chinese in those days. Seng-po-ta is a misreading and abbreviation of Ta-te-seng Po-ta-hsin which I restored as *Bhadanta Bhaṭṭasena*.

26. Quoted and translated from T'FYK ch. 871. Comp. Ed. Chavannes, *op.cit.*, p. 25, fn. 2 and P. C. Bagchi, "Sino-Indian Relations", *Sino-Indian Studies*, (Calcutta), vol. I, p. 71.

young women".²⁷ So, "Yaśovarman was sitting full of joy over his victories",²⁸ and going "to live outside the city in a summer retreat"²⁹ with beautiful and young damsels. Under such circumstances, Vākpati informs us that "after 'having thus conquered the world', he dismisses to return to their homes, the numerous kings whom he had compelled to accompany him after they had been conquered by him."³⁰ And "the wives of Yaśovarman's soldiers enjoyed themselves in the rains, after the return home of their husbands."³¹ "Yaśovarman's victorious war elephants having no more enemies left to conquer, try their strength with the sides of the hills."³² All these clearly indicate that after the victory over Magadha and the Gāuḍa land, the great monarch of Kanauj had disarmed himself and lost vigilance and vigour. It was probably under that circumstance, that he was defeated by Mukṭāpīḍa of Kaśmīr. The event probably took place in August 733 A.D., as suggested by H. Jacobi.³³

What happened to Yaśovarman after he was overrun by the King of Kaśmīr? The Chinese sources have no definite and direct record. However, there is a reference to Central India, which states:

"On the Yi-wei day in the third month of the XXIX year of the K'ai-yüan age (i.e., April 4, 741 A.D.), Li Ch'eng-en, a prince of the Central India, came to the court. He was given the title of the Raiding General (*Yu-chi Chiang-chün*) and sent back to [his homeland]. Envoys from that country successively came during the T'ien-pao age (742-755 A.D.)."³⁴

27. Quoted from S. P. Pandit, *op.cit.*, p. XXIII, for original Prākṛt verse, cf. verses 738-749.

28. *Ibidem*, p. xxxii.

29. *Ibidem*, p. xxxiii and verses 777-787.

30. *Ibidem*, pp. xxxii and verses 689-694.

31. *Ibidem*.

32. *Ibidem*, pp. xxxiii and verses 698-699.

33. *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, (1888), pp. 67-68.

34. Quoted, collated and translated from CTS chuan 148, u. 13 a; THY ch. 100, p. 1787 (which miscopied Wang-tzu or prince as Wang or king); and TFYK ch. 975 (which supplies the cyclical indication of Yi-wei, but miscopied the third month as the second month).

About the title of Yu-chi-chiang -chün or Raiding General, cf. Robert des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée, traduits de la nouvelle histoire des Tang* (Chap. XLVI — L). (Leiden, 1947-48), 101.

As far as this record shows, there seems to have been no drastic political change that occurred in Central India as known to the Chinese court. This, perhaps, gives an indirect support to the theory that Yaśovarman was not slain by Muktaṭṭa though he was defeated by the latter.

In the past, our knowledge of the military strength of Yaśovarman was rather vague. Hui-ch'ao's *Memoirs* has now supplied certain precise information in this regard. He states: "The king possesses nine-hundred elephants, the rest of the great chiefs possess two to three-hundred elephants, each."³⁵ This statement testifies to the poetic description of the war elephants of Yaśovarman as found in *Gaiḍavāho*, but in a more precise manner. Of course, from numerical viewpoint, the elephants possessed by Yaśovarman himself and the great chiefs subject to him were not impressive, and indeed incomparable with the six-thousand elephants of Harsha.³⁶ Yet, if this strength is to be compared with that of other contemporary Indian rulers, i.e. 800 elephants of the South Indian King, 500 to 600 of the West Indian King, 300 each possessed by the North Indian King and the King of Kāsmīr,³⁷ Yaśovarman's position as a paramount monarch in Indian subcontinent during the time becomes clear and indisputable.

In another place, when Hui-ch'ao records his travel to North India, he states that "this land is very narrow, its armed forces are limited and the land was frequently invaded and annexed by the Central India and Kasmir. This is the reason why the king [of this North India] resides in a city near by the hills (Jālandhara)"³⁸ This reference leads to two other questions, namely, Yaśovarman's northern campaign and his relation with the King of Kāsmīr.

Our knowledge about the first question is still inadequate. According to the books on the subject published so far, his

35. See note 20.

36. S. Beal, transl. *Su-yu-ki, Buddhist Record of the Western World*. (London, 1883), p. 213.

37. See my article, *op.cit.*, *Indo-Asian Culture*, XII, p. 184 a and *op.cit.*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX, p. 34, fn. 16. Also comp. Fujita/Ch'ien Tao-sun, *op.cit.*, pp. 17 a, 20, 21 b and another paper by myself in *Kashmir Research Biannual*, No. 2.

38. Translated and quoted from Fujita/Ch'ien Tao-sun, *op.cit.*, p. 21 b.

conquest of the Punjab region is often vaguely placed after his eastern expeditions. This is probably due to the impression given by Vākpati in the *Gaṇḍavāho*, which narrated Yaśovarman's campaign to the Punjab after his conquest of Magadha and the Gaṇḍa land.³⁹ Now, from Hui-ch'ao's statement, we come to know that even before his successful expedition to the East, he had already "invaded and annexed" part of the Punjab plain.

The reference to Kaśmīr raises another controversy, i.e., the relation between Yaśovarman and Mukṭāpīḍa or Lalitāditya, the great ruler of Kāśmīr, who destroyed the empire of Kanauj. As has been referred to, there can be no doubt about Mukṭāpīḍa's victory over his opponent, but the date of the former's reign is a subject of great debate. Since the chronology of Yaśovarman is very much related to and dependent on the date of Lalitāditya, a discussion on the date of the latter seems unavoidable.

According to Kalhaṇa, Lalitāditya had succeeded to the throne of Kaśmīr in 695 A.D., which S. P. Pandit thinks, is correct and valid.⁴⁰ A. Cunningham, on the other hand, thinks that if the Chinese sources have to be taken into consideration, the accession of Lalitāditya falls in 727 A.D. In A. Cunningham's opinion, this is because the Chinese historiography is 'more precise in their system of chronology', and, therefore, the date mentioned in the Chinese history should be more acceptable.⁴¹ This view has been accepted by G. Buhler and A. Stein as well as many other historians. In some recent publications, historians are still confused about the date of that great Kaśmīr King. The dates vary from 724-760 A.D. as held by R. C. Majumdar and P. N. K. Bamzai,⁴² to the dates of 724-755 A.D. or 699-736 A.D. as held by Bharat Singh and S. C. Ray respectively.⁴³ Whatever

39. S. P. Pandit, *op.cit.*, pp. xxviii and xxix

40. *Ibidem*, pp. lxxi — lxxiii, xcii — xcv.

41. Cf. A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 90-92. Also see A. Stein, transl. of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī*, *A Chronicle of the kings of Kaśmīr*, (Delhi reprint, 1961), p. 124, fn. 45.

42. R. C. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, pp. 133 ff. and P. N. K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, (Delhi, 1962), p. 111.

43. Bharat Singh, *Ancient Kashmir upto 940 A.D.*, (Political and Cultural). Ms. of a doctoral thesis recently presented to the Agra University. A summary of the thesis has been published in *The Quarterly Review of*

difference may exist, there is one point on which all the scholars are agreed, i.e., Lalitāditya had deputed his ambassador to the T'ang court of Emperor Hsüan-tsung in 733 A.D. In other words, the embassy was sent to China during the middle or towards the end of Mukṭāpīḍa's reign, and, in any case, it could not take place at the beginning of his rule. But, this view seems very doubtful, and possibly incorrect.

As the matter much depends on the Chinese sources, unless one has a clear picture from the Chinese texts, it is impossible to give a definite conclusion. Unfortunately, there exists no accurate translation from these Chinese records, and consequently, almost all historians on the subject depended on second-hand works. Under such circumstance, it is necessary to have a glimpse of the Chinese reference.

The relations between China and Kāśmīr were mainly recorded in two Chinese official documents, namely, the *Ts'e-fu Yüan-kuei* (the *Most Important Documents from the Imperial Archives*) and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* or the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*. Extracts from these two works are translated as follows:

- (1) "In the beginning of the K'ai-yüan age (circa 713-18 A.D.) an envoy arrived at the court from Kāśmīr. During the eighth year (720 A.D.), an Imperial edict proclaimed its King Chen-t'o-lo-pi-li (Candrāpīḍa) as the King of Kāśmīr."⁴⁴
- (2) "On the 8th month of the eighth year [of the K'ai-yüan age, i.e., from September 7 to October 5, 720 A.D.], an envoy was deputed to Kāśmīr, to proclaim Chen-t'o-lo-pi-li as the King of Kāśmīr."⁴⁵
- (3) "During the intercalary third month, [with the cyclical order of] *Hsin-mao* (i.e., May 10, 733 A.D.), in the XXI year of K'ai-yüan age, the King of Kāśmīr named Mo-to-pi (Mukṭāpīḍa) sent his envoy Bhadanta Wu-li-to to

Historical Studies, (Calcutta), Vol. III (1963-64), Nos. 1-2, p. 89. And S. N. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, (Calcutta, 1957), p. 47

44. Quoted and translated from HTS ch 164A, p. 12a.

45. Quoted and translated from TFYK ch. 964.

present a memorial to the Emperor. Under an edict, an audience was granted to Wu-li-to and he was entertained with a banquet at the Royal palace. Five hundred pieces of thin silk were bestowed on him and he was sent back to his own country after a few days."⁴⁶

(4) "On the 5th day of the fourth month in the XXI year of the K'ai-yüan age (i.e. May 22, 733 A.D.), an Imperial edict proclaimed Mo-to-pi (Muktāpīḍa) as the King of Kaśmīr."⁴⁷

(5) "After the death of T'ien-mu, his younger brother Mu-to-pi has succeeded to the throne. [The latter has] sent an envoy named Wu-li-to to the court. In a memorial presented to the Emperor, [the new King of Kaśmīr] stated: 'Since the establishment of my country, [all kings] sent tributes to Your Majesty Emperor, the Heavenly Khan, obeyed and acted upon under your order. In this country, there are three armies, namely elephant corps, cavalry and infantry. I, a humble subject of Your Majesty, along with the King of Central India, control the five principal routes of communication of Tibet, fought against the Tibetans with constant victories. If Your Majesty, the Heavenly Khan, will despatch the Imperial Armies to Po-lü (Polo). I would be able to supply food to two hundred thousand soldiers. 'Moreover, there is a dragon pool in this country named Mo-ho-po-to-mo (Mahāpadma). I wish to build a memorial building for Your Majesty, the Heavenly Khan. I, therefore pray for an Imperial Appointment by proclamation."

"The Department of Diplomatic Receptions (Hung-lu-szu) translated and forwarded the memorial to the Throne. Wu-li-to was summoned to the palace and entertained with a banquet. Generous gifts were bestowed on him. Mo-to-pi was made the King of Kaśmīr by an

46. *Ibidem*, ch. 975. According to B. Karlgren, the ancient Chinese pronunciation of Wu-li-to would be *Minet-lji-tā*.

47. *Ibidem*, ch. 964.

Imperial proclamation. Thereafter, he sent tribute regularly."⁴⁸

(6) Text of the T'ang Imperial Proclamation:

"On the XXI year of the K'ai-yüan age, the order of the year is *Kuei-yu*, in the fourth month which initials with *Ting-yu*, on the fifth day with the cyclical order of *Hsin-ch'ou* (i.e. May 22, 733 A.D.), His Majesty Emperor proclaimed: 'Oh, you, Mu-to-pi, the King of Kāśmīr. Alas, your country has shown allegiance throughout generations, expressed faithfulness on your duty from afar, cultivated the propriety of tribute and accepted the position as tributary.

'As time changes, the elder brother passed away and the younger brother inherited [the kingship]. Protect the land and river within the borders, unite and lead the people. There is a system of administration in your country, and custom there honours purity and peace. How can this virtue remain unadmired? 'Now, you are appointed the King of Kāśmīr. You should receive this proclamation—order with reverence when it reaches your place. Respect this.'"⁴⁹

From the foregoing extracts, it is clear that the T'ang Emperor recognised and proclaimed Candrāpīḍa as the King of Kāśmīr during September/October 720 A.D. And he made Mukṭāpīḍa the King of the same country on May 22, 733 A.D. According to the Chinese convention, the imperial proclamation of a King usually took place at the early period of the reign of the King to be appointed, and not in the middle or later part of the reign as many Indian historians thought. This practice is also evident from the extracts (5) and (6). Both of them have clearly recorded that the Kāśmīrian envoy was sent to the T'ang court after the

48. Quoted and translated from *HTS* ch. 164A, p. 12b. For the Chinese influence on Central Asian politics during the T'ang period, see Lo Hsiang-lin, "T'ang-tai T'ien-k'o-han Chih-tu K'ao" (Studies on the Heavenly Khan system during the T'ang Period), in his book, *T'ang-tai wen-hua-shih* (*The Cultural History of the T'ang period*), (Taiwan, 1955), pp. 54-87.

49. Quoted and translated from *TFYK*, ch. 964.

death of the elder brother, and the accession of the younger brother, Mukṭāpīḍa, to the throne of Kaśmīr.

According to the *Rājatarāṅginī*, Candrāpīḍa had reigned for a period of eight years and eight months; Tārāpīḍa followed him and ruled the country for four years and twenty-four days. Thereafter, Mukṭāpīḍa succeeded to the throne.⁵⁰ This means that the gap between the accessions of Candrāpīḍa and Mukṭāpīḍa covers a period of 12 years, 8 months and 24 days. This duration is almost agreeable with the Chinese records which mention these two events within a gap of 12 years and seven months and some days, i.e., September/October 720 to May 22, 733 A.D. The difference is only about a month, and that margin should be ascribed to the route and conditions of the long distance between the two countries. I venture to think that the agreement of the duration between the enthronements of Candrāpīḍa and Mukṭāpīḍa as recorded in the Chinese documents and those found in Kalhaṇa's chronicle is not merely an accident, but based on the same historical event.

Previously, on account of the lack of direct reference to the Chinese sources, there has been some amount of confusion in the field of scholarly speculations. Such confusion relates to the exact date of the Kaśmīrian missions to China; and is also concerned with the nature of the respective envoys, of Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya, to the T'ang court.

According to A. Stein, the year of the Kaśmīrian embassy to the court of Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, "is not indicated."⁵¹ And consequently, the Chinese records do "not allow us to check with accuracy the dates assigned by K's chronology to Lalitāditya's reign."⁵² This view had been upheld by R. S. Pandit, he says: "The Annals of the T'ang dynasty of China mentioned without any date the arrival of an embassy from the king of Kashmir Mu-to-pi who has been identified by European scholars with Mukṭāpīḍa".⁵³ He further confuses the matter on

50. S. P. Pandit, *op.cit.*, p. lxxvi.

51. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-131, fn. 126.

52. *Ibidem*.

53. R. S. Pandit, transl. *Rājatarāṅginī, The Saga of the Kings of Kashmir or the River of Kings*, (Allahabad, 1935), p. 110.

the bases of the same second-hand information, and states: "the embassy is recorded to have arrived after the successful Chinese expedition in Baltistan (Po-liu) which took place between the years 736-747".⁵⁴ From this incorrect assumption, an interesting conclusion is reached, which states: "A possible explanation might be that K's date is correct and the Chinese record the name of Mukṭāpiḍa, which must have been well known to them, as a generic name for the kings of Kashmir".⁵⁵

The nature of the Kāsmīrian and the Central Indian envoys to the T'ang court brought up another great confusion. Most of the scholars in Indian history thought that, in A.D. 713 or shortly after, Candrāpiḍa, the King of Kāsmīr, had "applied to the Chinese Emperor for aid against the Arabs".⁵⁶ This view which has been strongly refuted by S. P. Pandit was one of the reasons which led him to disbelieve the Chinese records. Thereafter, R. C. Majumdar explained the reason for the Indian missions as "it may be held that both these Kings (i.e., of Kashmir and the Central India) asked Chinese help against Arabs and Tibetans who were making inroads upon India".⁵⁷ Another interpretation on this event was adduced by P. C. Bagchi, who thought that the mission sent by Yaśovarṃa was to appeal to the Chinese Emperor "for intervention in his dispute with Kashmir".⁵⁸

Now, from the foregoing translations of the Chinese records, the dates of Kāsmīrian as well as Central Indian missions to the T'ang court are not unmentioned as some scholars thought in the past. As we have seen, the Chinese sources record the events uniformly without any contradiction. Even the cyclical indications and calendric factors are accurate and correct. For instance, there is a reference of an intercalary third month in the XXI year of K'ai-yüan age, which as I have identified, actually existed in that year. Even the related dates are completely harmonized with their cyclical orders, which are regarded by many scholars as one

54. *Ibidem*, p. 129. Also see Buddha Prakash *Ibidem*, p. 107.

55. *Ibidem*.

56. S. P. Pandit, *op.cit.*, p. lxxxix. This fact was said to be based on A. Rémusat's translation, *op.cit.* vol. I, p. 197.

57. R. C. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

58. P. C. Bagchi, *op.cit.* *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. I, p. 71.

of the key factors to check the authenticity of histories in China.⁵⁹

Regarding the nature of Kaśmīr's envoys to China, the above-mentioned translations from the Chinese historical documents, have supplied their own reasons. The mission that arrived at the T'ang court in 713 or shortly after was to establish diplomatic relations. There was no Arab threat at that time. On this point, Hui-ch'ao has also testified to the situation, he says that when he was in Kaśmīr, "the king [of the country] possessed 300 elephants. It is situated amidst mountains, the roads here are bad and dangerous, has not been invaded by any foreign country".⁶⁰ The missions that arrived at the T'ang court in 720 and 733 A.D. respectively were for the Chinese recognition of the newly enthroned Kings of Kaśmīr. The latter had its military nature against the Tibetans as mentioned in extract (5), but nothing to do with the Arabs. Similarly, the mission sent by Yaśovarman was, as I have noted before, for an imperial recognition of his dominant position in India, after his triumph over Magadha and the Gāṇḍhāra land.

There is another point which is worthy of attention, that is the kingdom of North India as recorded in the *Memoirs* of Hui-ch'ao. He states that the North Indian King resided at a city which is built on the hillside named Jālandhara, and the King possessed 300 war elephants and one-hundred cavalry. The land was frequently invaded by Central India and Kaśmīr. That was the reason why the King resided in a city near the hills. Though the political situation of North India and the identification of this King of Jālandhara are still in dark and require more effort to

59. Ch'en Yin-k'oh has remarked that to identify the cyclical order with the title of reign and the actual date is a very difficult and complicated task during ancient and mediaeval period. Even some eminent historians of the age used to commit lapse in this regard. It is, therefore, a key factor to testify the authenticity of Chinese historical documents. See "Nan-yo Ta-shih Li-shih-yuan-wen Pa" (Note on Autobiography of Hui-szu), *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, vol. III (1932), p. 300 ff.

About calendric data, I have used Hsieh Chung-san and Ou-yang Yi's *A Sino-Western Calendar for Two Thousand Years 1-2000 A.D.* (Peking, 1956).

60. See my article *op.cit.* *Kashmir Research Biannual*, No. 2.

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study,⁶¹ notwithstanding, whoever this King might be, as far as Central India and Kāśmīr are concerned, this was probably the cause for conflict between Mukṭāpīḍa and Yaśovarman. In other words, the invasion of North India brought those two powerful monarchs into a clash. This attempt of annexation of the Punjab plain has already been initiated before Mukṭāpīḍa came to the throne, he possibly renewed the expansion southward and headed on a clash with Yaśovarman as he was "eager for conquest".⁶² The latter held South plain of the region even before the rise of Mukṭāpīḍa.

Another suggestion relates to the chronology of Mukṭāpīḍa as proposed by R. S. Pandit. In a note to the Book VII verse 1430 of his translation of *Rājataranṅinī*, he states: "The verse refers to the Emperor of China. The first Chinese expedition against Baltistan occurred between 736-747 A.C. and it is not unlikely that Laṭitāditya perished while opposing a Chinese army in the north of Kashmir."⁶³ In his translated verse as well as in the original verse of Kalhaṇa, it is only mentioned that "the king named Śalya who was equipped with...."⁶⁴ Who was this King? Was he "the Emperor of China" as R. S. Pandit noted? No clear identification is made. According to S. P. Pandit, "he (Mukṭāpīḍa) is described as having carried his arms of conquest far beyond the borders of Kashmir towards the north and the northwest, and to have died in an expedition of conquest towards Persia (Āryanaka)."⁶⁵ A. Stein agreed that "from varying account we may conclude that Laṭitāditya ended his days on some unsuccessful expedition to the north." Yet he had carefully observed that the "country called 'Āryanaka' cannot be located exactly."⁶⁶ He also believes that the details of Laṭitāditya's death "had become obscured at an early date."⁶⁷

The successful Chinese expedition against Baltistan took place during the summer of 747 A.D. The event has been carefully

61. See 'Some Dark Pages of the History of North India after Harsha,' in Buddha Prakash, *loc.cit.*, pp. 101-116.

62. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

63. R. S. Pandit, *op.cit.*, p. 320 fn. 1430.

64. *Ibidem*, pp. 319-320.

65. S. P. Pandit, *op.cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

66. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, p. 93.

67. *Ibidem*, p. 93.

recorded in the histories of the T'ang dynasty, under the chapter of Ta-hsiao Polü,⁶⁸ and also in the biography of Kao Hsien-chih (died in 755 A.D.),⁶⁹ the Korean General who served the T'ang court as the Vice-General Commander of the T'ang Army in Sinkiang region, and led the expeditionary forces to Po-lü or Baltistan. As the dates, route, encounters and results of the expedition have been all recorded in the history, there is no room for speculating that Lalitāditya "perished while opposing a Chinese army in the north of Kashmir" as suggested by R. S. Pandit.

Moreover, there are a number of internal evidences to disprove the suggestion made by R. S. Pandit. For example, Lalitāditya died in "expedition of conquest",⁷⁰ "to a distant north region",⁷¹ and not in a fighting of defence "in the north of Kashmir" as suggested.⁷² Similarly, Po-lü is situated to the North-East of Kaśmīr and not far from the latter. Moreover, any of the suggested dates of Lalitāditya's chronology does not place his death in the summer of 747 A.D.,⁷³ the year of Kao Hsien-chih's successful expedition to Baltistan. Under these circumstances, I would prefer to subscribe to A. Stein's contention. And unless some unexpected new evidences come out, the end of Lalitāditya of Kaśmīr would remain inconclusive.

From the foregoing discussion, one may suggest that Yaśovarman's conquest of Magadha and the Gāuḍa land took place between 726 and 731 A.D. as he was still struggling for domination at the time of Hui-ch'ao's visit, (about 724 A.D.), which probably meant that his position as a King was far from settled. Thus his ascendancy to the throne should not be very long from that date. Though the last part of his reign is still vague, he possibly lived in a weaker position till the middle of VIII century A.D.

Reviewing the identity between the Chinese sources and the Kaśmīr chronicle in regard to the duration between the enthronements of Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa, precise dates and reliable

68. CTS ch. 104, pp. 1a-3a and HTS ch. 221, pp. 4a-5b.

69. *Ibidem*, ch. 135 and 104.

70. S. P. Pandit, *op.cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

71. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, p., 93.

72. See note 63 above.

73. See notes 40, 41 42 and 43 above.

system of Chinese official historiography, I am inclined to place the chronology of Candrāpiḍa and Tārāpiḍa, the Kaśmīr Kings as 720-729 and 729-732, Mukṭāpiḍa ascending the throne only in 732 A.D. Should these dates be considered as reasonable, then the reign of these three Kings of the Kārkoṭaka or Nāga dynasty of Kaśmīr should be much later than the dates claimed by Kalhaṇa. In other words, the latter seems to have a miscalculation of 38 years, which is longer than suspected by scholars previously. Of course, this discussion is only limited to the accession and succession of these three Kings, and it cannot be considered as a conclusive remark to the whole work of *Rājataranginī*.

The Indian missions sent to the T'ang court during the period under review, are all clearly recorded with definite dates and related reasons. There is no room for any other speculation. In this connection, it is necessary to point out that a new and accurate translation of historical sources from foreign and local languages of India is a very urgent task. Such an effort would clear up a lot of confusion, and bring new light into the field.

India's Resistance to Medieval Invaders : A Rejoinder

BY

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Dr. Ashok Kumar Majumdar's article on the above subject published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLIV, Part II (August 1966), pp. 475-482, calls for comment. It seeks to examine certain statements of mine, made in my paper "A Survey of India's Resistance to Medieval Invaders from the North-West: Causes of Eventual Hindu Defeat," vide J.I.H. Vol. XLIII, Part II (August, 1965), pp. 349-368. But in trying to do so Dr. Majumdar assumes much more than I said or meant and ascribes to me certain views that I do not hold. He admits that I confined "my survey to the North-West," i.e., to Sindh, Hindu Afghanistan and the Punjab. He also admits that my survey relates to the period, 636 A.D.-1206 A.D., and not beyond. Yet he says that because I discussed the "causes of eventual Hindu defeat," "this naturally enlarges the scope of investigation, as the causes of Hindu defeat cannot be explained by a survey of the history of the North-West only."¹ This is too much for any writer to assume, and amounts to the familiar trick: ascribe to some one what he does not say and then attack him on that ground. The plain meaning of my paper was that the Hindus of Sindh, Afghanistan and the Punjab resisted the invaders from 636 A.D. to c. 1019 A.D., i.e., for a much longer period than any people in Asia, Africa and Europe had fought the Arabs in that age, and yet they were finally defeated. Obviously I attempted to analyse the causes of their eventual defeat after so much and so successful a resistance lasting for about four centuries. Secondly it was to examine the debacle of 1195-1202 which enabled the Turks to over-run the Gangetic valley upto the hills of Assam. I fail to see why Dr. Majumdar thinks it necessary that my survey *must includē the whole of Northern India*. His references to Rajasthan's defying the Turkish invaders and of Orissa's

1. Dr. A. K. Majumdar's Article, *op.cit.*, p 475.

fighting the Muslim Sultans of Bengal at a later date are in this connection irrelevant and uncalled for. If Dr. Majumdar had cared to turn the pages of my *Sultanate of Delhi* (1st edition. 1950), he would not have quoted Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah. He would have then realised that all these details have been known to me and to others for long and that it was not necessary for me to refer to them in my above paper, which was meant to be a rapid survey as its very title indicates and not a detailed exposition of the history of the period.

Dr. A. K. Majumdar not only ascribes to me views that I do not hold, but he also quotes me wrongly. He writes: "As a matter of fact Dr. Srivastava has held the *preachings of the Mahabharata to be partially responsible for weakening the resistance of the Hindus.*"² Such a presumption is entirely wrong; I never held the great epic responsible for weakening the Hindu resistance to the Turkish invaders, not even for Hindu demoralisation. Here is what I wrote in an attempt to explain the causes of the collapse of the Hindu resistance after the fall of Prithvi Raj Chauhan III, Jaichand and Pramardi Deva. "A more probable cause *seems to be the widespread demoralisation and panic caused by the defeat of great Hindu kings and an erroneous belief in the invincibility of the Turkish hordes, who used shock tactics, and impelled the lesser Indian rulers to think that resistance was hopeless. It may be presumed with reason that after the fall of such mighty warrior kings as Prithvi Raj and Jaichand there must have been anxious and hurried consultations among the smaller rulers of the Gangetic valley, their ministers and advisers, and they must have thought further resistance futile (after 1194 A.D.). It was in these depressing circumstances that they seemed to have taken shelter behind the letter of the well known injunction in the Mahabharata to submit and avoid anarchy, and ignored its spirit. It was, therefore, the implicit, nay blind, Hindu faith in Shastric injunctions to avoid anarchy at all cost even at the sacrifice of independence and sovereignty, that must be held to have been the primary cause of the debacle.*"³ The above sentences are so transparently clear that unless one is absolutely prejudiced or ignorant of the English lang-

2. Dr. A. K. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, p. 477.

3. A. L. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, pp. 360-361.

uage, one would not believe that the writer of the above lines is blaming the *Mahabharata*. All that he means is that the teaching of the epic was *misinterpreted by persons who had lost their balance*. These persons "*ignored its spirit,*" and took shelter "*behind the letter.*" This is absolutely clear from the sentences written by me just after, viz., "*This is an instance to show that sometimes out of good comes evil and that a nation that does not make use of discrimination in the interpretation and application of its valued scripture not only loses its independence, but also suffers tremendously and for centuries.*"⁴

Dr. Ashok Kumar Majumdar seems to think that the Hindu *Shastras* are fool-proof and are incapable of wrong interpretation. If that were so, how could the Vedic system of *Varna-Ashram Dharma* have crystallised into castes and how could the ancient usage regarding inter-dining and inter-marriage between the various *varnas* have disappeared? And how has untouchability come into existence? I yield to none in my respect for the Hindu *Shastras*; but I am absolutely sure that their noble injunctions have been misinterpreted time and again.

Dr. Majumdar is again wrong in asserting that I have torn the six verses from the *Shanti-Parva* of the *Mahabharata* from their context. He is also wrong in calling these verses 'obscure'. They are very important. They form part of Bhishma's discourse on sovereignty and of his advice to Yudhishtir, when the latter declined to accept the crown, to rule his ancestral kingdom and prevent anarchy. Of course, Bhishmā did not advise anyone to prevent anarchy by submitting to a foreign invader. What he meant was that if a powerful Indian monarch coveted his weak neighbour's territory and was bent upon conquest, the latter should submit to avoid anarchy. The fault lay with those who, in the confused situation of 1194-1202 A.D. when the Turks were successfully over-running the Gangetic valley, misinterpreted the famous verses to save their skin.

Dr. Majumdar's contention that *Kutnimatam*, *Kalavilas* and other works mentioned by me were written to produce "a revulsion towards the prostitutes," "courtesans and others and to dis-

4. A. L. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, p. 362.

suade people from visiting them" only refers to the objective of the authors, but ignores the patent fact that literature depicts the society of the age in which it is produced. He also ignores the effect that literature produces on human mind and character. I read these works after I had crossed sixty, and I cannot describe the effect on my mind. It is a pity that Dr. Majumdar holds that the literature presented in these works of Kashmiri writers did not demoralise the people of that region and that Kashmir passed into the hand of the Muslims on account of "the peculiar twist of fortune."⁵ He should know that this 'peculiar twist of fortune' was caused by the general demoralisation of the Kashmiris of that age. As the learned author admits that "the erotic sculptures may have had evil influence on the people in general," *because other scholars too have referred to it*, I need not join issue with him. But his assumption that despite Konark and Jagannath "Orissa maintained her independence against the Turko-Afghan onslaught practically till about 1580," is incorrect. Orissa's delayed fall was due to geographical reasons and not to the so-called emotion-free virility of her people. Again Dr. Majumdar does less than justice by omitting the Khajuraho temples from the list, especially when I had given it the first place among the erotic sculptures. He also omits my contention that erotic sculpture of this type was common enough in the temples of that age in Northern India. I mentioned the temples of these three places, besides others, because they are extant and it is open for anyone to see them and form his independent opinion about the effect of this kind of sculpture. He finds fault with me for saying that the North-Western India including Hindu Afghanistan and part of Sindh was before the 7th century A.D. isolated, and looked upon by the conservative elements of our society as border lands, inhabited by barbarians. "Will Dr. Majumdar adduce contemporary evidence to refute the above theory? Further, will anyone with an accurate knowledge of Indian history dispute the fact that "after the extinction of the Maurya empire, there was no such thing as the defence of the frontiers of India by the united might and resources of the Indian people, because our north-west frontiers and all other frontiers were the frontiers of small independent kingdoms"? But Dr. Majumdar doubts the correctness of this state-

5. Dr. A. K. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, p. 480.

ment. I will not probe into the reasons that have impelled Dr. Majumdar to call the above statement of mine as my 'assumption.' But I must say that his reference to Skanda Gupta's repulsing the Hunas does not improve his position in the least. We are not aware whether Skanda Gupta or any former ruler of the Gupta dynasty could extend the limit of his kingdom to include in it the natural frontiers of India in the North-West.

Misrepresentation seems to be the principal weapon in Dr. Ashok Kumar Majumdar's armoury. The following will show how the learned Doctor's misrepresentation works in practice. In my paper referred to above I had written that "the country during this period experienced a *Brahmanical reaction* that produced three-fold effect on its fortune." In the first instance, "Brahman ministers over-threw their Kshatriya and Sudra masters and usurped their thrones which brought about a kind of political *revolution and instability*." Secondly, "the rise of orthodox Hinduism *alienated the Buddhist population...*" Thirdly, "the Hindus in general and their upper classes in particular had by this time developed strange *ideas of contamination and defilement and taboos of food and drink*, which made them shudder from the fear of losing caste, if they fell into the hands of *mlecchhas*." And "finally inasmuch as religious orthodoxy and ritualism run counter to the simplicity of the poor, the lower orders of our society felt a *widening gulf between them and their new rulers who pursued a suicidal policy of social and religious exclusion*." I explained all these points at length in my article.⁶ Consistently with his set plan, Dr. Majumdar has ignored all the above important points and seized hold of only one, to be more exact only one-half, of one, of these points, viz., the displacement of the Kshatriya rulers by Brahman ministers. Even here he omits the displacement of the Sudra kings. In regard to this one-half of a point, Dr. Majumdar indulges in polemics. Here is his reasoning: "Now, this type of influences, which are often relied upon by historians, must show an invariable non-committance and an invariable committance. The proposition is: the Brahmin usurped the throne from a Kshatriya; therefore the foreigners could conquer the country. It must follow, therefore; First, that had the country

6. A. L. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, pp. 346-365.

retained its Kṣatriya rulers it would not have been conquered by the Muslims, because *Kṣatriyas have never been defeated by the Muslims*. As the italicised premise is non-tenable the invariable non-committance is not established. Secondly, it is necessary to prove that the Brahmins were always defeated.”⁷ The learned author tries to prove his point by referring to the military leadership of the Peshwas who were Brahmins.

One can hardly conceive of a more glaring example of misuse of logic and of the ignorance of the canons of historical evidence. Only one cause, viz., “the mistakes of policy and strategy” put forward by me appeals to the learned Dr. A. K. Majumdar. He rejects the social cause as of no account, for, according to him the social conditions were the same in both the North and the South, and yet the Cōlas founded an overseas empire and there was a revival of Hindu power under the Vijayanagar empire. He concludes by adding that if there had really been social decay, the Hindu society in the Gangetic valley must have crumbled to pieces. Here Dr. Majumdar confuses social survival with social solidarity.

The above analysis reveals the manner in which Dr. Ashok Kumar Majumdar sifts evidence and arrives at conclusions. Although criticism of historical writings is essential in the interest of truth, yet perversion cannot be looked upon as criticism. Intellectual honesty and integrity are absolutely essential in the pursuit of historical research. Who will agree with Dr. Majumdar that everything was well with the Hindu society of the early medieval age and that it was merely the Hindu mistakes of policy and strategy that were responsible for their defeat and loss of independence which they failed to recover before 1947?

7. Dr. Majumdar, *op.cit.*, pp. 480-481.

Kṛṣṇa's role as a Nation-builder in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century

BY

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Two of the greatest reformers of India in the nineteenth century, Rāja Rāmmohun Roy and Svāmi Dayānanda, looked down upon the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, one of the principal sources on the life and teachings of Kṛṣṇa. The former wrote in his *First Defence of Hindu Theism* that the grossness of the worship of Kṛṣṇa exceeded all limits. "His devotees very often personify (in the same manner as European actors do on stage) him and his female companions, dancing with indecent gestures, and singing songs relative to his love and debaucheries." It is worth noting that Rāmmohun's family deities at Rādhānagar, a famous place of pilgrimage for the Vaiṣnavas were Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. One of the causes of estrangement between him and his mother, Tārṇī Devī was that he refused to bow down before the images of these deities. Tārṇī Devī preferred to give up all connections with her son and spent her last days at Puri amidst great hardship. Svāmi Dayānanda refused to accept Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of God. On the authority of a few stray verses said to have been found in a book called *Hemādri*, Dayānanda held that Vopadēva was the author of the *Bhāgavata* and his brother, Jayadēva wrote *Gītagovinda*.^{1a} As a matter of fact, Hemādri the famous author of *Caturvarga-cintāmani* (c. 1260-1270) wrote a commentary called *Kaivalya-dīpikā* on Vopadēva's *Muktāphala* which is an anthology of the verses of the *Bhāgavata* on various aspects of devotion. Vopadēva dedicated it to Hemādri and also wrote a summary of the life of Kṛṣṇa as represented in the *Bhāgavata* in his treatise, *Harilīlā*. Jayadēva flourished in eastern India nearly a century earlier than Vopadēva.

1(a). *Satyārtha Prakāśa* (Eng. trans. by Bharadwaja), p. 390,

The Christian Missionaries levelled serious charges against Kṛṣṇa. One of them wrote in the *Calcutta Review* in October, 1851: 'Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are favourite deities with a great majority of the inhabitants of Bengal. The character of these objects of worship is so vile, that those who describe it feel it necessary to apologize for it, by urging the plea that Kṛṣṇa, being lord of the world, was not subject to those laws of morality which mortals are bound to obey. But reason and experience unite in proving that his example has a frightfully contaminating power, and that the natives of Bengal will never cease to be addicted to profligacy until Kṛṣṇa shall cease to be the object of their worship, their thoughts and their affections.'^{1b}

In the face of such attacks Bankimcandra Chatterjee had to make out a case for regarding Kṛṣṇa as a national hero. He was the first Indian scholar to undertake a critical study of the life of Kṛṣṇa. He was acquainted with the main trends of criticism of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* from the works of Orientalists like Weber, Lassen, Goldstucker, Colebrooke, Muir, Bournouf and Wilson.^{1c} His critical acumen was of such a high order that he could easily discriminate between a mere hypothesis and a logical conclusion of these European scholars. His sense of humour was keen and his expression was highly felicitous. All these factors have contributed to make his *Kṛṣṇacaritra* a classic of Bengali literature.

Bankimcandra, however, wrote this great work with a purpose, and not merely for advancement of learning. We get an idea of his object from the article, entitled *Kṛṣṇacaritra*, which he contributed to the journal *Baṅgadarśana* early in 1875.² He wanted to present in his work an ideal hero capable of unifying the petty warring kingdoms into a national state. He was the first great writer who tried to infuse the new spirit of nationalism into the mind of Indians through inspiring novels, songs and essays. To him Kṛṣṇa was the perfect embodiment of the best ideals of humanity. He contrasted four stages in the representation of the life

1(b). Quoted also in the Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1852-53, p. 632.

1(c) *Kṛṣṇacaritra* I, 4, 7, 13.

2. *Baṅgadarśana*, Caitra 1281, pp. 605-611.

of Kṛṣṇa—the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata*, Jayadēva's *Gīta-govinda* and Vidyāpati's songs. He laid down three fundamental principles which distinguish the portrayal of the character by one poet from that of another. These are due to national character, social environment and the personality of the poet. He said that during the age in which the *Mahābhārata* was composed India had attained a high stage of civilization, but signs of internal quarrel were already visible. The way in which the character of Kṛṣṇa has been depicted in the *Mahābhārata* is unparalleled in the world. There is not even a faint trace in it of those episodes of his early life at Vraja, which have been elaborated in the *Bhāgavata*. These constitute the sole subject-matter of the poems of Jayadēva and Vidyāpati. Bankim considered the love of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs as nothing but an allegory of the relation of Puruṣa with Prakṛti as delineated in the Sāṃkhya-philosophy. But he regretted that the allegory had vanished altogether in the *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadēva. As the nation had become decadent and forgotten all about the heroic past Jayadēva produced nothing but a sensual poem. Kṛṣṇa, according to the *Mahābhārata*, was a far-sighted statesman, bent upon achieving the unity of India. But Jayadēva has painted him as wholly engrossed in love affair. In this connection it is interesting to note that to Bankim Vidyāpati appeared as a poet singing mournful songs under the influence of the renaissance, which was just having its beginning after several centuries of Moslem rule. Bankim thought that Jayadēva looked only at the exterior of Kṛṣṇa, whereas Vidyāpati analysed his inmost feelings³

This interesting article indicates that Bankimcandra was pondering over the problem of interpreting the life of Kṛṣṇa nine years before the publication of his essays on *Kṛṣṇacaritra* in the Bengali monthly journal *Pracāra* in 1884 A.D. After having contributed articles on the same topic for twenty months⁴ he got them published in the form of a book in 1886.⁵ In this book he

3. *Ibid.*, p. 610-611. It is worth noting here that according to Rabin-dranath Caṇḍidāsa was the poet of sorrow and Vidyāpati sang only of pleasure (*Prācīna Sāhitya*). The songs of Vidyāpati from the Nepal and Ramabhadrapura Mss had not been published at that time

4. *Prachāra*, Āsvini 1291 (=1884 Oct.) to Āśāḍa 1293 (=July 1886)

5. The first edition of *Kṛṣṇacaritra* is available in the *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*. It consists of 198 pages while the second edition published in 1892 covered 492 + 30 pages.

said that the oldest account of the life of Kṛṣṇa is to be found in the *Mahābhārata*, and those incidents which are not related there are to be discarded as mere poetic fancies.⁶ But this was not all. He was not prepared to accept as genuine even the episodes mentioned in the epic if they did not tally with his preconceived idea of Kṛṣṇa. Thus according to him the verses referring to Kṛṣṇa's life at Vṛndāvana as reported to have been uttered by Śiśupāla at the Rājasūya ceremony were interpolations.⁷ He emphatically stated that the allegations of Kṛṣṇa's love affair with the Gopis were all baseless; they were mere products of fanciful imagination of the writers of the *Purāṇas*. He went further and said that the story of Kṛṣṇa's transfer to the house of Nanda at midnight, and all the incidents relating to his boyhood and adolescence at Vraja were false and baseless. He even refused to accept that Kamsa was the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa.⁸ He quoted the words of Arjuna from *Udyoga parvam* recounting the valorous achievements of Kṛṣṇa including the defeat of Bhoja Kings at the *Svayamvara* of Rugmiṇī, victory over the Kings of Gāndhāra, Pāṇḍya, Kalinda, Vārāṇasī, destruction of Ekalavya, Kamsa, Śālva and Naraka. The last two items he considered as unhistorical apparently because miracles were involved in the first and Kṛṣṇa's marriage with sixteen thousand wives was implied in the second.⁹

In the first edition of his *Kṛṣṇacaritra* Bankim quoted the passage relating to the killing of Kamsa from the Bengali translation of the *Mahābhārata* edited by Kali Prasanna Sinha and said in the footnote that he had not compared the translation with the original. The mistake committed by the translator remained undetected even at the time of publication of the second edition six years later.¹⁰

6. *Kṛṣṇacaritra*, 1st ed., p. 3

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35. These verses have been found in all the manuscripts collected by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and accepted as genuine in the critical edition of the *Mbh.* II. 30. 4-11. The influence of Bankim, however, is so great that even a researcher of the eminence of Dr. J. N. Banerjee writes that according to scholars these verses are interpolations (*Pañcopāsanā*, p. 45 footnote). Dr. Banerjee had probably in his mind R. G. Bhandarkar's opinion (*Vaiṣṇavism* etc. p. 38) also.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

10. The translator says that Kamsa married two daughters of Jarāsandha named Sahadēva and Anujā (*Kaliprasanna Sinha's Mbh.* II, 13, (p. 211).

Bankimcandra changed and modified many of his views in the second edition, in the preface of which he admitted that he had changed his opinion regarding the boyhood incidents of the life of Kṛṣṇa. He also said that the *Kṛṣṇacaritra* as depicted in his article published in the *Baṅgadarśana* was as different from the life of Kṛṣṇa now presented as light is from darkness. He attributed the change of opinion to his mature age, greater investigation and more intense thinking. He boldly said that if any one did not change his opinion he must be either endowed with supernatural powers or a foolish and ignorant person. He now admitted that Kṛṣṇa's transfer to Gōkula by Vasudēva might be accepted as a historical fact.¹¹ But he refused to believe that his hero could pilfer butter in his childhood. He interpreted incidents like the turning down of the cart, destruction of Tṛṇāvartta, Vatsāsura, Vakāsura and Aghāsura and suppression of the serpent, Kālīya, as mere allegory.

Bankimcandra was in some difficulty in explaining away the great miracle of Kṛṣṇa's holding the Gōvardhana mountain for seven days. Now he confessed that the verses containing allegations made by Śiśupālā against Kṛṣṇa at the Rājasūya sacrifice were not interpolations. He was candid enough also to admit that the Gōvardhana was not a mere mole-hill as alleged by Śiśupālā but a real hill. The incident is related in the *Harivamśa*,¹² *Viṣṇupurāṇa*,¹³ *Bhāgavata*¹⁴ and many other Purāṇas though Bankim did not refer to these. But he refused to believe anything which was supernatural in character. He concluded that Kṛṣṇa considered it useless to render worship to Indra, which is typified by the sky and thought that the food should be offered to the poor people and the cows.

But the original (Cr.ed. II.13.30) says that Kamsa married the *anujā* or sisters of Sahadēva (son of Jarāsandha). The admission of Bankim that he depended on the Bengali translation is significant. But in fairness to him it must be said that he did compare many other passages with the original, e.g., his *Kṛṣṇacaritra*, 2nd edition, III. 1 (Footnote in p. 114).

11. *Kṛṣṇacaritra*, 2nd ed. (Sāhityaparīṣad ed.), p. 68.

12. *H.V.*, II, 18.

13. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, 11.

14. *Bh.* X., 26.

He then took up the consideration of the case of the Gōpīs. He pointed out that the Gopīs are not referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁵ But Kṛṣṇa's sport with them has been related in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Harivaṃśa* and the *Bhāgavata*. He quoted the major portion of the thirteenth chapter of the fifth book of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* describing the *Rāsālilā* and other incidents. In translating the verses, however, he took the root 'ram' to mean to play and the words like 'Ratipriya' to signify fond of playing. But he was not able to explain away the verse (13.54) which stated that a Gōpī skilled in the art of singing his praises embraced and kissed him, though he rendered the active voice of the original into passive.¹⁶

He, however, interpreted the whole affair as an innocent play and quoted the customs of European society, in which dancing of young men with young women was not considered in any way reprehensible. While explaining away the description of the Rāsa in the *Harivaṃśa*, he, however, said that the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* has described the joyous frolics of fickle girls. In the case of *Harivaṃśa*, according to him they were passionate women. Then he adversely commented upon the bad taste of the *Bhāgavata* in describing the *Vastra-haraṇa* of the Gōpīs,^{17a} though he admired the best spiritual tone of the purāṇa. He again condemned Jayadēva for perverting the innocent sports of Kṛṣṇa to sexual orgy in the name of religion. He reiterated in this connection the urgent need of re-interpreting the life of Kṛṣṇa with a view to re-awakening the coun-

15. *Kṛṣṇacaritra* II.V. The *Mahābhārata* was not concerned with the early life of Kṛṣṇa. But there is one indirect evidence to show that the author or one of the authors of the *Mahābhārata* knew that Kṛṣṇa had fascination for the Gōpīs. When Subhadrā was being sent for the first time to her mother-in-law's house she was dressed as a Gopālikā-I.213. 17. Asvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* refers to Saurī (Kṛṣṇa 1.45) and also to Gope Yoṣits (IV. 16). Sir R. G. Bhandarker held that all the *Mahābhārata* passages containing any references to the Gōpīs are interpolations. But the researches of the Institute, associated with his name, show that at least this passage is genuine (*Mbh. Cr. ed. Ādiparva*, p. 830). Bankimcandra considered the invocation of Draupadī to Kṛṣṇa as Gōpījanapriya as genuine, but the critical edition has treated it as an interpolation.

16. *Kṛṣṇacaritra* II, V (p. 81).

17(a). This episode is described in the Tamil Śāṅgam book *Ahaṇḍnūru* (59.4-6), which cannot be later than the second century A.D. I am thankful to Prof. T. V. Mahalingam for this reference.

try.^{17b} He emphatically stated again that in the whole world none can equal Kṛṣṇa in purity of character and in the possession of all the good qualities.

Bankimcandra devoted a long chapter to prove that the name of Rādhā is not found in any of the *Purāṇas* excepting the *Brahma-vaivarta*, the original version of which has been lost. He showed that the current version of this *Purāṇa* is full of absurd tales. But it must be said to the credit of the critical acumen of Bankim that he was the first modern scholar to prove that Jayadēva was indebted to this *Purāṇa* for the introductory verse of his *Gīta-govinda*.¹⁸ The conclusion which Bankim drew regarding the credibility of the incidents of the early life of Kṛṣṇa was that Vasudēva sent his wife Rōhini and two sons, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Gōkula out of fear of Kāṁsa, and that Kṛṣṇa spent the period of his boyhood and adolescence there. His beauty and grace made him dear to all. He grew up as an exceptionally vigorous youth, who saved the cowherds by destroying the harmful animals. He was affectionate to the boys and girls of the Gōpas and tried to please everybody. He realised real spiritual truth in his adolescence. This is all that he was prepared to admit as historical fact, and that too after a great deal of hesitation.

Before we take up for consideration his analysis of the character of Kṛṣṇa in the post-Vṛndāvana period it may be fruitful to quote the opinion of Sri Aurobindo on the methodology adopted by Bankim in this work. Sri Aurobindo observes: "He saw that in certain parts of the poem (*Mahābhārata*) Kṛṣṇa's godhead is either not presupposed at all or only slightly affirmed, while in others it is the main objective of the writer; certain parts again give us a plain, unvarnished and straightforward biography and

17(b) *Ibid.*, II, 7, (p. 93).

18. *Brahma-vaivartapurāṇa*—*Kṛṣṇajānamakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 15 1 ff. Hīrēndra-nātha Datta pays Bankim high tributes for his excellent researches on Rādhā. He observes that Bankim was the first to controvert the theory of H. H. Wilson, who held that the *Brahma-vaivarta* was composed only some two to three hundred years before his time (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, June, 1832). Bankim showed that the contents of the fifteenth chapter of this *Purāṇa* must have been familiar to Jayadēva, otherwise he could not have alluded to the incident referred to in his introductory verse (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 45, pp. 7-9).

history, others are a mass of wonders and legends, often irrelevant extravagances; in some parts also the conception of the chief characters is radically departed from and defaced. He, therefore, took these differences as his standard and accepted only those parts as genuine which gave a plain and consistent account of Kṛṣṇa the man and of others in relation to him. Though his conclusions are to a great extent justifiable, his *a priori* method led him to exaggerate them, to enforce them too rigidly without proper flexibility and scrupulous hesitation and to resort occasionally to special pleading.¹⁹

Bankimcandra held that there have been many interpolations in the *Mahābhārata* on account of three reasons. First, it was customary in ancient India, even after the invention of alphabets to circulate books by oral recitation. It was, therefore, easy to incorporate certain sections or verses in them. Secondly, the temptation for making interpolations became strong in the case of a highly popular book like the *Mahābhārata*. Thirdly, learned men in ancient India did not care much for literary renown; all that they wanted was that people should derive benefit from reading their composition. They, therefore, introduced into the epic whatever they considered beneficial to the people. He laid down seven canons for the detection of interpolations.²⁰ In the first instance that which is not mentioned in the *Parva-saṃgraha* must be later additions, though there have been some interpolations even before the composition of this chapter. V. S. Sukthankar says that the figures in the *Parva-saṃgraha* Chapter are prior to 1000 A.D., when the *Javanese Bhārata* and the *Āndhra Bhāratam* were composed; but the manuscripts collected for editing the critical edition contain many variants of the figures.²¹ Secondly, that which is not referred to in the *Anukramaṇikā* Chapter must be interpolation. Thirdly, if two contradictory statements are found at two different places one of them must be an

19. Sri Aurobindo—*Vyāsa and Vālmiki*, pp. 64-65.

20. *Kṛṣṇacaritra* I, 10 (pp. 32-34).

21. Sukthankar Memorial Ed., Vol. I, pp. 422-429. Sukthankar observes: "It has been common experience that figures in ancient works, if at all complicated, seldom come out right, and the figures of the *Parvasaṃgraha* are probably no exception to this work."

interpolation. Fourthly, if the characteristic features of the composition of a great poet are found to be absent in some portions, those must be rejected. Rabindranath rightly observes that this is entirely a subjective test and that even a good poet might write occasionally some bad lines.²² Fifthly, if some facts are narrated which are contrary to the nature of the person concerned these must be rejected as interpolation. He cited two imaginary instances. If anywhere it is found stated that Bhīṣma was attached to somebody's wife or that Bhīma showed cowardice that must be interpolation. Rabindranath states that this too is not a safe criterion because a great writer is not afraid of showing occasional inconsistency in the characters created by him, while the third-rate writers are always careful to make their heroes consistently good or persistently wicked.²³ Sixthly, that which is irrelevant may or may not be irrelevant, but if it comes under any of the five aforesaid tests it must be pronounced an interpolation. Seventhly, that which is supernatural or miraculous cannot be accepted as a historical fact.²⁴

Bankim classified the current version of the whole into three stages. First, the original *Mahābhārata*, which was probably the *Bhārata-samhitā* consisting of 24000 verses. In the original stage Kṛṣṇa is not recognised usually as an incarnation and he himself never claims to be good. In the second stage he is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The composition too is not as liberal and poetic as the first part. In the third stage episodes and didactic teachings have been incorporated for mass education by diverse writers. Bankim cites the major portion of the *Sānti* and *Anuśāsana parvas*, the *Gītā* portion of the *Bhīṣmaparva*, the chapters dealing with holy places in the *Vanaparva* as examples of the third stage.

Lassen had indicated three stages in the growth of the *Mahābhārata* more than a quarter of a century before Bankim. The first stage is the same as that of Bankim; but the second stage is identical with the *Itihāsa* mentioned in the *Aśvalāyana Grhyasūtra*

22. *Ādhunika Sāhitya, Kṛṣṇacaritra*, in Rabindra Racanāvali, IX, p 448-449 (Viśvabhārati ed.).

23. *Ibid.*, p. 456-457.

24. *Kṛṣṇacaritra*, I, 12, (pp. 36-39).

beginning with the history of King Vasu. The third section probably commenced with *Pauloma-adhyāya*.²⁵

It must be said to the credit of Bankimcandra that he anticipated much of the method adopted by Jacobi, Hopkins and Ruben. More than half a century before Ruben he compared the lists of wives of Kṛṣṇa as found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Harivaṃśa* and the *Mahābhārata*. But the conclusion he arrived at is quite different from that of Ruben. While the latter admitted that Kṛṣṇa had many wives, Bankim could not do so, because he was trying to install the image of the national hero in the heart of Indians. That hero could never be a polygamist, having thousands of wives. He, therefore, had to reject the Naraka episode as myth, and to show that the writers of fiction had used their hands freely in interpolating passages in the *Harivaṃśa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. He compiled a list of twenty-two wives of Kṛṣṇa from these three sources and says that as the last ten are found only in the *Harivaṃśa*, they can be excluded. The *Mauṣalaparva* alone furnishes the names of Gāndhārī and Haimavatī, but the *Parva* itself is an interpolation. He identifies Jambāvatī with Rohiṇī and Satya with Satyabhāmā. Thus only eight wives remain. He says that five of these namely Śaivyā, Kālīndī, Mitrabindā, Lakṣmaṇā and Mādrī were mere names; they never appear in the scene, and nothing is known as to how and when they were married. He conveniently omits here the name of the *Bhāgavata* from his authorities.²⁶ The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* describes indeed the names of their sons but as they are never found taking any active part in any affair, they may be treated as mere products of imagination. Bankim, therefore, concludes that these five wives had no real existence in history. Then he takes up the question of feasibility of a human being like Kṛṣṇa marrying the daughter of a bear named Jāmbavatī. He considers it an utter impossibility, though in this instance her son Sāmba is known to have played a significant part in the destruction of the Yādava family. Bankim consequently had to say that the *Mauṣalaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* itself was a late interpolation. He had some difficulty in this matter, because, according to him the destruction of the Yādavas is the only matter which has been treated both in

25. *Indische Alterthumskunde* II, 499.

26. The *Bhāgavata* states how and when they were married and also who they were in X. 83.

the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. We see that many other events are described both in the epic and in the *Purāṇas*. Having thus dismissed the claims of six of the principal ladies to be considered as wives of Kṛṣṇa, Bankim takes up the case of Satyabhāmā. She appears in the *Mahābhārata* in the *Mārkeṇḍeya samasyā* (problem) and *Draupadī-Satyabhāmā Saṁvāda*, *Yāna-Sandhi parva* and in the *Mauṣala parva*. Bankim said that all these episodes are interpolations, and as such the very existence of Satyabhāmā is problematical. She figures prominently in connection with the *Syamantaka* gem incident as related in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Purāṇas*. But as it has got many supernatural features it is also treated as a fiction. But despite this array of arguments, Bankim could not be absolutely sure about the fictitious nature of Satyabhāmā. We find him making a long digression to the effect that under some special circumstances the taking of a second wife in the lifetime of the first might be permissible. Moreover, he cites many examples of polygamy from the *Mahābhārata* itself. He, however, sticks to his earlier conclusion that Kṛṣṇa had only one wife, and she was Rūgmīnī because her son and grandson alone figure in history and her great grandson Vajra became King.²⁷

If Kṛṣṇa had only one wife, he could not have got one hundred and eighty thousand sons, as related in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.²⁸ Bankim makes a little mathematical calculation to show the absurdity of this number. He attributes to *Viṣṇupurāṇa* a statement to the effect that Kṛṣṇa's span of life in this world was one hundred and twenty-five years, though actually this information is given in the *Bhāgavata*. He divided the total number of sons by 125 years × 365 days and comes to the conclusion that if this number were true 1440 sons per year and 4 sons per day had to be born to Kṛṣṇa. He, therefore, sarcastically observes that Kṛṣṇa's Queens must be

27. *Kṛṣṇacaritra*, III, 7, (pp. 130-138).

28. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, V. 32. 5. Though Bankim is usually very careful in quoting references, here we find him giving wrong references. He cites in p. 130, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV. 15 as his authority but the exact number of sons is not found there. In that particular character the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* quotes two ancient verses as follows: "The domestic instructors of the boys in the use of arms amounted to three crores and eighty lacs. Who shall enumerate the whole of the mighty men of the Yādava race, who were tens of ten thousands and hundreds of hundred thousands in number?" (IV. 14, 45-46).

imagined to have conceived at the mere sight of Kṛṣṇa. Bankim, of course, could not believe the Purāṇic story that Kṛṣṇa assuming as many forms as there were Queens lived with each one of them.²⁹ There is, however, a slight mistake in the calculation made by Bankim. Kṛṣṇa, in his human form, could not have produced a son during the first fourteen years of his life, nor after his eightieth year. This leaves only 66 years for procreative work during which period on an average 7·5 sons had to be born a day, if the Puranic total regarding the number of sons is to be believed at all.

The most important portion of the *Kṛṣṇacaritra* is the sixth book dealing with the part played by Kṛṣṇa in the Bhārata War. The Mahābhārata reveals Kṛṣṇa here as a crafty and cruel person, taking recourse to stratagems considered as dishonourable in the epic age. These incidents are not described in the *Harivaṃśa* or the *Purāṇas*. Their silence may be construed as their acquiescence to the description of the epic or more probably it signifies their unwillingness to remind the people of the ignoble and tortuous devices adopted by Kṛṣṇa in encompassing the death of Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa and Duryōdhana. As there is no corroborating evidence of Kṛṣṇa's unjustifiable deeds in these events, one has to consider carefully the reliability of the portions of the *Mahābhārata* dealing with these. Bankimcandra has performed this task with considerable ability. He does not deny that Kṛṣṇa leapt down from the chariot on the third and the ninth day of the battle to kill Bhīṣma. He contends that there was no breach of promise on the part of Kṛṣṇa. He did this merely to incite Arjuna to action, and not really to wield warlike weapons in the battle. But Bankim treats the story of Śikhaṇḍin as a positive interpolation. Bankim analyses the episode relating to the killing of Jayadratha and shows that there was no need of making the day appear as evening, on the part of Kṛṣṇa. Arjuna was able to kill Jayadratha even without such a device. He, therefore, treats the trick of Kṛṣṇa as an interpolation, inserted in the second stage of the development of the epic. He is far more successful in showing that the unnerving of Droṇa by giving the false news of Aśvatthāmā's death is hardly credible. He adduces as many as seven arguments to prove that the whole episode of circulating the news of the elephant, called

Aśvatthāmā is the handiwork of a second-rate poet. Bankim is less successful in justifying the conduct of Kṛṣṇa in asking Arjuna to kill Karna immediately without giving him any opportunity for lifting up his chariot from the mud. To Bankim Bhīma appears as a sort of demon, who does not require any hint regarding the striking of his adversary with the mace below the navel. Thus he holds the story of Kṛṣṇa's beckoning to Arjuna the method of overpowering Duryōdhana as an interpolation.³⁰

Bankimcandra quotes in *extenso* the serious charges brought by Duryōdhana against Kṛṣṇa. Duryōdhana addressed Kṛṣṇa as the son of the slave of Kāṁsa and said: "You should have been ashamed of inciting Arjuna to beckon to Bhīma about hitting me on the thigh. Thousands of Kings engaged in the war have been killed by unfair means suggested by you. You have encompassed the death of the grandfather by placing Śikhaṇḍin in the forefront. When an elephant named Aśvatthāmā had died you had disarmed Droṇa by stratagem. You did not prevent Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna from killing Droṇa in your presence. You have by stratagem, again, compelled Karna to use against Ghatōtkaca the weapon which he had preserved for a long time for killing Arjuna." He also held Kṛṣṇa responsible for the discomfiture and death of Kāṁsa. Lastly he said, "If you had fought against Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karna and myself in righteous way, you could never have gained victory. We are meeting death along with the Kings devoted to Dharma because of the non-Āryan ways adopted by you."³¹

These verses occur in all the manuscripts and these have been accepted as genuine in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. But Bankim held them to be interpolations. He thought that all the incidents casting aspersions on the character of Kṛṣṇa were possibly inserted on account of sectarian animosity of the Śaivas and other sects hostile to Kṛṣṇa.³²

Hopkins, too, considers these episodes as interpolations in another sense. He holds that these episodes were inseparable from the older heroic narrative and have, therefore, remained in the

30. *Kṛṣṇacaritra* VI. 8.

31. *Mbh.* IX. 60. 27-36.

32. *Kṛṣṇacaritra* VI. 8, (p. 268).

present form of the epic.³³ According to him about 400 B.C. Bhārata lays were sung in honour of the Kaurvas and the Pāṇḍavas became the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* tale during the next two hundred years. Kṛṣṇa was then a demi-god. But between 200 B.C. and 100 or 200 A.D. Kṛṣṇa became the Supreme God.³⁴ Bankimcandra would defend all the policies adopted and activities undertaken on the ground that the supreme need of establishing the kingdom based on righteousness demanded these. But he has overlooked the testimony of a Brāhmaṇa who said that Duryōdhana did nothing wrong or harmful to his subjects.³⁵

Bankimcandra concludes his brilliant work with the observation that Kṛṣṇa was an ideal person in whom the synthetic development of all the mental and physical faculties took place simultaneously. He was not merely a great hero, but, according to the testimony of Bhīṣma, a scholar well-versed in all the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas. Bankim proved that Kṛṣṇa was the wisest and greatest of the Hindus. But Rabindranath offers a perfectly valid criticism against *Kṛṣṇacaritra* when he says that the hero of the work is not really Kṛṣṇa but the nationalism of Bankimcandra.³⁶ To Bankim the real scripture is that which can be rationally believed in and that which cannot be so believed in is no scripture at all.

Bankimcandra had to carry on his researches on Kṛṣṇa under serious handicaps. Manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, written in

33. Hopkins—*The Great Epic of India*, p. 375. Hopkins writes: "Is it conceivable that any priests, setting out to write a moral tale which should inculcate virtue, would first make one of the heroes do an ignoble thing, and then have both their great god and their chief human exponent of morality combine in applauding what was openly acknowledged even by the gods to be dishonourable conduct? Even if the act was dramatically permitted for the purpose of setting its condemnation in a stronger light and thus bring in the end, can we imagine that the only indication of virtue should be Rāma and that Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira of all others should cut so contemptible a figure? On the other hand, is not the whole scene explicable without any far-fetched hypothesis if we assume that we have here the mingling of older incident, inseparable from the heroic narrative, and the later teaching administered by a moral *dens ex machina*? As the scene stands it is grotesque."

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 397-398.

35. *Mbh.* XV. 15. 16 ff.

36. *Rabindra Racanāvali* IX. 447.

the Sarada, Nagari, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and other scripts had not been collected at one centre and as such nobody was in a position to adduce objective proof regarding the authenticity or otherwise of any portion of the work. Scholars, both eastern and western, had to depend on their own intellect and inclinations in drawing conclusions regarding interpolations. Then again, the scientific study of the *Purāṇas* had not yet begun. All the religious reformers from Rāmmohan Roy to Dayānanda Sarasvatī had condemned the *Purāṇas* as products of degenerate age. Bankim, however, showed that though the *Bhāgavata* is not historically important, yet in the exposition of spiritual matter it is unrivalled.³⁷ Bankim was a close student of positivism expounded by Auguste Comte (1798-1857). Applying the rationalistic tests Bankim showed that the *Mahābhārata* is a historical work, though accretions had taken place in it from time to time. If it is contended that the inclusion of some supernatural stories in it goes against its claim to be regarded as History, Bankim pointed out that the works of Herodotus, Livy and Ferishta suffer from the same defect, and are yet regarded as authoritative historical books.³⁸ He, however, admitted that these portions of the epic which ascribe godhood to Kṛṣṇa were later additions. He emphatically stated that personally he was a believer in the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. But as a man Kṛṣṇa did not take recourse to supernatural powers for accomplishing his objects. Hīrēndranāth Datta, a great admirer of Bankimcandra, held a contrary view in this regard.³⁹ The most important contribution made by Bankimcandra to Indology is that while the western scholars of the last century held Kṛṣṇa as a myth or an allegorical figure, Bankimcandra stoutly maintained that he was really a historical personage.⁴⁰

While Bankimcandra (1838-1894) dismissed many of the events described in the epic and the *Purāṇas* as mere myth, his younger contemporary, Navīncandra Sen (1847-1909) played the part of a myth-maker in course of interpreting the life of Kṛṣṇa in his trilogy of epical poems—*Raivataka* (1887), *Kurukṣētra* (1893) and *Prabhāsa* (1895). Both Bankim and Navīn were Government

37. *Kṛṣṇacaritra* II, 7, (p. 92).

38. *Ibid.*, I 3, (p. 7).

39. *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 45, p. 95 and *Avatāratattva* by Hīrēndranāth Datta.

40. *Pracāra*, a Bengali monthly journal. 1292 *Āsāḍ* (1885 July).

servants, but both were inspired by the ideal of Nationalism. Like Bankim, Navin was more or less a rationalist. He refused to believe that Kuntī could attract the Sun to come down to the earth and impregnate her. The *Mahābhārata* says that Kuntī got the *mantra* from Durvāsas, enabling her to attract the Sun.⁴¹ Navin says that it implied that the sage himself corrupted the youthful maiden engaged by her foster-father to wait on him.⁴² Navin came in contact with the celebrated Brahmo reformer Kēśavacandra in his student life. He must have received his bias against the caste system from the latter.

Kēśavacandra's writings on Kṛṣṇa as a national hero of India influenced the young poet to interpret Kṛṣṇa's life in that light.⁴³ Gaurgovinda Roy, a favourite disciple of Kēśavacandra, published several discourses on the mission of Kṛṣṇa in 1876 in a journal named *Dharmatattva* and elaborated his thesis in the form of a book in 1889. This also must have had its influence in shaping the views of Navincandra. There has been much controversy with regard to Bankim's influence on the plan behind the trilogy of Navin. When the *Raivataka* was published many critics said that it was an echo of *Kṛṣṇacaritra*. But Navin produced the letter written by Bankim to him on 10th January, 1880 to show that he had conceived the plan earlier and submitted it along with the first three cantos of his poem to the doyen of Bengali literature. In the letter Bankim said that Navin had planned an exceedingly ambitious project, the most ambitious since the days of *Harivaṃśa* and *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴⁴ But the influence of Bankim is undeniable on the 13th canto of *Kurukṣetra* where Subhadra explains that the mission of human life is to develop the physical, mental and spiritual faculties.

The plan of the trilogy is to depict Kṛṣṇa as a national hero who conceived the plan of forging the unity of India in his adolescent age at Vṛndāvana⁴⁵. The Brāhmaṇas came to regard

41. *Mbh.* I. 104. 4-11.

42. *Kurukṣetra*, X, (p. 48).

43. Kēśab's articles in the *Sunday Mirror*, 10th and 24th Dec. 1876, 14th Aug. 1886, and in the *New Dispensation* dated the 9th June, 22nd July, 1881 and 23rd Sept. 1883.

44. Navincandra Sen—*Raivataka*, *Kurukṣetra*, *Prabhāsa* (Bookland) edited by Dr. Asit Kumar Banerjee, Intro, p. 24.

45. *Kurukṣetra* IX, (p. 39).

Kṛṣṇa, according to Navin, as a revolutionary bent upon transforming Indian empire, society and religion.⁴⁶ The back-ground of the trilogy is furnished by the conflict between the ruling Aryans and the resurgent non-Aryans under the leadership of Vāsukī. Kṛṣṇa is said to have studied the scriptures and received military training from Gerga secretly at Vṛndāvana while he was apparently engaged in tending the cows.⁴⁷ Navin gives a novel interpretation of the holding of Gōvardhana. He says that Kṛṣṇa asked the cowherds not to worship the inanimate clouds represented as Indra and urged them to distribute the offerings of food to the Brāhmaṇas and the untouchable caṇḍālas equally. This incensed the Brāhmaṇas, who surrounded the Gōvardhana like a host of dark clouds and shot arrows incessantly like rains at Kṛṣṇa and his followers for seven days. But Kṛṣṇa valiantly defended Gōvardhana and hoisted the flag of his new religion on the top of the mountain.⁴⁸ The *Rāsaṭilā*, which Navin describes is not an erotic dance of young people, but a *San̥kīrtana* performance in which men, women, children and old people took part. Finding Kṛṣṇa absent from home even after midnight Yaśodā came to the bank of the Yamunā in search of her son. When she discovered Kṛṣṇa she too began to dance in joy along with others and sang his achievements.⁴⁹

In this new orientation of the life of Kṛṣṇa, Navin made his hero to form a secret alliance with the non-Āryan Nāgas. Kṛṣṇa is alleged to have gone to the city of the Nāgas in Sind from Vṛndāvana for one year with a view to recruiting soldiers there. Jaratkāru, the sister of Vāsukī, fell deeply in love with Kṛṣṇa, who, however, could not reciprocate as he had taken the vow of re-organising Indian life and society.⁵⁰ Jaratkāru, therefore, took a vow to wreak her vengeance on Kṛṣṇa. Towards the end of the third poem, *Prabhāsa*, we find her killing Kṛṣṇa by shooting an arrow at Him. Kṛṣṇa, however, forgave her and before his death took her on his breast.⁵¹ Kṛṣṇa went back to Vṛndāvana and while

46. *Raivataka*, XVII (p. 108), XII (p. 77).

47. *Ibid.*, VII (p. 42).

48. *Ibid.*, VII (p. 416).

49. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 47.

50. *Ibid.*, VIII, (pp. 54-57).

51. *Prabhāsa* IX, (p. 44).

he was engaged in the so-called *Rāsa* dance in the form of *San̥kērtan*, ten thousand Nāga soldiers in the guise of cowherds came to join him. He went to Mathura in their company as a party of milkmen with their wares, overpowered the soldiers of Kāṃsa and then killed the latter in a duel. Vāsukī now demanded the hand of Subhadrā in marriage as a recompense for the services he had rendered to Kṛṣṇa. The latter said that she was too young to be married. Vāsuki, thereupon, resolved to have her by some other means. He joined the party of Durvāsas, who was in search of allies for teaching a lesson to Kṛṣṇa, who had dared to raise his voice against the domination of the Brāhmaṇas. The greater portion of the poem *Raivataka* is devoted to the narration of the love-marriage between Arjuna and Subhadrā. When the poem was published Hemcandra Bandopadhyaya, another eminent poet wrote that it would have been better to call the poem *Subhadrā-haraṇa* than *Raivataka*. At this Navīn expressed his sense of disappointment because educated persons too failed to realise the importance of the mission he had undertaken.

Many works indeed have been written on the theme of the marriage of Subhadrā like *Subhadrā-Dhananjaya* by the Kerala Prince, Kulasekhara Varman, of the 12th century, *Subhadrā-haraṇa* by Madhava Bhatta, probably of the 14th century, *Subhadrā-pariṇayana* of Ramdeva Vyasa in the 15th century and *Bhadrā-rjuna Kāvya* by Taracarana Shikdara in 1852, but none of them had such an intricate political background as Navīncandra's *Raivataka*. Bankim on going through the manuscript of the first three cantos of the *Raivataka*, had warned Navīn against his tendency of going against historical facts. He had written on the January 10, 1880: "I have advised you to keep clear of history; but I cannot advise you to run counter to history. Even this you may do so far as individual characters are concerned, but I am hardly bold enough to advise you to do so, in the case of large national movements. Now I believe that it is not historically true either that Kṛṣṇa set himself against Brahmanical authority (there was never a great champion of it)—or that the Brahmanas ever coalesced with the non-Ārvans in order to put down the Kshatriyas".⁵² The advice was a sound one, but Navīn refused to accept it. In this connection

52. Asit Banerjee—*op. cit.*, p. 24.

we must note that Bankim himself did not believe that Kṛṣṇa washed the feet of the Brāhmaṇas at the *Rājāsūya* ceremony. He treated the Mahābhārata episode as an interpolation.⁵³

Navīncandra has depicted Kṛṣṇa as a disciple of Vyāsa in his poem, *Kurukṣētra*. Kṛṣṇa is painted here as very much grieved at the lack of unity in India. In the political field there were many kingdoms, in the social scene too many divisions into castes and in the religious sphere too much attachment to warring creeds, specially to meaningless sacrificial rites.⁵⁴ He dedicated his life to the sacred task of bringing unity in all these spheres. Navīncandra has presented Subhadrā in the garb of Florence Nightingale, moving from camp to camp in the battle-field nursing the sick and the wounded.⁵⁵ Both Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā are described as apostles of universal love and international peace.⁵⁶

Prabhāsa, the last of the trilogy narrates the destruction of the Yādava clans. This was a necessary corollary to the sacred mission of Kṛṣṇa. The Yādavas had been engrossed in luxury and vice. The poet states that though Kṛṣṇa was not able to reform the character of his own clansmen, the non-Āryans had all embraced his religion of love. Vāsuki could not engage them against Kṛṣṇa despite all the efforts of Durvāsas. Vāsukī himself became a Vaiṣṇava, but his sister Jaratkāru remained hostile. She encouraged the drinking habit amongst the Yādavas and cleverly incited Sātyakī to murder Kṛtavarma. When practically all the Yādavas killed one another Kṛṣṇa asked his elder brother Balarāma to sail with a contingent of the non-Āryan soldiers to the West and preach the religion of love there. He predicted that Harikela, the family of Hari and its lord Harikulesh would be worshipped in the whole world.⁵⁷ Vyāsa consoled Arjuna with the prediction

53. *Kṛṣṇacaritra* IV. 9 (p. 182).

54. *Ibid.*, IX, (pp. 39-41).

55. *Ibid.*, III (p. 9).

56. *Ibid.*, XII, (p. 58).

57. *Prabhāsa* VIII (p. 40). Navīncandra quotes in the appendix to the poem the following passage from Tod's Rajasthan, (Ch. II). "Arrian notices the similarity of the Theban and the Hindu Hercules and cites as authority the ambassador of Seleucus, Megasthenes, who says: "He uses the same habit with the Theban, and is particularly worshipped by the Saraseni, who have two great cities belonging to them, namely Methoras (Mathura) and

that a new incarnation would be born in the new Yadu family in the North-East of the Red Sea, meaning thereby Jesus Christ. None can surpass Navīncandra in the boldness of conception and in the ingenuity of interpretation. He began his first poem as a rationalist who pronounced some episodes of Kṛṣṇa's *Vṛndāvanatīlā* as false, but ended the second poem with a prayer that he might die while hearing the name of Kṛṣṇa; the third poem reveals him as a regular Vaiṣṇava of the Bengal school, believing in the re-birth of Kṛṣṇa as Gaurahari or Caitanya.⁵⁸

Kēśhab Candra Sen and his disciple Gaura Govinda Roy held up Kṛṣṇa as the apostle of love. The latter wrote a learned treatise on Kṛṣṇa's life and teachings. Vijaya Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, a descendant of Advaita Ācārya, elder contemporary of Caitanya, gave up his connection with the Brahmo movement and took to preaching the cult of Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya. The greatest factor in the revival of neo-Vaisnavism in the nineteenth century was the powerful writings of Sisir Kumar Ghosh, an apostle of Indian Nationalism in the nineteenth century.

Clisoboras". Diodorus has the same legend with some variety. He says: "Hercules was born among the Indians"..... (Heri-cul-es)=lord of the race (cula) of Hari, of which the Greeks might have made the compound Hercules. Might not a colony after the great war have migrated westward? The period of the return of the Heraclidae, the descendants of Atreas (Atri is progenitor of Harikula) would answer: it was about half a century after the great war."

58. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 66.

Procedures in Analysing the Sources for the Life of Gurū Nānak *

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The quincentenary of the birth of Gurū Nānak is now drawing near and it is fitting that the event should provide an occasion for renewed study of his life and teachings. The recent celebrations of the third centenary of the birth of Gurū Gobind Singh have produced a vigorous response and there is every reason to expect an equal or greater response in the case of Gurū Nānak. An important aspect of this response will certainly be an effort to produce authentic biographies of the Gurū and it is with this objective in mind that the following paper has been prepared. It is based upon a conviction that the existing biographies are all inadequate and that until our approach to the sources is radically revised there can be no hope of any significant improvement.

There is no doubt that the most famous of all existing accounts of the life of Gurū Nānak is the one provided by M. A. Macauliffe in the first volume of his celebrated work *The Sikh Religion*. In it we find a relatively detailed narration of the life and travels of the Gurū. We are told much of his early life in the village of Talvaṇḍī, of his period of service in Sultānpur, of his travels to such places as Assam, Ceylon, and Mecca, and of his closing years in Kartārpur. Most other biographies of Gurū Nānak follow essentially the same pattern, although in a number of the more popular versions we are given accounts of visits to such places as Peking in the east, and Khartoum and Rome in the west.

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To what extent can these biographies be trusted? The question takes us back to the sources which have been used by Macauliffe and other writers. To what extent can these sources be trusted? It is at once obvious that the *janam-sākhīs*, which constitute our principal sources, cannot possibly be accorded complete trust, and so the question which now faces us is this: How can we decide what to reject from the *janam-sākhī* accounts of the life of Gurū Nānak, and how can we decide what to accept? In other words, how should we set about analysing our sources?

Before we turn to the *janam-sākhīs* some attention should be given to what might, at first sight, appear to be the obvious source of information concerning the life of Gurū Nānak, namely the *Ādi Granth*. It would appear to be the obvious source, for it contains what is without doubt an authentic collection of his works. The *Ādi Granth* provides us, however with surprisingly little information concerning the events of his life. It contains more than nine hundred of his compositions and yet the biographical details which may be extracted from them are negligible. Indeed there is no explicit reference at all to any definite incident in his life, no *śabad* or *ślok* which points unmistakably to an event in which he was directly involved. Even the famous references to Bābur, the so-called *Bābar-vāṇī*,¹ are not exceptions to this rule. As we shall see they do indicate that Gurū Nānak witnessed something of Bābur's depredations, but if read apart from the *janam-sākhīs* they do not necessarily point to his presence at the time of any particular event.

As far as biographical detail is concerned the most we can do is draw some limited conclusions from the more obvious hints which Gurū Nānak's writings contain. From the *Bābar-vāṇī* we may confidently assume that he witnessed something of the devastation caused by Bābur's army and that accordingly he was in the Panjab during at least one of the incursions into North India. In the same manner we may deduce with confidence that he had frequent contact with Nāth yogīs. The extensive use of their terminology and the frequent instances in which a Nāth yogī appears to be addressed directly make this aspect of his life per-

1. *Āsā* 39, *Āsā Aṣṭ* 11 and 12, and *Tilāṅg* 5. *Ādi Granth*, pp. 360, 417-8 722-3.

fectly plain.² We may also deduce from his works that he must have been a person of gentle disposition, for his criticisms of contemporary society express deep conviction without resorting to violent or intemperate language.³ These conclusions do not take us very far, but it appears that we cannot go much further. We may proceed to deduce from his works that he attached no importance to caste⁴ and that he did not insist upon vegetarianism,⁵ but in doing so we move towards what may more appropriately be regarded as doctrine than biography. The conclusions we are able to draw are certainly of value, but their scope is obviously very limited.

Gurū Nānak himself tells us little and his four successors, whose works are also recorded in the *Ādi Granth* add nothing of any importance as far as the details of his life are concerned. Gurū Aṅgad and Gurū Arjan both refer to him, but their references are all eulogistic comments, entirely appropriate in their context but telling us nothing about Gurū Nānak himself.⁶ The same applies to the *savayye* of the *bhaṭṭs*.⁷ Gurū Nānak is mentioned several times, but as one would expect from the nature of the *savayye* these references are pure panegyric. The only work which offers any explicit detail is the *Vār* in *Rāmakalī rīg* by the *bhaṭṭs* Rāi Balvaṇḍ and Sattā the *Ḍūm*. In the first four stanzas the authors repeat a single fact, namely that Gurū Nānak appointed Aṅgad as his successor.⁸ This is the extent of the *Ādi Granth's* witness to the events of Gurū Nānak's life and clearly it falls far short of what we need.

This drives us back to the only other sources which we possess — the *janam-sākhīs*. The *janam-sākhīs* are also highly unsatisfactory, but for an entirely different reason. Here there is

2. For an English translation of an extract from the most striking of these see Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. i, p. 42.

3. In this respect his work contrasts with that of Kabīr.

4. *Vār Sirī Rāgu*, ślok 1 of *paurī* 3; *Āsā* 3; *Gūjarī Aṣṭ* 4; *Tilang* 2. *Ādi Granth*, pp. 83, 349, 504, 721.

5. *Vār Malār*, ślok 2 of *paurī* 25. *Ibid*, pp. 1289-90.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 612, 1001, 1192.

7. The panegyrics of the bards. *Ibid.*, pp. 1389-1409.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 966-7.

no question of material being in short supply, for the *janam-sākhīs* provide it in abundance. The problem as far as the *janam-sākhīs* is, we have already observed, to determine how much of their material can be accepted as historical. A very substantial proportion of it is obviously legend and much of what cannot be summarily dismissed in this way is open to grave suspicion on other grounds. In spite of their manifest shortcomings, however, we are bound to rely on the *janam-sākhīs* for almost all of our information as there is nothing to replace them and little to supplement them. There is no piece of external evidence which can be accorded complete trust and such indications as his own works contain are at best only hints. The most we can hope to do is to discern the historically possible in the midst of accumulated legend, and to test such possibilities against whatever criteria may be available.

How then should we set about this task? What procedures should we use in our effort to analyse the *janam-sākhīs*? This paper seeks to answer these questions in three stages. The first stage consists of a brief description and comparison of the more important *janam-sākhīs*. The second suggests a number of criteria which can be applied to the various incidents recorded in the *janam-sākhīs*. The third offers some illustrations of the manner in which these criteria can be applied to particular incidents.

The precise manner in which the *janam-sākhīs* developed is not known for certain, but it is possible to reconstruct a possible pattern. The beginnings would be the remembered facts about the Gurū which would have circulated orally among the first generation of his followers. With the passage of time these facts would be embellished by reverent imaginations and practically all of them would undergo gradual change. It would be remembered, for example, that the Gurū had spent many years travelling outside the Punjab. Some of the places he had visited might well be known, but it is unlikely that there would be any reliable knowledge of his complete itinerary. There would doubtless be many gaps in the account and these would soon be filled with the names of places which such a traveller would be expected to visit. These would include the important centres of pilgrimage, both Hindu and Muslim, and names which already figured prominently in stories current in the Punjab. This is not to say that Gurū Nānak

did not visit any of these places. On the contrary, it is safe to assume that he must surely have visited at least some of them. The point here is that in many cases the name of a certain town or locality will have been added to the collection of *sākhīs*, not because there existed any reliable information about it but because it was generally believed that he must surely have visited such a place on his travels.

In addition to these remembered facts and their embellishments, stories would have gathered around certain suggestive references in his works. It seems clear that this must have happened in the case of *Vār Rāmakaṭī*, śloks 2-7 of *paurī* 12.⁹ In these six śloks, as they appear in the *Ādi Granth*, Gurū Nānak speaks successively as Īsar, Gorakh, Gopīchand, Charapat, Bharatharī, and finally himself. The śloks were evidently intended for Kānpṭhaṭ yogīs and this would explain the names used. Subsequently these names must have suggested that Gurū Nānak had actually met these renowned figures and as a result there would have developed the story of his discourse with the Siddhs on Mount Sumeru which we find in stanzas 28-31 of *Bhāī Gurdī* - first *Vār*, in *sākhī* 50 of the *Purātan Janam-sākhī*, and in *gost* 117 of the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*.¹⁰

Obviously there can be no question of historical truth in the story, for Gurū Nānak and Gorakhnāth were not contemporaries and Mount Sumeru exists only in legend. The only satisfactory explanation is that a general acceptance of the Gorakhnāthi belief in the immortal existence of the eighty-four Siddhs in the fastnesses of the Himalayas combined with these references in Gurū Nānak's works to produce the story of his having visited them there. The difference between the *Purātan* and *Miharbān* accounts indicates that there must have been an evolution over a period of time, but there seems to be no doubt that the real genesis of the story lay in these śloks which were originally addressed to Nāth yogīs.

The influence of popular belief in this particular legend illustrated a point of fundamental importance in the evolution of "

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 952-3.

10. *Sākhī* and *gost* both designate the separate sections or "chapters" into which the *janam-sākhīs* are divided.

janam-sākhīs. Like all such works the *janam-sākhīs* reflect in some considerable measure the context in which they evolved, and if we are to understand them we must first understand something of this context. Only in the light of such an understanding can there be an adequate evaluation of the material which they offer. The context which requires this understanding in case of the *janam-sākhīs* is the situation of the Sikh community during the closing years of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century. It is safe to assume that they will reflect many of the beliefs and attitudes of the community during this period, its more insistent needs, and some of the answers which it was giving to these needs.

In this way remembered facts, devout imaginations, suggestive references in Gurū Nānak's works, contemporary beliefs and needs, and the mutations which inevitably result from oral repetition must have combined to create a stock of *sākhīs* or isolated incidents concerning the life of the Gurū. The next step would be to group a number of these *sākhīs* into some sort of chronological pattern and to give the pattern a measure of stability by committing the selected *sākhīs* to writing. Such a selection would still be open to alteration, but to a much lesser extent than was inevitably the case while the *sākhīs* were still circulating orally. A selection once recorded would be copied, the copy would be copied, and so a tradition would be established, though still subject to modification by drawing on the oral stock, or perhaps on a different written tradition.

The manuscripts which we now possess are evidently the products of the latter stage in this evolution, being copies of earlier collections rather than original compilations. They fall into four recognisable, though overlapping, traditions:

1. The *Purātan* tradition.
2. The *Miharbān* tradition.
3. The *Bālā* tradition.
4. The *Gyān-ratanāvalī*, or *Manī Singh Janam-sākhī*.

Of the four, the least reliable is the *Bālā* tradition, but its influence has been immense. Ever since the days of Macauliffe it is the *Purātan* tradition which has been accorded the greatest measure of reliability and which has been used as the basis for all

the better biographies. There is now reason to believe that this opinion should be revised and that the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*, hitherto rejected as sectarian polemic, should be regarded as at least equal in reliability to the *Purāṭan* tradition as far as the events of the Gurū's life are concerned. This description is, however, a relative one. It should not be taken to imply anything resembling consistent reliability.

One important work which does not fit easily into this classification is the first *Vār* of *Bhāi Gurdās*. It is not a *janam-sākhī* in the normally accepted sense as, apart from four incidents, it offers very little information about Gurū Nānak's life. Insofar as it does suggest a pattern it accords with the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*, but the two could not be said to belong to a common tradition.¹¹ The primary purpose of this *Vār* was to extol the greatness of the first six Gurūs and to serve this purpose *Bhāi Gurdās* has made a very limited selection from the available material. In this qualified sense it may be referred to as a *janam-sākhī*, but it would be unduly optimistic to expect from the relevant stanzas more than the barest sketch of the Gurū's life. Nevertheless it certainly warrants our closest attention because of the importance of its author and its relative nearness to the time of Gurū Nānak, and no treatment of the *janam-sākhīs* would be complete without it.

Of the four *janam-sākhī* traditions two, the *Gyān-ratanāvalī* and the *Bālā* group, may be treated summarily. The *Gyān-ratanāvalī* is in some respects the most coherent of the *janam-sākhīs*, but it is too late to be accepted as a reliable source. The *Bālā janam-sākhīs* are certainly of considerable importance, but their importance consists in the influence which they have exercised, not in any intrinsic reliability which they may possess. These *janam-sākhīs* of the *Bālā* tradition make fascinating reading and the question of their origin is an exceedingly interesting one, but they are of only marginal help in the search for the historical Nānak. Their relatively modern language, their spurious claims to represent an eye-witness account of the Gurū's life, the silence

11. It can, however, be argued that this *Vār* and the *Gyān-ratanāvalī* constitute a common tradition. Although the *Gyān-ratanāvalī* includes much more material than the *Vār* its compiler used the *Vār* as a framework for his substantially longer work.

of the older *janam-sākhīs* concerning the person of Bhāī Bālā, the high proportion of fabulous material which they contain, and the numerous errors to be found in them combine to render the *janam-sākhīs* of the Bālā tradition thoroughly unreliable. The plural form '*janam-sākhīs*' is used here as there are several different versions. The manuscript versions generally agree with each other, but during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century successive printed editions grew progressively larger and the version which is sold in bazar book-shops nowadays is barely recognisable as a descendant of the manuscript version.

This leaves us with the *Purātan* tradition and the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*. The term '*Purātan* tradition', or the corresponding term '*Puratan janam-sākhīs*', refers here to a small group of *janam-sākhīs* which are clearly from a common source which has never been found. Three of these are of particular importance. The first of the three is variously called the *Colebrooke Janam-sākhī* or the *Valāit-vāhī Janam-sākhī*. The manuscript of this *janam-sākhī* was somehow acquired by the great orientalist Henry Colebrooke who presented it to the East India Company in or shortly after 1815. Colebrooke was evidently unaware of what the manuscript contained and its existence remained unknown until Trumpp discovered it in the India Office Library, London, in 1872 and published a translation of it in his book *The Adi Granth* in 1877. The manuscript was temporarily brought to India in 1885 and was here photographed and reproduced by means of a zincographic process. In that same year, 1885, Macauliffe acquired a manuscript copy of another version of the same *janam-sākhī*. This one is known as the *Hāfizābād* or *Macauliffe-vāhī Janam-sākhī*. The manuscript has unfortunately been lost, but there are still copies of a lithographed edition which Macauliffe had printed at his own expense.

These were the two *janam-sākhīs* which provided Bhai Vir Singh with practically all the material he used in his composite work entitled *Purātan Janam-sākhī*.¹² There are a number of differences, but in general the two versions correspond fairly

12. Khalsa Samachar, Amritsar, 1st ed. 1926. In subsequent footnotes this work is indicated by the abbreviation *Pur JS*. Page references are to the 5th edition, 1959.

closely. Neither can be regarded as the original of the *Purātan* tradition and neither can be dated accurately. A reference in the *Hāfizābād Janam-sākhī* does, however, point to A.D. 1635 as the date of the original composition. The author is not known. Macauliffe and Khan Singh both attributed it to a certain Sewa Das, but if in fact they ever possessed any evidence to support this tradition it has been lost.

Of the other extant *Purātan* manuscripts one is of particular importance. This is an unnamed manuscript which is to be found in the India Office Library, London, and is referred to in this paper as the B40 manuscript (its number in the India Office Library catalogue). It generally follows the other two *Purātan* versions up to the point where Gurū Nānak leaves Sultānpur and sets out on his travels, but thereafter it offers only occasional correspondence. There can be no doubt that it is the earliest of the three. The language is similar, but the *sākhīs* are for the most part much more rudimentary in the B40 manuscript. Moreover, this B40 *janam-sākhī* follows no consistent chronological pattern after the departure from Sultānpur, simply recording the *sākhīs* as isolated incidents. This too marks it as a more primitive *janam-sākhī* than either the *Valāit-vālī* or *Hāfizābād Janam-sākhīs*. Whether it may be regarded as a version of the *Purātan* tradition is perhaps open to some doubt. If it is to be assigned to any of the recognisable traditions then it must certainly be included within the *Purātan* group, but it would be more accurate to speak of an affiliation with the *Purātan* tradition than of inclusion within it.

This is the *Purātan* tradition and since its discovery it has been accepted as by far the most important of all sources. Macauliffe used it as his basis, supplementing it with details drawn from other *janam-sākhīs* but never departing from the sequence of events which it gives. Almost all subsequent writers have, as indicated earlier, done the same thing and so a standard method of writing Gurū Nānak's biography has emerged.

The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* has, in contrast, been almost totally neglected. Until relatively recent years this was inevitably the case as no copy of any substantial portion of the *janam-sākhī* was known to exist. Even after the discovery of one in 1940, how-

ever, the neglect has continued. The chief reason for this is that the *janam-sākhī* had long since acquired a disagreeable reputation as a result of Miharbān's association with the sect of Miṇās.¹³ An examination of the *janam-sākhī* suggests that Miharbān has been in some measure misjudged. Schismatic he certainly was, for following his father's example he disputed the succession of Gurū Arjan and later of Gurū Hargobind. Heretical, however, he was not and there is no compelling evidence in the *janam-sākhī* of any attempt to denigrate Gurū Nānak or maliciously misinterpret his teachings.¹⁴ As far as we can judge this *janam-sākhī* was composed during the same period as Bhāi Gurdās's first *Vār* and the original *Purātan janam-sākhī*. We turn now to a brief comparison of these three *janam-sākhī* sources.

Of the three the least satisfactory is inevitably Bhāi Gurdās's *Vār*, inevitably because the account he offers is so brief. We must also observe that the *Vār* contains a generous measure of the miraculous and that whatever criteria we may apply to the other *janam-sākhīs* must also be applied to the few incidents recorded by Bhāi Gurdās. The *Vār* should be regarded primarily as a panegyric, not as a chronicle. We may indeed attach a greater degree of trust to Bhāi Gurdās's account than to those of the *Purātan* and *Miharbān janam-sākhīs*, but it cannot be an unqualified trust. The first *Vār* and the brief supplement in the eleventh *Vār* must disappoint us if we seek in them anything more than a sketch of a small part of his travels and the names of a number of his followers. They retain a value in these respects, but it is to the *janam-sākhīs* of the *Purātan* and *Miharbān* traditions that we must look for most of our material.

When we compare these two traditions our conclusion must be that there is little to choose between them. Miharbān is certainly more careful with his material than whoever was responsible for the *Purātan* collection, but he makes many mistakes

13. The followers of Prithī Chand, eldest son of Gurū Rām Dās and father of Miharbān.

14. The manuscript is in the course of publication. Volume 1, edited by Kirpal Singh and Shamsheer Singh Ashok, was published in 1962 and is indicated in subsequent footnotes by the abbreviation *Mih JS*. The second volume is at present in the press.

nevertheless. Although his miracles are less grotesque than those of the *Valāit-vālī* and *Hāfizābād* manuscripts they are still there. His chronology and travel itinerary appear to be more coherent than those of the *Purātan* tradition, but we should bear in mind the strong possibility that neither tradition reflects an accurate knowledge of the routes followed by Gurū Nānak in his travels.

The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* does appear to have a slight edge over the *Valait-vālī* and *Hafizābād* accounts, but the margin is small and with the B40 *janam-sākhī* added to the *Purātan* group it virtually disappears. Two things may be said with assurance. The first is that the customary practice of relying on the *Purātan janam-sākhīs* cannot produce reliable biography. The second is that any effort to use the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* in the same way will be equally unsatisfactory. We are compelled to use them as best as we can, for there is nothing better, but we must do so in the full understanding that they are thoroughly inadequate sources.

How, then, should we use them? The only satisfactory method would appear to consist of taking the *janam-sākhī* incidents one by one and testing them against whatever other evidence may be available for this purpose. Our task here is to seek and apply means of identifying what may be affirmed, what must be rejected, and what falls between the two. There is obviously much that must be rejected as impossible, and in contrast there is regrettably little which may be accepted without reserve. Some of the remaining materials may be regarded as probable, but considerably more of it must be classified as unlikely. Finally, there is a certain amount from which we must withhold judgment, material which records what is inherently possible but for which there is no support other than that offered by the *janam-sākhīs* themselves. This provides us with five categories which we may designate the established, the probable, the possible, the improbable, and the impossible. Into these five we must strive to fit the manifold traditions concerning the life of Gurū Nānak. In order to do so it is first necessary to determine the criteria which should be used and this brings us to the second of the three purposes which were outlined earlier.

The first criterion, and one which enables us to discard substantial portions of all the *janam-sākhī* accounts, is the incidence

of the miraculous or plainly fantastic. It is, however, one which must be used with some caution. The inclusion of a miracle does not necessarily mean that the whole *sākhī* must be rejected. In most cases this is required, but in a few the possibility of a substratum of truth must be borne in mind. There is no need to stress this criterion, for it is altogether too obvious to be ignored and has been generally accepted. The point which does require emphasis is the insufficiency of this single standard. It is not enough to excise all the miracles from a *janam-sākhī* and accept the balance as substantially correct.

A second criterion is the testimony of external sources. In most cases where this criterion applies to the *janam-sākhī* accounts of Gurū Nānak's life it requires a negative judgment. The two important exceptions are the incidents involving Daulat Khān Lodī and Bābur.

A third criterion which may be used is Gurū Nānak's own work as recorded in the *Ādi Granth*. This too offers us disappointingly little help, for as we have already noted explicit references to the events of his life are entirely absent and implicit hints are few. The most important of these concern the connection with Bābur and Gurū Nānak's controversies with Nāth yogis. In other cases the help which his works offer us is generally negative. Occasionally it is possible to reject an incident because it is conspicuously out of accord with clearly stated doctrine or with the personality which emerges from his works as a whole.

A fourth criterion is the measure of agreement or, conversely, of disagreement which we find in the different *janam-sākhīs*. This alone can rarely determine a particular issue, but in several cases it should certainly influence our judgment. The story of Sajjan the *Ṭhag* is an example.

In cases where there is disagreement between the different *janam-sākhīs*, or where only one *janam-sākhī* records a particular incident or detail, a fifth criterion is the relative reliability of the different *janam-sākhīs*. This criterion is of little use in issues which concern only the *Purātan* and *Miharbān janam-sākhīs* or the *Bhāi Gurdās Vār*, but it certainly applies whenever the more recent *janam-sākhīs* enter the discussion. In general the testimony of the three older sources must be preferred to that of either

the *Gyān-ratanāvalī* or the *Bālā janam-sākhī*. Any point which occurs only in the *Bālā* accounts must be regarded as strongly suspect, and if it is to be found only in one of the nineteenth or twentieth century printed versions of the *Bālā* tradition it can be summarily rejected. The same treatment must also be accorded to unauthenticated statements from such nineteenth century works as Santokh Singh's *Nānak Prakāś* and Giani Gyan Singh's *Panth Prakāś* and *Tavarīkh Gurū Khālsā*. None of these works can be regarded as sources, unless our concern happens to be historiography.

Sixthly, a measure of trust may be attached to genealogical references. Family relationships in the Punjab can normally be traced back accurately for several generations and it is reasonable to assume that at least the immediate family connections of Gurū Nānak would still be recollected at the time when the older *janam-sākhīs* were committed to writing.

Finally, there is a geographical criterion in the sense that a greater degree of confidence can be placed in details relating to Gurū Nānak's life within the Punjab than in those which concern his travels beyond the province. This applies particularly to his later years. The accounts of his childhood are all heavily charged with legend, but there is at least a certain amount that rings true in the brief accounts given of his Kartārpur period. The relevance of this particular criterion is pointed up by the marked contrast between the geographical exactitude which characterises the *janam-sākhī* accounts of his movements within the Punjab and the vagueness of those which describe his travels elsewhere. In the latter case the place-names are almost all either well-known capitals and centres of pilgrimage, places associated with later Sikh history, or unidentifiable and evidently non-existent places such as 'Dhanāsari'.¹⁵ Many of the *sākhīs* describing incidents which occurred during the travels are unlocated or are said to have taken place in "a certain city" or "a certain country". A high proportion are set in deserts or jungles, and a number are said to have occurred on islands in the ocean. The incidence of the fantastic is particularly high in these latter cases. All *sākhīs* with indefinite maritime settings must be regarded with marked scepticism.

15. *Pur JS*, p. 78.

And so we have our five categories and our seven criteria. Our task now must be to apply the criteria to the *sākhīs* and *goṣṭs* of the *janam-sākhīs* in order to fit them into one or other of the five categories. This brings us to the third and last of our purposes. Many of the *janam-sākhī* incidents can be discarded at once in accordance with the first criterion (that is, the fact that they are manifestly miracle stories without any features which suggest a substratum of truth). Others may be summarily consigned to either the probable or improbable category, and a number against which no evidence can be brought but which find no support outside the *janam-sākhīs* must be regarded as 'possible'. In the latter case we allow that the tradition may be true, but in view of the general unreliability of the *janam-sākhīs* our neutrality is a sceptical neutrality. The interesting cases are the *sākhīs* which occupy positions of importance in the *janam-sākhī* traditions and which can be tested against a number of our criteria. Four of these will be considered briefly in order to illustrate the manner in which the application of the criteria can lead us to definite conclusions.

The first such incident is the tradition that Gurū Nānak visited Ceylon and there met Rājā Śivanābh, a tradition which is to be found in the *Purātan* and *Bālā* accounts and in the *Gyānratanāvalī*. In all versions, except that of the earlier *Bālā janam-sākhīs*, it has two parts. The first relates how a Sikh trader (whom the *Gyānratanāvalī* and later *Bālā* accounts call Mansukh) sailed to the land of Rājā Śivanābh and converted him to the religion of Gurū Nānak; and the second describes how the Gurū himself subsequently journeyed there in order to meet his royal disciple. In the *Purātan* version the land is not named in the first part,¹⁶ but in the account of Gurū Nānak's own visit it is identified as Singhalādīp.¹⁷ This has, understandably, been taken to refer to Ceylon.

We shall begin our analysis by applying our first criterion and, in accordance with it, discarding several features which we find in the different accounts. We can, for example, safely reject the *Purātan* claim that Gurū Nānak ordered Śivanābh to cut his

16. *Ibid.*, *sākhī* 41, pp. 76-8.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

son's throat, stew his flesh, and eat it.¹⁸ This criterion is not, however, sufficient to destroy the tradition. After the manifestly legendary features have been discarded the essential basis of the story still remains.

We must accordingly proceed to apply, if possible, the second criterion (the testimony of external sources). This particular tradition is one of the few which can be tested by reference to external evidence, for it specifies not just Ceylon but also the Raja whom, it claims, Gurū Nānak met there. The name Śivanābh indicates that the Raja, if he in fact existed, must have been a Śaivite, and this must point to the kingdom of Jaffna. Elsewhere in Ceylon the contemporary dynasties were Buddhist, but in Jaffna the rulers of this period were Śaivites. None of them, however, was named Śivanābh. The two kings who occupied the throne of Jaffna during the time of Gurū Nānak's travels were Pararājasekharan VI and Segarājasēkharan VII.¹⁹

Jaffna must accordingly be eliminated, but before concluding that Rājā Śivanābh did not live in Ceylon we must consider the testimony of another external source. This is the *Hakikat Rāh Mukām Rāje Sivanābh kī*, a brief work attached to many old manuscript copies of the *Ādi Granth* which purports to be a description of how to get to Rājā Śivanābh's kingdom. The *Hakikat Rāh* claims that Rājā Śivanābh was the grandfather of Māyādunne. It errs in locating Māyādunne in Jaffna (his domain was Sītāvaka in the south-west of the island²⁰), but he is at least an historical figure and his period is such that his grandfather could conceivably have been alive during the period of Gurū Nānak's travels. Māyādunne's grandfather was not, however, called Śivanābh. He was Parākramabāhu VIII who reigned in Kōṭṭē from 1484 until 1508.²¹ Accordingly the *Hakikat Rāh* must be rejected as evidence of a visit to Ceylon by Gurū Nānak.

The conclusion to which this analysis points is that if Rājā Śivanābh did exist he had no connection with Ceylon. Having

18. *Ibid.*, p. 88

19. University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 701.

20. *Culavamsa* (Pali Text Society ed., trans. W. Geiger and C. Mabel Rickmers), ii. 24, n.1.

21. *Epigraphica Zeylanica*, vol. iii, p. 43.

removed Rājā Śivanābh from Ceylon must we, however, conclude that Gurū Nānak never visited the island? The removal of Śivanābh seriously weakens the whole tradition, but let us assume that the possibility of such a visit still remains and test this possibility by applying the fourth criterion (the measure of agreement, or disagreement, which we find in the different *janam-sākhīs*).

When we apply this criterion the possibility at once begins to crumble. In the first place we must observe that neither Bhāī Gurdās nor Miharbān refer to such a visit.²² Secondly, there is the fact that the India Office Library manuscript B40 records both the story of the Sikh trader and the subsequent meeting between Gurū Nānak and Rājā Śivanābh without any mention of Siṅghalādīp. This second point is the really significant one. Its significance lies in the contrast between the account given in the B40 manuscript²³ and that of the *Purātan janam-sākhīs*; and in the fact that it is only the later of the two versions (the *Purātan* account) which gives the specific geographical location. The account given in the earlier manuscripts of the Sikh trader's conversion and journey to Rājā Śivanābh's unnamed kingdom corresponds almost exactly with that given in the *Purātan* version, and although its treatment of Gurū Nānak's meeting with Śivanābh lacks the same measure of verbal identity the basic details it gives are almost the same as those of the *Purātan* account. The only exception is the omission of any reference to Siṅghalādīp in the earlier *janam-sākhīs*.

As in the *Hāfizābād* manuscript, the B40 account records that following his conversion the merchant took ship and sailed "to where Rājā Śivanābh lived."²⁴ This nautical reference may be held to indicate Siṅghalādīp, but it is by no means a necessary assumption. On the contrary, it is a common feature of all the *janam-sākhīs*, except that of Miharbān, that Gurū Nānak is said to have crossed the sea to unspecified islands or lands. At this point we

22. Miharbān (or a later editor of the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*) does mention a visit to "a land of darkness" which is evidently meant to be Ceylon, but the story related is entirely different from the Śivanābh tradition, and totally fantastic. *Mih JS*, pp. 217-21.

23. India Office Library Ms. Panj. B40, folios 138 ff.

24. *Ibid.*, folio 140b.

find our seventh criterion (the geographic one) supporting the fourth. Geographical inexactitude is generally associated with the historically dubious and this appears to be invariably the case when the inexactitude concerns a location over the sea. References to the *samundar* are almost always associated with incidents containing generous measures of the fantastic. The significance of these references is not that they must all point to Ceylon, but rather that their remote settings should prompt an even greater degree of caution.

The likelihood appears to be that the incident concerning Śivanābh had an early origin, but that it had no specific location in the early traditions, oral or written. This would mean that the whole of the B40 account and the first part of the *Purātan* version represent an earlier stage in the evolution of the story than the second part of the *Purātan* version or the later *janam-sākhī* accounts of the complete episode. It is impossible to identify with complete certainty the manner in which the name Siṅghalādīp came to be attached to the tradition. It may have been suggested by later trade contacts, it may have been on account of the prominence of Siṅghalādīp in Punjab folklore, or it may have been the simple fact that if an unspecified maritime location were to be given a name Siṅghalādīp would have been the obvious choice.

The theory that the name Siṅghalādīp was introduced into an earlier tradition also receives support from *Pothī Harijī*, the second section of the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*. *Pothī Harijī* opens with a lengthy discourse between Gurū Nānak and the paṇḍit of Rājā Śivanābh, but gives no indication of who Śivanābh was or where he lived. In a later *goṣṭ* Śivanābh reappears in a brief discourse which concerns him more directly, but which still makes no reference to his geographical location. The only hint which it offers is the statement that after his conversation with Śivanābh Gurū Nānak returned to Kartārpur. This does not suggest that the author envisaged a location as far distant as Ceylon.

And so our application of the criteria leads us to an irresistible conclusion. There was no contemporary ruler in Ceylon called Śivanābh and all the evidence points to a later introduction of the name Siṅghalādīp into *sākhīs* concerning him. We cannot affirm categorically that Gurū Nānak never visited Ceylon, but

we must now conclude that the *janam-sākhīs* offer no acceptable evidence of such a visit.

A similar conclusion is indicated in the case of several other important *sakhīs*. Two which will be considered more briefly are the traditions concerning a discourse with Siddhs on Mount Sumeru and a visit to Baghdad. In the first instance we are confronted by a tradition which can claim the support of our fourth criterion (it is one of only three incidents which is to be found in Bhāi Gurdās and all of the important *janam-sākhīs*), but which suffers heavily when the first criterion is applied to it. Mount Sumeru exists only in legend, Gorakhnāth (the principal interlocutor on this occasion) could not have been a contemporary of Gurū Nānak, and in all versions the account of their conversation is heavily charged with miraculous material. The third criterion (the testimony of Gurū Nānak's own works) does nothing to support the tradition but instead, as we have already observed, indicates an obvious explanation for the genesis of the whole tradition. It has been suggested that the accounts must refer to some other location in the Himalayas and some other interlocutor. We must certainly acknowledge the possibility that Gurū Nānak visited the Himalayas and that he might have penetrated as far as Mount Kailās, but we cannot use this tradition to support such a conjecture. The *śloks* quoted from *Vār Rāmakalī* do support the contention that he had frequent contacts with Nāth yogīs, but they do not indicate the location of any specific contact.

The Baghdad case is a particularly interesting one. It suffers somewhat from the application of the fourth criterion (of the important *janam-sākhīs* only Bhāi Gurdās and the B40 manuscript refer to visits to the city), but it has been held proven on the basis of the second criterion, the testimony of external sources. There exists in Baghdad an inscription which, it is generally believed, refers to Gurū Nānak and so establishes the historicity of his visit there.²⁵ Time does not permit an examination of the inscription in this paper and we must content ourselves with a categorical statement. The inscription has been carefully examined by Dr. V. L.

25. Vir Singh, *Gurū Nānak Chamatakār* (8th ed.), vol. ii, pp 172-6. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, vol. i, p. 12. Sewaram Singh, *The Divine Master*, p. 157.

Ménage of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. His finding is that it almost certainly does not refer to Gurū Nānak and that it cannot be accepted as evidence of a visit by the Gurū to Baghdad.²⁶ We are left with the conclusion that Gurū Nānak might have visited Baghdad, but that we do not have acceptable evidence to support the tradition.

Our conclusions have so far been negative and this is usually the result of analyses of this kind, particularly in the case of *sākhīs* relating to the travels of Gurū Nānak. It is not, however, an invariable result. One tradition which is not wholly destroyed in this manner is the account of Gurū Nānak's presence at Bābur's sack of Saidpur. Bābur is the one contemporary figure of any significance who is referred to by name in the works of Gurū Nānak, and with the exception of Bhāī Gurdās all the *janam-sākhīs* record that the Gurū was present when the Mughal army assaulted the town of Saidpur. The attack on Saidpur evidently took place in 1520.²⁷ The *janam-sākhīs* relate that Gurū Nānak and his companion Mardānā happened to reach Saidpur at a time when its inhabitants were celebrating numerous marriages. The *Purātan* version adds that on this occasion the Gurū was also accompanied by some faqirs who were weak with hunger.²⁸ The travellers asked for food, but were everywhere refused. This so enraged the Gurū that he gave utterance to a verse which in the *Adi Granth* appears as number 5 in Tilaṅg rāg. The verse was a cryptic summons to Bābur and in response to it the Mughal army descended upon Saidpur, sacked it, put all its inhabitants to the sword, and devastated the surrounding countryside. All this had happened because the churlish residents of the town had failed to show proper consideration towards faqirs. After this the two principal accounts diverge. The *Purātan janam-sākhīs* relate an interview with Bābur,²⁹ whereas the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* describes an assault by Bābur upon the Nāth centre of Tillā.³⁰

26. Dr. Ménage's statement is printed as an excursus in the author's *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*.

27. A. S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-nāma in English*, i. 429.

28. *Pur JS*, p. 58.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3.

30. *Mih JS*, p. 469.

It is at once clear that much of what the *janam-sākhīs* record must be rejected in accordance with our first criterion, but this preliminary clearing away of manifest legend will still leave open the two basic questions: Was Gurū Nānak present during the sack of Saidpur? And did he meet Bābur?

The principal argument which has been advanced in favour of his presence at Saidpur, and one which has hitherto been accepted as conclusive, is the fact that Gurū Nānak himself refers directly to Bābur and describes the devastation wrought by his army. These references are to be found in the four compositions of the *Bābar-vāṇī*.³¹ All four are set by the *janam-sākhīs* in the context of either the assault on Saidpur or Gurū Nānak's interview with Bābur soon after. There can be no doubt that in these verses Gurū Nānak is describing at least one of the Mughal expeditions, for he does so explicitly. But to which of Bābur's expeditions does he refer? There seems to be little doubt from the nature of his description that he is describing either the later invasions of 1524 and 1525-26, or else the complete series of invasions which terminated with the Battle of Panipet in 1526. These same descriptions manifest a vividness and a depth of feeling which can be explained only as expressions of direct personal experience and we are accordingly led to two conclusions. First, Gurū Nānak must have personally witnessed devastation caused by Bābur's troops; and secondly, the four verses were probably composed after 1526 in response to the major invasions which concluded the series of expeditions, or to the complete series itself.

This does not necessarily mean, however, that there can be no truth in the *janam-sākhī* tradition concerning Gurū Nānak's presence as a witness at the sack of Saidpur. The support claimed on the basis of the four verses must go, but there remain other points in favour of the tradition. In the first place, the *janam-sākhīs* all agree on this point. Secondly, the tradition concerns an incident which happened in the Punjab during the latter period of the Gurū's life. Thirdly, there appears to be a measure of accuracy in the *janam-sākhī* descriptions of the actual assault. And fourthly, it seems reasonable to assume that had there been no factual basis for the connection with Bābur's invasions the

31. See *supra* n. 1.

narrators would surely have chosen the 1524 capture of Lahore or the 1526 Battle of Panipet as a setting rather than an obscure town besieged on one of the minor expeditions. These factors indicate a strong tradition and one which has good claims to acceptance.

The same cannot, however, be said for the claim that Gurū Nānak actually met Bābur. The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* omits it, the *Purātan janam-sākhīs* give divergent accounts,³² and the familiar tendency to introduce interviews with the acknowledged great offers an obvious explanation for its origin. It cannot be ruled out as completely impossible, but it certainly appears most unlikely.

All of the examples which have been considered in this paper permit the determinative application of one or more of the criteria, but it must be acknowledged that this is not always possible. In some instances none of the criteria can be profitably applied and we are compelled to leave the issue undecided. Our indecision will, in such cases, be a sceptical indecision for the *janam-sākhīs* do not inspire the confidence which would permit us to give them the benefit of doubt on any unsupported issue. We must, however, resist the temptation to rule out such possibilities completely.

All that has been covered in this paper concerns the events of the life of Gurū Nānak and our conclusion has been that although some of the incidents recorded in the *janam-sākhīs* will stand the test of rigorous analysis the majority will not. Most of what we find in the *janam-sākhīs*, and in the biographies based upon the *janam-sākhīs*, must be either rejected as impossible or regarded as unlikely. This should not, however, suggest that nothing can be known concerning Gurū Nānak. On the contrary, there is much that we can know. Our concern in this paper has been for the *events* of his life. In this respect our knowledge must remain restricted, but not our knowledge and understanding of the person with whom we are concerned. The *Ādi Granth* does not provide us with details relating to the events of his life, but it does offer a thoroughly reliable source for his teachings and so for an understanding of the personality which lies behind those teachings. In this sense he can be known and only in this sense can we hope to lay hold of the historical Nānak.

32. *Pur JS*, pp. 62-7.

The Punishment and Pardon of Ram Singh

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It is well known that Aurangzeb held Ram Singh guilty of disloyal negligence in the matter of Shivaji's escape from Agra fort.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes:

"... Suspicion naturally fell on Ram Singh, as he had so often tried to avoid accepting responsibility for Shivaji's presence at Agra, and it was his interest to effect the Maratha chief's safe return home, for which he and his father had pledged their honour ... Some of the Maratha Brahmans who were caught admitted, under threat of torture, that their master had fled with the connivance of Ram Singh..."¹

But the sequence of events immediately after the escape, the details of the punishment of Ram Singh and the factors and stages leading to his pardon are not adequately known. It is possible to throw new light on the reaction of the event on Aurangzeb's mind and its working and to reconstruct full details of the punishment and pardon of Ram Singh with the help of the *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mu'ala* or the news-letters of the imperial court and the Rajasthani records formerly stored in Jaipur but now in the State Archives at Bikaner. They also sometimes corroborate the information obtained from Persian chronicles.

I. The Date of Shivaji's Escape

Regarding Shivaji's date of escape, there is a difference of one day in the official history and the Rajasthani records.

1. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, (6th Ed.), 151.

The *Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri* mentions 27th *Safar*, year 9 (1077), or 19th August, 1666 as the date of Shivaji's flight. Relying on this Sarkar also has given the date, 19 August, 1666.² On the other hand G. S. Sardesai gives 18th August, 1666 as the date of the event.³ This is based on Rajasthan letters. The letter of Ballu Shah to Kalyandas dated Agra, Saturday, *Bhadwa Budi* 14 or 18 August, 1666 runs: "This very morning Shivaji fled away from Agra".⁴ Another letter of Vimaldas to Kalyandas dated Monday *Bhadwa Sudi* 1 *Samvat* 1723 or 20 August, 1666 says that Shivaji fled on the morning of *Bhadwa Budi* 14 Saturday (or 18th August).⁵

II. *The Search for the Fugitives*

According to Sarkar "a hue and cry was immediately raised and fast couriers and sergeants-at-arms were sent to watch the road to the Deccan through Malwa and Kandesh, and to warn the local officers to look out for the fugitives."⁶ Sardesai writes: "The Emperor in extreme consternation sent round strict and expeditious orders to all governors and local officials to apprehend the runaways. Search parties were immediately despatched in all directions. Passes and fords were closed to traffic."⁷

The Rajasthani letters tell us of many new details regarding the tracking of Shivaji. From these we know that the Emperor wrote to all sides issuing necessary orders. A Rajasthani letter of about the end of August, 1666 states: "the Emperor blames (the Kumar) for the flight of Shiva. Necessary arrangements were made and all orders were issued soon after the first instructions were received here then."⁸

2. M. A. Eng. Tr. 37; Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 154. There is no mention of date in *Aurangzib*, IV. ch. 40.

3. *New History of the Marathas* I, 186.

4. Rajasthani Records ed. by Sarkar and Sinh: Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, Agra, Rajasthani letter No. 29, p. 40. Also Ms. Kharita Navis's Records Reg. No. 77. (Mahakma Khas Jaipur, now in Bikaner).

5. Vimaldas to Kalyandas R.L. No. 31, p. 41

6. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 151.

7. Sardesai, *op.cit.*, I, 186.

8. Shridhar to Kalyandas, R.L. No. 41, p. 50.

We are told in a Rajasthani letter dated 23 August, 1666 that immediately after the escape of Shivaji, Kumar Ram Singh took horse and proceeded to the *Ghusal Khana* to submit the news to the Emperor.⁹

As the Emperor fully believed that the Kumar had helped Shivaji to flee i.e., connived at Shivaji's escape, he ordered the Kumar to search for and produce Shiva: "Shivaji was in his charge. He should produce him. We will make enquiries but he too should go on search and find him out".¹⁰ In another Rajasthani letter (Kalyandas to Haridas Dharma, dated *Bhadwa Sudi Samvat 1723* = August 24, 1666) the Emperor is reported to have enquired of Ram Singh: "Where will Shiva go? You will hunt for him. Collect money and send it immediately."¹¹ The 'money' referred to arrears due from the Kumar. We know from a letter of Parkal Das to Kalyandas Asoj Bad, 12 *Samvat 1723* = 15 September, 1666, that the Emperor, being displeased with the Kumar, ordered the speedy realisation of the arrears in his name. (*Kharita Navis* R. No. 30).¹² A Rajasthani letter of 15th September 1666 tells us that the Emperor enquired "if the Kumar had anything to say to the general allegation that Shiva fled away with the knowledge of the Kumar". The latter was ordered to submit a written explanation.^{12a}

III. Ram Singh's Search of Shivaji

On this return from the *Ghusalkhana* and in pursuance of the imperial command to search for Shivaji, Ram Singh "collected the Rajputs and started off. He did not have even his meals there. After traversing 4 kos he encamped in Dara Shah's garden. Then he went ahead on Sunday, 19 August, 1666, encamped at Munia's serai and proceeded towards Dholpur, sending his men to all sides"¹³

9. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, R.L. No. 33, p. 42.

10. Parkaldas to Kalyandas (18 Sept. 1666. R.L. No. 48, p. 54. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas. Agra 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 30, p. 41; Harnath to Kalyandas. Burhanpur, 31 Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 40, p. 50; Sardesai I, 187.

11. MS. *Kharita Navis's* Records (Persian) X Reg. No. 56.

12. MS. *Ibid.*, Reg. No. 30.

12a Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 46, p. 53.

13. Same to same 23 Aug. 1666, R.L. 33, p. 45.

Acting on information sent by Girdhar Lal Vakil (at Agra) the Kumar marched towards and encamped at Munia Serai (8 September) from where he would encamp at Dholpur (9 September).¹⁴

Ram Singh shifted his camp from the Kangroli Serai to the ferry on the Chambal with a view to cross it in search of Shivaji. But the Emperor did not sanction the crossing of the river as being utterly futile. So at the suggestion of Muhammad Amin Khan, a letter was sent to the Kumar by Girdhar Lal informing him that the Emperor had not approved the crossing of the river and that the former should return and remain in his tents (27 Aug. 1666). The Kumar was expected to return within two days. As a matter of fact, in obedience to the imperial order, Ram Singh returned to Agra on Sunday, 2 September, 1666.¹⁵

Even the agents and officers of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Ram Singh alerted everyday to 'guard all ferries, highways'. They "sent out orders to all the parganas to close all the ghats in the State". Thus Mahadas Manrup asked Kalyandas (25 August, 1666) to issue orders 'in all the villages under your control to arrest them (Shiva and his son) if they happen to come that way. Guards of four men each should be posted at all ferries and highways so that none can pass that way undetected'.¹⁶

These details show that Ram Singh's conduct was not that of a man with a guilty conscience. Ram Singh's guards might have been negligent but he was not guilty of disloyalty.

14. Ram Singh and Ballu Shah to Kalyandas Agra 26 Aug. 1666. R.L. No. 35, p. 46.

15. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, Agra, 27 Aug. 1666. R. L. No. 36, p. 48; Ballu Shah to Mukunddas and Shah Keshodas Agra 2 Sept. 1666 R.L. 42, p. 51; Parkaldas to Kalyandas. 3 Sept. 1666 R.L. 43, p. 52 Ms. Bimaldas to Kalyandas *Bhadwa Sud* 11, *Samvat* 1723—30 Aug. 1666. *Kharita Navis IX* Reg. No. 54.

16. Vimaldas to Kalyandas 23 Aug. 1666. R.L. 32, p. 41; Ajitdas to Kalyandas, 28 Aug. 1666. R.L. 38, p. 49. Manohardas Nathuram to Kalyandas 30 Aug. 1666. R.L. 39, p. 49. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 18 Aug. 1666 R.L. 29, p. 40; 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. 30, p. 41. Mahandas Manrup to Kalyandas 25 Aug. 1666, R.L. 34, p. 46.

IV. Punishment of Kumar Ram Singh and Kumar Kirat Singh

The *Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri* simply states that Ram Singh was dismissed from his *mansab*.¹⁷ Sarkar writes: "The Rajput prince was punished, first by being forbidden the court and then by being deprived of his rank and pay".¹⁸ G. S. Sardesai writes: "In a few days the Kumar was disgraced and forbidden the court".¹⁹

We get new details from the *Akhbarat* and the Rajasthani letters. After Shivaji's flight Ram Singh was taking the attendance of the horses of jagirdars. On the report of some one that Ram Singh was collecting forces, the Emperor ordered an enquiry through Muhammad Amin Khan. We do not know the result of the enquiry. But it is clear that Aurangzeb suspected the loyalty of the Kumar and punished him in various ways. In the first instance, the Kumar was not summoned to the Presence. This prohibition (to the audience and the fort) was reported even one month after the escape (18 September, 1666).²⁰ Secondly, there was reduction in his rank, followed by dismissal. A Rajasthani letter (Mahadas Manrup to Diwan Kalyandas dated *Bhadwar Sudi 13, Samvat 1723*) refers to the Emperor's displeasure with Ram Singh and hints at the possible decrease in his *mansab*. (Mahakama Khas, Jaipur, Kharita Navis's records VIII, Reg. No. 52). A Rajasthani letter mentions that Aurangzeb reduced the *mansab* of the Kumar by 1000 *Zat* and troopers (c. 20 August, 1666). This is corroborated by an *Akhbar* of Rabi I 23, year 10=2, September, 1667: "Previously he held a *mansab* of 4000 *Zat* and 4000 *suwar* but later on, after the fight of Shiva, a *mansab* of 3000 *Zat* and 3000 *suwar* had been conferred on him. Again by imperial wrath that too had been withdrawn".²¹ Thirdly the *jagirs* of Kumar Ram Singh were

17. M.A.: Eng. Tr. 37.

18. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 151.

19. Sardesai, I, 187.

20. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 18 Sept. 1666. R.L. 48, p. 54; Parkaldas Gagraj, 3 Sept. 1666. R.L. 44, p. 53. Ms. Parkaldas to Kalyandas (1666). Kharita Navis's Reg. No. 102.

21. MS. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, 20 Aug. 1666. R.L. 30, p. 41; Same to Mukunddas and Shah Keshodas, Agra, 2 Sept. 1666. R.L. No. 42, p. 50; Parkaldas to Kalyandas 23 Aug. 1666. R.L. 33 p. 45; Ms. Kharita Navis VIII. Reg. No. 52, *Akbar VI*, 367.

confiscated.²² From Rajasthani letters we learn that the *jagir-parganas* of the Kumar were confiscated. All the *parganas* of Kot-Putli etc., were taken away from him and the *pargana* of Mandawar as transferred to the *jagir* of Daud Khan; and the Kumar was not granted any *jagir* or cash payment.²³ This is corroborated by an *Akhbar* of Rabi I 2, year 9 (= 25 August, 1666). Jumlat ul mulk Jafar Khan informed the Emperor that according to the imperial orders the *jagirs* of Kumar Ram Singh had been confiscated.²⁴

The Emperor also ordered that the salary of Kumar Kirat Singh might be given but not the *jagirs*. The Khan paid the salary.²⁵

V. Jai Singh informed of his son's remissness

On Sunday, 19 August, 1666, noon, the Emperor sent a *farman* to Mirza Rajah saying "Disloyal Shiva has escaped from here."²⁶

On 29 *Safar* year 9 (= 21 August, 1666) an imperial *farman* was issued to Mirza Rajah to the effect that "the vanquished Shivaji (*mardud*) had been entrusted to Ram Singh, who was believed to be good and considered to be grateful. The said Prince was induced by Shivaji to let him escape. For this crime of the Kumar who went astray from loyalty, orders have been issued to the Khan Bakhshi for (his) dismissal from service (*mansab tar taraf*)".²⁷

On Rabi I 4, year 9 (= 25 August, 1666) the Emperor ordered Jafar Khan that Jai Singh must be summoned and produced before him. So Jafar Khan sent a *farman* (to Jai Singh) to the effect "Shiva (*maqhur*) was allowed to escape with the full knowledge and connivance of Kumar Ram Singh. So he deserved

22. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 47, p. 54.

23. Same to Mukunddas and Shah Keshodas 2 Sept., 1666. R.L. 42, p. 50; Parkaldas to Kalyandas 18 Sept. 1666, R.L. 48, p. 54.

24. *Akhbarat*.

25. *Ibid*.

26. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 23 Aug. 1666. R.L. 33, p. 45. M.A. Eng. Tr. 37.

27. *Akhbar*.

dismissal, but on account of consideration (*khatir*) for you, i.e., for your sake I have not taken this extreme step and allowed Ram Singh to remain in his watan".²⁸ No reply to the imperial *farman* came from Jai Singh even upto 15 September, 1666. He was instructed to take necessary steps so that the followers of Shivaji might not be allowed to create any disturbance in the Deccan.²⁹

Jai Singh is reported, in a Rajasthani letter of 31 October, 1666, to have "severely rebuked the Kumar for letting Shiva escape, as it brought on him such serious disgrace in his old age." On the advice of the Maharaja, Ram Singh sought the Emperor's pardon through the Begum Saheb, who was reported to have agreed to plead on his behalf before the Emperor.³⁰

VI. Pardon of Ram Singh

About the pardon of Ram Singh the *Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri* only states that "the Emperor cherished his son Kumar Ram Singh, who had so long been under punishment, by giving him the title of Raja and many favours".³¹ Sarkar writes: "Eleven months later (i.e., after Shivaji's escape), on the death of his father, Ram Singh was taken back into favour and created a 4-hazari, but was soon afterwards sent to join the army fighting in Assam, to die of pestilence there".³² G. S. Sardesai writes: "After some time Ram Singh was formally pardoned, but never again taken into that loving confidence which he had enjoyed before".³³

It is possible to throw light on the gradual steps leading ultimately to the imperial pardon, from the *Akhbarat* (Jaipur Records) and the Rajasthani letters now stored in Bikaner.

One of the principal factors in this was the series of intercessions on behalf of Ram Singh before the Emperor. The second was the death of Jai Singh.

28. Akhbar.

29. Parkaldas to Kalyandas 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 46; p. 53. Ballu Shah to same. 15 Sept. 1666. R.L. 47, p. 54.

30. Parkaldas to Kalyandas 31 Oct. 1666. R.L. 55, p. 58.

31. M.A. Eng. Tr. 41.

32. A.N. 1051; Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 151n.

33. Sardesai I, 188.

Begum Saheb (Jahanara) is stated in Rajasthani records (dated 27 August 1666) to have pleaded for Kumar Ram Singh before the Emperor: "He is a hereditary servant and it is not possible that he would knowingly let (Shiva) flee away. He is at fault, but Mirza Rajah is a noted servant of the Empire who has rendered notable services and is still serving Your Majesty. It is not right that you should punish him like that." The Emperor is said to have replied that "his mistake deserved very severe punishment, but his life has been spared only because of my consideration for Mirza Rajah".³⁴ But by the middle of September this report about Begum Saheb's pleading was known to be false.³⁵

If there is doubt about Jahanara's pleading for Ram Singh, there is no doubt that several contemporary court nobles, Muslim as well as Hindu (Muhammad Amin Khan, Jafar Khan, Fidai Khan, Jaswant Singh, Hasan Ali Khan, Mutamid Khan, Tahir Khan Uzbek, Bahadur Khan and Karam Khan) were interested in his case and some of them repeatedly interceded on behalf of Kumar Ram Singh before the Emperor.

On *Rabi I* 6, year 9, (27 August, 1666) Bakshi ul mulk Muhammad Amin Khan stated (before the Emperor) that Ram Singh had become a bewildered vagrant (*awwara*), and that he might be permitted to stay where ordered. The Emperor replied that the *vakil* of Ram Singh might be ordered that he should come and stay at the *haveli* of Rajah Jai Singh. Jumlat ul mulk Jafar Khan stated that the *vakil* said that he was not the servant of Kumar Ram Singh, but of Mirza Rajah and that one of the imperial servants might be asked to write. The Emperor ordered that no imperial servant would write and that the said *vakil* must write.³⁶

A slightly different version is given in a Rajasthani letter of 3 September, 1666: The Emperor asked Muhammad Amin Khan to ask Kumar Ram Singh (through his *vakil* Girdhar Lal) to return from the bank of the Chambal and stay in his Agra tent.

34. Parkaldas to Kalyandas 27 Aug. 1666. R.L. 36, p. 47. Same to same, 31 Oct. 1666. R.L. 55, p. 58.

35. Same to same 18 Sept. 1666, R.L. 48, p. 54.

36. *Akhbarat*.

At Amin Khan's order Girdhar Lal and Ballu Shah sent the imperial message to Ram Singh. But the Kumar replied that he would return only if he got an imperial order (*hasb ul hukm*). He also wrote to Muhammad Amin Khan, Fidai Khan and other friendly nobles requesting them to send the Emperor's *hasb ul hukm* granting pardon and saying 'How can I return when I am still held guilty? Let me be appointed to whatsoever expedition and I shall readily go there'. Muhammad Amin Khan then submitted to the Emperor that the *Vakil* begged to be excused from writing as he was 'the *Vakil* of Mirza Rajah and not of Kumar', hoping that the Emperor would order a *masb ul hukm*. But the Emperor insisted on his writing: "I know that he is the *Vakil* of the Mirza Rajah as well as of the Kumar". All the other *Vakils* also urged the Kumar not to persist in his obduracy but to return soon.³⁷

A similar message came from Jaswant Singh to Ballu Shah. The latter visited the Raja and requested him to plead before the Emperor: "Is it possible that such disloyalty will be done by us? Was he (Ram Singh) his surety or was he (Shiva) entrusted to his charge that he is held responsible for this flight"? Promising to do so later at an opportune moment, Jaswant advised that the Kumar should return (as the Emperor was displeased) but did not consider it "correct" on his part to write to the Kumar. On the return of the Kumar, the Emperor told Jaswant to ask the Kumar to "remain in his tēnts".³⁸

A Rajasthani letter of 18 September, 1666, refers to an unconfirmed rumour that Jaswant Singh (before his departure for Kabul on 3 September) asked Muhammad Amin Khan to plead before the Emperor for the resumption of the Kumar, a hereditary servant, to the Presence; the Emperor retorted that he deserved execution for the disloyalty but his life had been spared out of special consideration for Mirza Rajah.³⁹

37. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, 3 Sept. 1666. R.L. 43, pp. 51-2. Also Kharita Navis IX. Reg. No. 54 dated Aug. 30, 1666.

38. Parkaldas to Kalyandas, R.L. 43, p. 52.

39. Same to same, 18 Sept. 1666. R.L. 48, p. 55.

In October 1666, Hasan Ali was reported to have pleaded with the Emperor for summoning the Kumar to the hunt. The Emperor said: "The Kumar has pleased Shiva and displeased me by committing this act of disloyalty the like of which was never done before by any one of his family". Hasan Ali Khan submitted "A hereditary servant like him cannot do such an act of disloyalty. It is his ill luck that Your Majesty believes like that".⁴⁰

All these intercessions and pleadings by important nobles of the Empire did not seem to have melted the heart of the Emperor. What helped to dispel the cloud from his mind for the first time was Jai Singh's report of the return of Shivaji to the Deccan and the arrest of Netu and the latter's son (as we know from the *Akhbar* of 7 Rabi II, year 9 = Thursday, 27 September, 1666, and a Rajasthani letter of Friday 5 October, 1666). The Emperor was highly pleased and asked for a statement of the *maratib* (rank) of Kumar Ram Singh — asked Jafar Khan for the details regarding the regrant of the confiscated *jagir-parganas* of Kumar Ram Singh.⁴¹

By October 1666 the cloud of imperial suspicions of Ram Singh seemed to have thinned. During his visit from Agra to Delhi (9-24, October, 1666) the Emperor ordered that "Kumar Ram Singh should continue to take his usual place in the camp while on the march". So Ram Singh left Agra and joined the imperial camp on 11 October, 1666.⁴²

But the Emperor did not yet restore him to his old position. Even by October 25, 1666, no orders were issued to summon the Kumar to the Presence. The Kumar kept to his tents (his own residence) in the expectation of being called some day.⁴³

40. Same to same. 31 Oct. 1666. R.L. 55, p. 58.

41. Persian *Akhbar* (Jaipur Coll.). Thurs. Sept. 27, 1666. 7 Rabi II. yr. 9, p. 55; Ajitdas to Kalyandas 5 Oct. 1666. R.L. 49, p. 55. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas. 13 Dec. 1666. R.L. 59, p. 60.

42. Parkaldas to Kalyandas 12 Oct. 1666. R.L. 51, p. 56.

43. Same to same 25 Oct. 1666. R.L. 53, p. 57; Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 26 Oct. 1666. R.L. 54, p. 57.

About this time it was intended to seek the intervention by Mutamid Khan (with whom the Emperor was very pleased) for securing the Emperor's pardon for the Kumar. It was planned to show a Hindi letter (supposedly written by the Maharajah to the Kumar advising him to seek the Khan's help) to Mutamid Khan. From a Rajasthani letter (Parkal Das to Kalyandas d. 1666) we know that the Emperor was informed through Mutamid Khan that they had not allowed Shivaji to escape "as their lives and property all belonged to the Emperor". (Kharita Navis. R. No. 79).⁴⁴

A Rajasthani letter states that on 29 January, 1667, Tahir Khan Uzbek serving under Mirza Rajah in the Deccan and returning to the Presence, greatly praised the Maharajah and pleaded for the Kumar.⁴⁵ This is corroborated by an *Akhbar* of Shaban 5, year 9 (21 January, 1667) which runs as follows: While riding (*sar i suwari*) Tahir Khan pleaded before the Emperor: "Mirza Rajah Jai Singh is an excellent General (*Khub Sardar ast*). In the Deccan he has done very good work (*Kar i Kardah*). In the affair of Ram Singh the Emperor may show favours (*meherbani farmaie*)." The Emperor replied: "By showing kindness I had entrusted the accursed Shiva (*Maqhur*) to his care." Tahir Khan again pleaded that "he is a hereditary servant" (*khanazad i maurusi*.) The Emperor replied: "Wait for a few days. I will reply after due consideration".⁴⁶

On 30 January, 1667, Bahadur Khan and Hasan Ali also interceded in a similar strain. Now the Emperor was reported to be "well disposed towards the Kumar".⁴⁷

On 23 March, 1667 (Sunday) at sunset in his private interview Jaswant Singh interceded for the Kumar. The Emperor replied that he had pardoned the faults of the Kumar. Next day (24 March) Jaswant repeated his pleading for the pardon of the Kumar. The Emperor ordered Asad Khan Bakhshi "to bring

44. R L. 53, p. 57; MS. *Kharita Navis* Reg No 79 Parkaldas to Kalyandas 1666.

45. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas 29 Jan. 1667. R.L.I. 64, p. 62.

46. *Akhbarat*.

47. R.L. 64, p. 62.

the Kumar to the *darbar* in the evening and present him for audience".⁴⁸

On 26 March, 1667 (Tuesday) Asad Khad broached the subject of summoning the Kumar to the Presence and the Emperor ordered his presentation on Sunday (31 March). At noon of that day the Kumar was presented to the Emperor in the Select Audience Hall (*Ghusalkhana*). An amount of Rs. 1000, was presented as *nazar* and of Rs. 100, as *nisar* (by the Kumar).⁴⁹

An *Akhbar* of *Shuwwal* 17, year 10 (2 April, 1667, Tuesday) states that Aqil Khan informed Ram Singh that he had been ordered to attend the *Ghusalkhana khas am* on Wednesday either in the morning or during the night.⁵⁰

On *Rabi* I 23, year 10 (= 2 September, 1667) Jumla ul inulk Jafar Khan submitted before the Emperor: "Mirza Rajah Jai Singh is the best among officers and imperial servants. But no reward has been given as known to the Emperor." The Emperor ordered 'Give'. Again, Jafar Khan prayed for conferment of favours on Kumar Ram Singh. The Emperor said: "I would certainly prefer the father to the son and show favours on Jai Singh as he had rendered good services." Jafar Khan again prayed: "Ram Singh, who had committed some fault and fled on account of bad luck, is present here". The Emperor asked Asad Khan (*Bakhshi*) to mention the rank (*maratib*) of Ram Singh. He replied: "Previously he held a *mansab* of 4000 *Zat* and 4000 *suwar* but later on, after the flight of Shiva, a *mansab* of 3000 *Zat* and 3000 *suwar* had been conferred on him (Ram Singh). Again by imperial wrath that too had been withdrawn". The Emperor ordered the grant of 3000 *Zat* and 3000 *suwar*".⁵¹ From a Rajasthani letter (*Asoj Bad* 7) it is learnt that the *pargana* given to Ram Singh was, on the flight of Shivaji, ordered to be transferred to Daud Khan. But this was stopped. Ram Singh was appointed to 3000 *Zat mansab*.⁵²

48. Ballu Shah to Kalyandas, 24 March, 1667. R.L. 66, p. 63.

49. *Ibid.*, 31 March, 1667. R.L. No. 67, p. 68.

50. *Akhbarat*. Regnal year 10 (1077 A.H.); No. I. 190.

51. *Ibid.*, No. VI, 367.

52. *Mahkuma Khas Jaipur Kharita Navis's Records*. Eg. No. VII, No. 113.

"The full restoration of Ram Singh to imperial favours took place after the death of Jai Singh. Jai Singh died on 28 August, 1667 and the news reached the Emperor on 7th September, 1667. Thereafter the Emperor said to Jumlat ul mulk Jafar Khan (*Rabi* I 28 year 10=7 September, 1667): "The income from the *watan* of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh was less".

Jafar Khan said something. The Emperor ordered the payment of 1 crore and 7 lakhs *dams* (*hasil dada*) and again ordered an increase of 400000 *dams* (*wazifa*) to the *jagir* of Ram Singh.⁵³

Next day (*Rabi* I 29, year 10=8 September 1667) Karam Khan, while riding, prayed to the Emperor for permission to go to Kumar Ram Singh's house for offering condolences (*matam-pursi*). The Emperor replied, "why do you call him 'Kumar',? call him 'Rajah'" The said Khan submitted that he (Ram Singh) had become Rajah as the Emperor had been pleased to say. The Emperor ordered presents to be bestowed (on Ram Singh):

- 1 elephant priced at Rs. 12000 with silver accoutrements;
- 1 horse priced at 500 *mohurs*, with gold trappings;
- 1 *jamdhar* (dagger) with scabbard of jewels worth Rs. 5000/-;
- 1 *shagr* (knife-like dagger), with gold inlay worth Rs. 2000/-; and
- 1 necklace of pearls.⁵⁴

This is perhaps referred to in a Rajasthani letter (Harjiva Sahanah to Diwan Kalyandas dated *Asoj Sud* 7, Samvat 1724 = 14 September 1667). It tells us of the Emperor's performing the *Tika* of Maharaj Kumar and giving him one elephant, one horse, one *siropa*, one jewelled dagger, and jewelled sword and the *mansab* of 4600 (*kharita Navis*, XV Reg. No. 88).⁵⁵

There is an *Akhbar* dated *Rabi* I 2 year 10=12 August, 1667, which refers to the restoration of Ram Singh's *mansab* and conferment of imperial favours. But this also speaks of Ram Singh's bereavement. Evidently the date is wrong and it should be

53. *Akhbarat*, Regnal year 10 No. VI, 374.

54. *Ibid.*, 375.

55. *Kharita Navis* XV. Reg. 86.

Rabi Il 2 year 10=10 September 1667. The *Akhbar* runs as follows:

The Emperor told Bakshi ul mulk Asad Khan: "As the date 3 is not auspicious (*khub nist*) it is better that Raja Ram Singh, who is in mourning (*matam*), may be brought to me." As ordered (*hasb ul hukm*) Asad Khan went to the Rajah and escorted him to the Presence (from *matam*). The Emperor presented to the Rajah—

(i) one horse out of his *khassa* with gold-embroidered trappings (*saz*) costing Rs. 4000;

(ii) one (*janjir*) elephant with silver trappings (*mukra saz*) priced Rs. 11000;

(iii) one jewelled dagger (*jamdhar murassa*) costing Rs. 5000;

(iv) one jewelled belt (*kumar Murassa*) worth Rs. 3000.

The Emperor conferred on him a *mansab* of 4000 *Zat*, 4000 *suwar* and ordered Asad Khan to escort him to his *raj*. Rajah Ram Singh bowed (*murjahat shud*). The Emperor placed his kind hand (*dast mubarak*) on his head. The audience shouted *mubarakbad*. The Emperor said: "Have composure of mind (*tasalli-i-dil*). God will do good. Remain in peace." Ram Singh prayed that the dignity of Mirza Rajah be conferred on him (*ba maratib i Mirza Rajah Khahad shud*). The Emperor asked, "How old is your son?" Ram Singh said: "He is fourteen years of age and fit for service." The Emperor asked his name. Ram Singh replied, "His name is Kumar Govind," The Emperor enquired what title (*khitaab*) might be conferred on him. Ram Singh submitted that it was his name. The Emperor asked him to call his son from his *watan* (home) and assured him that he would be placed in his *rikab*. Ram Singh was asked to get leave for arranging his *watan* and, thereafter, to return to the Presence.

Ram Singh went to pay obeisance to Begum Saheb and Begum Roshanara. The Begum Saheb gave one item of good news (incomplete).⁵⁶

The restoration of Ram Singh's rank is also corroborated by a Rajasthani letter of 14 September, 1667, to the effect that orders had been issued for the grant of *mansab* to the Kumar.⁵⁷

From the *Akhbar* of Rabi II 7 year 10 (= 15 September, 1667) it appears that the title of Rajah was formally conferred on Ram Singh. The Emperor asked Ram Singh, "Where were the Rajputs accompanying Mirza Rajah then stationed? Now that you have been created a Rajah, have you given the horses and elephants conferred on you to the rightful owners (*hakdars*) and assigned the land to them or have you given them cash salaries?" Ram Singh replied: "I would make the distribution among the servants according to their merit (*maqdur*). He, who is fit for elephants, will be given elephants. About 300 horses will be required. The Rajputs have come back to their *watans*. I have written to them that they should live in peace (composure of mind)." The Emperor remained silent.⁵⁸

On *Jumadi* I 13, year 10 (= 21 October, 1667), the Emperor while going out, ordered that his special sword (*talwar khassa*) and girdle (*Kamarband*) which were stated to be very good, might be presented to Raja Ram Singh.⁵⁹

On *Jumadi* I 19, year 10, (= 27 October 1667) Jumlat ul mulk (Jafar Khan) submitted before the Emperor. "Mahabat Khan wrote to him that when Mirza Rajah Jai Singh was honoured and given titles and *Tika Rajgi*, then the old deceased Mahabat Khan had presented one elephant and one horse with gold trappings. After the death of Mahabat Khan, Khan i Zanan also gave (one elephant and one horse). Now Ram Singh has been elevated. Orders may be passed for making presents to Ram Singh." The Emperor ordered, 'Send'.⁶⁰

57. Ajitdas to Kalyandas. R.L. No 68, p 64.

58. *Akhbarat* year 10, No. VII. 383.

59. *Ibid.*, VIII. 417.

60. *Ibid.*, VIII. 422.

The Lot of the Agriculturist in Aurangzeb's Time

(BASED ON A STUDY OF THE JAIPUR AKHBARAT)

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Although the Mughal Emperors spared no efforts to redress the grievances and ameliorate the lot of the agriculturist, he worked under serious handicaps and suffered at the hands of the local authorities. He had constant complaints against the *thānedārs*, *zamindārs* and their *gumāstās*. Neither the *faujdārs* nor the Governors were always helpful and sympathetic to him. He did however succeed sometimes in finding ways and means of sending his complaints to the imperial court. The Emperor in such cases failed not to take notice of the grievances and pass orders against the erring officials. One, however, could not always be sure of the compliance of those orders.

The following account of the oppressive activities of the Mughal officers and local officials against the *ryots* is mainly based on a study of the Jaipur (Persian) Newsletters.

The shortness and uncertainty of the term of a Governor forced him at times to oppress the *ryots*. He frequently tried to exact land revenue in advance by resort to force. When the wretched peasants failed to pay, their wives and children were enslaved. Unable to put up with this kind of treatment, the villagers sometimes fled from their homes, thus leaving the villages completely ruined.¹

The agriculturist suffered hardship at the time of the payment of land revenue. Whenever he could not give ready money, he was subjected to disgrace and torment. A good deal of beating

1. Manrique, I, pp. 53-54; Tavernier, I, pp. 53-54; Manucci, II, pp. 450-51; Bernier, I, pp. 230; 253; 255; English Factories, 1646-50, pp. 334-35.

and forcible infliction of hunger and thirst made the villagers part with only paltry sums of money. It was surprising how this treatment did not often cause their death. They were bound to a tree and even whipped mercilessly. Sometimes the whips made 'wheels' on their bodies and 'broke their skins'.²

General Complaints:

Whenever such cases of tyranny came to the knowledge of the Mughal Emperor, he took speedy action.

In Aurangabad the men of Brahm Dav Sisodia cut down the crops of the peasants in 1666 for the use of their horses. On receipt of the news, Aurangzeb ordered a reduction in their ranks.³

The heirs of Mardam Bandi petitioned Aurangzeb on 19 May, 1681, that Shahab-ud-din Khan had laid waste their village Rai'ti and captured the men and cattle of the village. They had committed no fault and had been wrongly captured and sent to the court. They termed it as a clear case of oppression. Aurangzeb ordered that the matter might be decided in accordance with the *Shara*.⁴

On 26 October, 1692, Qāzi Khwājā 'Abdullā submitted that Mīrak Husain, deputy dīwān of Berar province, had made a written complaint against the *gumāshtās* of the *jaqirdars* there. They were accused of tyrannising over the *ryots*. The news-writers had accepted illegal gratification from them and therefore refrained from reporting against them.

Hearing this, Aurangzeb asked Bahrāhmand Khan to write to Mīrak Husain in this connection. He was to warn the news-writers and ask them to submit factual reports. In case he found them guilty, he was to transfer them under intimation to the Emperor.⁵

On 4 January, 1693, Aurangzeb ordered the dismissal of Mohammad Hyat, the commandant of Gooty. The complaint

2. Manrique, I, pp. 53-54; Manucci, II, pp. 450-51.

3. Jaipur Akhbarat, 4 October, 1666.

4. *Ibid.*, 19 May, 1681.

5. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'allā, 20 Decembe. 1692.

against him was that he used to come out of the fort and persecute the people.⁶

On 12 January, 1693, Aurangzeb received a report against Amar Jamā'dār, employee of Raja Kishan Singh, *zamīndār* of Chanda, who was attached to the army of Mu'iz-uddin at Churagarh. He was charged with having looted a number of villages. Maqsūd Beg, *faujdār* commandant of Mohammadabad or Badr, had failed to chastise him. It was ordered by the Emperor to write a letter to Maqsūd Beg asking him to put the culprit to death and inform the Raja.⁷

A report was received on 31 October, 1693, that in Karnatak Bijapuri, the *Desmukh*, in collaboration with the *faujdār*-commandant of a certain fortress, had imposed a charge of two rupees on every inhabitant of the place as a result of which people had been deserting their homes. Bahrāhmand Khan was ordered to write to the diwān of the place to warn the alleged offenders against charging money from and committing oppression on the people.⁸

Sheikh Hāmid, commandant of Mālāpur, was alleged to have sent foot-soldiers and horsemen in the *jāgīr* of Mohammad 'Abbās posted in the army of Qāsim Khān Bījāpuri in Karnatak Bijapuri. These soldiers persecuted the people and rendered them miserable. The Emperor ordered the Chief Bakshi Bahrahmand Khan to write to Sheikh Hāmid to desist from such objectionable activities.⁹

The people of Ghazipur *thānā* put up a complaint against the persecutions of Mohammad Bāqi Afghān. The Emperor ordered that they should be asked to address themselves to the *faujdār* of their area.¹⁰ A similar order for bringing the case of oppression against Daulat Singh to the notice of the *faujdār* was issued again in the same month.¹¹

6. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 4 January, 1693.

7. *Ibid.*, 12 January, 1693.

8. *Ibid.*, 31 October, 1693.

9. *Ibid.*, 17 March, 1694.

10. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 1 July, 1694.

11. *Ibid.*, 19 July, 1694.

On 11 July, 1694, Aurangzeb ordered to bring to his presence the *gumashtā* of Raja Sahu against whom complaints of the persecution of the *ryots* had been received.¹²

News came from Aurangabad that the sons of Sayyid Mohammad Khan had imprisoned Sayyid Mustafa, *Dāroghā* of Buildings, and had refused to listen to the advice of the provincial governor. The governor was ordered to send them to the court.¹³

Mahā Singh who was posted at Jodhpur, was dismissed from his assignment. He came to Toda Bhim, turned his brother out of his *jāgir* and took it under his possession. He arrested one money-lender, seized from him Rs. 5,000 and after a few days put him to death. The Emperor ordered that they should write to the *nāzir* of the place and appoint two mace-bearers to bring Mahā Singh and Anup Singh to the court.¹⁴

The secret news-writer of Bihar province wrote to the court that the *thānedārs* appointed by the governor were molesting the people and the governor was paying no heed to their complaints. Bahrahmand Khan was ordered to bring the case to the notice of the governor.¹⁵

Dīwan 'Abdul 'Alīm, the royal *tan bakshi*, was accused of oppressive activities, and the deputy *kotwāl* had been ordered to arrest him. When his men reached there, the *tan bakshi* showed readiness to offer fight. Mukhtar Khan, *Mīr-i-Ātish*, and Muttalib Khan were ordered to go there with artillery and bring him on the path of reason, and, in case he remained adamant, to chastise him. After the '*Ādālat*' was over, it was submitted to the Emperor on behalf of Hamidulla Khan *kotwāl* that Mukhtar Khan and Muttalib Khan had already been ordered to go for the chastisement of Prince Mu'iz-ud-din's men. The Emperor decreed that in that case Hamid-ud-din alone should be sent for the purpose.¹⁶

12. *Ibid.*, 11 July, 1694.

13. *Ibid.*, 31 July, 1694.

14. *Ibid.*, 27 August, 1694.

15. *Ibid.*, 23 September, 1694.

16. *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*, 17 December, 1694.

A letter was despatched in 1695 from the Court to the Raja of Jaipur. In this his attention was drawn to the fact that a number of peasants as Chūrāman, Durgā, Daya Ram, Murli, Dhanpal, Keso, Lal Chand, Dane and Bhagirat of village Jagneraba belonging to the crownlands had been taken into custody by his men. The Rājā was asked to see that these people were set free and warn his employees against tyrannizing over the *ryots* in the crownlands.¹⁷

A despatch from Āmil Faqīr of pargana Jalalpur *alias* Lonkheri revealed that some Rajputs residing there had been persecuting the local people in a variety of ways and were responsible for laying waste a number of villages. One of them had asserted that he was under the Rājā of Jaipur implying thereby that he did not care for the authority of the Mughal Emperor.

The above facts were brought to the notice of the Rājā in a letter sent from the Court. He was instructed to appoint a man with a view to expelling these Rajputs from the *pargana* so that the *ryots* there could live in peace.¹⁸

Aurangzeb ordered on 15 June, 1695, that a letter should be written to the *faujdār*-commandant of Karnool asking him to stop the *kotwāl* there from levying the forbidden tax of one rupee from the widows.¹⁹

Bashārat Khan, the *diwān* of Berar province, complained in writing to the Emperor against the tyrannical behaviour of Mohammad Sa'id, *dāroghā* in charge of the supply of grain there. Orders were issued for his transfer and the appointment of another person in his place.²⁰

Yāsin Khan, *thānedār* of Karrabad, submitted that Mohammad Wazir, *thānedār* of Bahmanwara, was guilty of the persecution of the people. He recommended the removal of Mohammad Wazir and the appointment of Mohammad Husain. The Emperor

17. Akhbarat (Provincial), No. 48, 1695.

18. Akhbarat (Provincial), No. 48.

19. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-Mu'alla, 15 June, 1695.

20. *Ibid.*, 18 April, 1696.

approved of the suggestion and ordered at the same time a reduction in the rank of Mohammad Wazir.²¹

Complaints against Faujdars:

The *ryots* had grievances against the *faujdars* also.

A report was received from Bengal that Muzaffar Khan, son of Nāsir Khan, *faujdār*, Makhsusabad, was exercising tyranny upon the *ryots*.²²

The *ryots* of the *pargana* of Dahokasal sent a petition to Aurangzeb against the tyranny perpetrated by Shamsuddin, *faujdār* of the place. Orders for his replacement were issued.²³

On a complaint received from the *ryots* and *qanungos* of the *pargana* Marha (?), orders were issued for the transfer of the *faujdār* and appointment of another.²⁴

A petition was received from Safshikan Khan, a *jagirdar* in Aurangabad, that as a result of the tyranny exercised by Bahadur Khan *faujdār*, *ryots* were taking to flight. A letter was ordered to be addressed to the governor to stop the recurrence of such incidents.²⁵

The people of *pargana* Ambah Bānūr made a complaint against the oppressive policy of 'Azizullah, *faujdār* of the place. The Emperor simply ordered that his rank might be found out²⁶ and reported on.

'Abdul Razzaq, *faujdār*-commandant of *Bādāmi* fortress was alleged to have forcibly removed and taken into his possession all the belongings from the house of 'Abdul Rasul, *zamindār* of the place. Hearing the complaint, Aurangzeb ordered that one mace-bearer should be despatched to make him return all the articles seized in this objectionable manner.²⁷

21. *Ibid.*, 9 May, 1703.

22. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 17 June, 1694.

23. *Ibid.*, 8 September, 1694.

24. *Ibid.*, 20 September 1694.

25. *Ibid.*, June 1695.

26. *Ibid.*, 19 March, 1696.

27. *Ibid.*, 26 March, 1696.

The *vakil* of Mohan Singh, commandant wrote to the Court that the son of 'Abdulla Khan, *faujdar* of Ajmer had gone to the *jāgir* of his client, shown high-handedness and forcibly seized money. He had requested the Emperor for a mace-bearer who should get the money restored to his client. The Emperor ordered that he should be asked to write to the governor of Agra about this case.²⁸

Damage to Crops:

Another serious complaint of the agriculturist was that irreparable damage was done to his crops during the march of imperial armies. When the soldiers passed through the villages, they plundered everything they could lay hand on — food, supplies, grass, straw and even cattle. In order to produce fuel they would go to the extent of burning the houses of the poor peasants. As if this was not enough, they imposed *begār* on them and forced them to carry their baggage.²⁹

Keenly interested in the welfare of the agriculturists, the Mughal Emperors took particular care against any damage to them by imperial officers. Special steps were taken to protect the crops during the march of imperial armies. Inspectors were appointed to assess the extent of damage to crops and effect payment of the loss sustained.

"To guard against damage to standing crops in times of warfare", during the reign of Akbar "a special staff was recruited for the purpose of assessing such damage and paying the cultivators its assessed value".³⁰

The system introduced by Akbar continued throughout the Mughal period.

When during the spring season of 1609, Jahangir left for hunting, he writes: "As the Rabi' Fasl had arrived, for fear any damage should happen to the cultivation of the ryots from the passage of the army, and notwithstanding that I had appointed a Qur Yasāwal with the band of *ahadis* for the purpose of guarding

28. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-Mu'alla, 20 December, 1699.

29. Manucci, II, p. 451.

30. Mughal Government and Administration, p. 84

the fields, I ordered certain men to see what damage had been done to the crops from stage to stage and pay compensation to the ryots".³¹

Prior to his journey to Kashmir in 1632, Shahjahan issued orders for the protection of crops. The punishment decided on for the cutting of one ear of corn was amputation of hand and payment of double the price of the damage to the cultivator. In case, however, the march of the army through the fields could not be helped in view of the narrow paths, inspectors were appointed for the assessment and payment of the actual damage suffered by cultivators.³²

The same practice was continued by Aurangzeb. He had a regular department the duty of which was to find out the extent of damage to the standing crops and pay compensation to the suffering cultivators. In the Jaipur Newsletters we come across two kinds of officers in this department. One was *amin* and the other was *dāroghā*. On 17 November, 1701, Zia Ullah was appointed *dāroghā* and Khwaja Mohammad Shah, *amin* of the right wing of the army and Sheikh Hidayat Keesh and Ghulam Mohammad were appointed respectively *daroghā* and *amin* of the left wing.³³

Ram Singh, the son of Ratan Singh Rathor, *faujdār* of Jalapur, complained to Ruhulla Khan at the imperial court on 5 May, 1681, that the movements of rebel and royal armies during the war had laid waste the country-side and ruined a large number of village in his *faujdari*.³⁴

On 31 August, 1681, Asad Khan submitted that he had received information from the *gumāshtā* of Rao Anurudh Singh that the crops in Bundi had been ruined on account of the movement of troops and uprooted *ryots* were finding it difficult to re-settle in their homes. The Emperor ordered inquiries to be made to find out if there could be any alternate route for the troops.³⁵

31. Tuzk-i-Jahangiri, Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Vol. I. p. 16.

32. Muntakhib-ul-Lubab, I, Urdu Tr., pp. 91-92.

33. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'allā, 17 November, 1701.

34. Jaipur Akhbarat, 4 May 1681.

35. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla, 31 August, 1681.

During his march from Ajmer to Burhanpur, it was brought to the notice of Aurangzeb on 12 September, 1681, that extensive damage had been done to the standing crops. He ordered that 'Abdul Qasim, *Khush Manzil*, should be asked to pay the entire amount of damage to the cultivators concerned.³⁶

Yar 'Ali, *dāroghā* in charge of protection of crops, brought to Aurangzeb's notice on 16 September the complaints of the *ryots* about the destruction of crops as a result of the march of the royal army. The Emperor ordered that the complainants be paid Rs. 1,000/- out of the crownlands.³⁷

On 21 September, the Emperor asked Bahrahmand Khan to find out the extent of the damage to crops suffered by the cultivators on account of the marching of the imperial camp that day. The Superintendent of Artillery was ordered to remain behind and report the names of the *dāroghā* in charge of the protection of the crops and of the artillerymen posted for the purpose.³⁸

The Emperor told Prince Shah Alam on 26 October that there was extensive damage to the crops as a result of the march of his army. He was asked to pay compensation to the cultivators right from the start of the march of his army from Ajmer.³⁹

A representation of the *zamindars* of Thānā Mor, Rahmatpur etc. was submitted to the Emperor on 26 November, 1699. They had offered to pay Rs. 10,000 by way of present to the Emperor in case their crops were spared from damage and destruction⁴⁰ (on account of the movement of troops.)

Aurangzeb told Tarbiat Khan, Mīr Atish, on 17 November, 1701, during his march in the South, that extensive damage had been caused to the crops as a result of the movement of the army.⁴¹

36. *Ibid.*, 12 September, 1681.

37. *Ibid.*, 16 September, 1681.

38. *Ibid.*, 21 September 1681.

39. *Ibid.*, 26 October, 1681.

40. *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*. 26 November, 1699.

41. *Ibid.*, 17th November, 1701.

A report came to the Emperor that the soldiers were cutting the standing crops and exercising tyranny on the ryots. It was ordered that Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur be posted in the rear of the army and Tarbiat Khan Bahadur should be transferred from there and be put in charge of protection of crops.⁴²

42. 6 March, 1704.

A Note on the Identification of 'Five Indies' of Yuan Chwang

BY

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Referring to the conquests of Harṣavardhana, Yuan Chwang says, "as soon as Śilāditya became ruler he got together a great army and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the 'Five Indies'... (According to the other reading) ... had brought the five Indies under allegiance".¹ S. Beal's translation of the original passage of the pilgrim is, "he went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient... After six years he subdued the Five Indies".² Scholars generally believe that this has reference to Harṣa's actual conquests and since it is known that the Deccan under Pulakeśin II had "not submitted to him", but rather had inflicted a defeat on him,³ this must mean that he "overran northern India". Vincent Smith seems to have been the first to identify⁴ the 'Five Indies' with the 'Sārasvata (the Panjab), Kānyakubja (Kānoja), Gauḍa (Bengal), Mithilā (Darbhāṅgā), and Utkala (Orissa)". And since then scholars⁵ like R. K. Mookerji, R. S. Tripathi, Gaurishankar Chatterji and others have accepted this view unreservedly.. The areas demarcated in this identification are the traditional territorial centres of the five main branches of the North Indian Brāhmaṇas, viz., the Sārasvatas, the Kānya-

1. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 343.

2. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 213.

3. Thomas Watters, *op.cit.*, II, p. 239; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 10.

4. *The Early History of India*, Fourth Edition, p. 353, Note 2.

5. R. K. Mookerji, *Harsha* (1959), p. 29 (footnote); R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 119; G. S. Chatterji, *Harshavardhana* (Hindi), p. 104; Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 191 (Note).

kubjas, the Maithilas, the Gauḍas, and the Utkalas- collectively known as the Pañcagaḍas, as contrasted from the Pañcadrāviḍas, the Brāhmaṇas of southern India.

The evidence of Yuan Chwang itself, however, does not warrant the above identification. Introducing India to his readers, he says, "We find that different counsels have confused the designations of Tien-Chu (India); the old names were shēn-tu and sien (or Hien)-tou; now we must conform to the correct pronunciation and call it Yin-tu... We call the country Yin-tu which means the moon".⁶ Thomas Watters comments,⁷ "the territory which Yuan Chwang calls Yin-tu was mapped off by him, as by others, into five great divisions called respectively, North, East, West, Central, and South Yin-tu". "The whole territory", the pilgrim tells us,⁸ "was about 90,000 li in circuit, with the snowy mountains (the Hindukush) on the North and the sea on its three other sides. It was politically divided into above seventy kingdoms". S. Beal's rendering⁹ of the relevant passage is: "The countries embraced under the term of India are generally spoken of as the Five Indies. In circuit the country is about 90,000 li; on three sides it is bordered by the great sea, on the North it is backed by the snowy mountains. The North part is broad, the Southern part is narrow. Its shape is like the half moon. The entire land is divided into seventy countries or so." There remains no doubt about the fact that by the term 'Five Indies' the Chinese pilgrim meant the whole of India and not its northern portions alone, which included the regional centres of not only the pañcagaḍas but also of the pañcadrāviḍas. This conforms exactly to the five great subdivisions of India, often referred to in Indian literature as Uttarāpatha, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Prācī, Praticī, and Madhyadeśa, which comprise the whole of Bhāratavārṣa, situated as it is, according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,¹⁰ to the South of the Himalaya and the North of the sea. As has been said above, these are exactly

6. Thomas Watters, *op.cit.*, I, p. 131.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 140.,

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (Susil Gupta), Vol. II, p. 123

10. Uttarām Yat Samudrasya Himādreśaiva Dakṣiṇām,
Varṣam Tad Bhāratam Nāma Bhāratī Yatra Santatiḥ, 2.3.1.

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the borders of India, as given by Yuan Chwang too. It may be concluded beyond any doubt that the identification of the 'Five Indies' with the territorial centres of North Indian Brāhmaṇas, the Pañcagaṇḍas, is erroneous and unacceptable.

This leads us to the question as to what Yuan Chwang really meant by saying that Harṣa had brought the 'Five Indies' under 'allegiance' or 'subdued' them. He himself says¹¹ about Mo-ho-la-cha (Mahārāṣṭra): 'the king in consequence of possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of Kṣatriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi (Po-lo-ki-she) At the present time Śīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west, and has carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the Five Indies, and summoned the best leaders of all countries and himself gone at the head of the army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops". The Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II adds¹² something more to this information in as much as it says that Harṣa did not only fail to conquer him but was signally defeated in the battle against his southern rival. Further, in view of the powerful barrier, which that King of the Deccan must have provided in the way, it would be difficult to accept the view of S. K. Shastri,¹³ N. R. Ray,¹⁴ and A. C. Banerji,¹⁵ based on a stray verse of Mayūrabhaṭṭa¹⁶ and the Gaddemane Inscription, that Harṣa conquered Kuṇṭala, Cōla and Kāñcī. It was not unusual for panegyric poets like Mayūrabhaṭṭa to speak of their patrons' achievements in conventional terms of pure praise. The evidence at our disposal does not warrant any conclusion that Harṣa's power

11. S. Beal, *op.cit.* (Susil Gupta), Vol. IV, p. 450. Refer also to the 'Life of Yuan Chwang', S. Beal, p. 147.

12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 10.

13. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1926, p. 487 ff.

14. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 788-89.

15. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 131-32.

16. Vallabhadra's *Subhāṣitāvali*, Ed. Peterson (Bombay 1886), stanza 2515, p. 429.

and suzerainty reached beyond the Narmadā in the Deccan and the South.

In view of what we have said above, Yuan Chwang's reference to Harṣa's conquests of the 'Five Indies' cannot be taken at its face value and too much importance need not be attached to its historical value. It is in no way different from the conventional descriptions of Indian 'Sārvabhaumas' or *Cakravartins*' conquests of all lands (*Dvīpas*), mastery of the territories lying between the eastern and western seas or the sovereignty of the whole country between the Himālaya in the North and the Indian ocean in the South. It may be noted in this connection that Bāṇabhaṭṭa also states that Harṣa was the 'King of Kings, sovereign of all continents',¹⁷ or a 'world lord', who had 'stationed the world's guardians at the entrance to the regions' and by whom 'the treasure of all the earth has been distributed among the first of the people.'¹⁸ He is further described as "the lord of the four oceans, whose toenails are burnished by the crest gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all Emperors".¹⁹ According to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya "the land which extends North and South from the Himālaya to the sea and measures from East to West a thousand *yojanas* is the *kṣetra* (sphere of influence) of a *Cakravartin*".²⁰ Even Rājasekhara, writing in the ninth century, accepted the traditional description that only "he, who conquers the whole land from the southern sea (the Indian ocean) to the Himavat (Himālaya) is to be styled a *Cakravartin*".²¹ That sphere is again described by him as of one thousand *yojanas*. In some records of ancient India, however, rulers of much smaller territories are

17. *Harṣacarita*, Cowell and Thomas, p. 75.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 40. The original passage transliterated into Roman runs as: *Devasya chatussamudrādhipateḥ sakalarājacakracūḍmaṇisreni śāṇakonakaśaṇanirmmalīkṛta caraṇanakhamaṇeḥ sarvacakravartinām Dhaureyasya Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrīharṣasya. Harṣacarita*, Ch. II.

20. *Deśaḥ Prthivī Tasyām Himavatsamudrāntaramudichīnam Yojanasahasraparimanamatiriyaka cakravartikṣetram. Arthaśāstra* 9.1.

21. *Daksinātsamudrādadrirājam Himavantamyāvatparasparamapagamyāste. Tānyetāni yo Jayati sa samrāḍityuchyate. Kāvyaṁimāṁsā*, G.O.S., p. 92.

styled as *samrāṭs*²² or *Cakravartins*. We, therefore, venture to suggest that Yuan Chwang's description of Harṣa's lordship of the 'Five Indies' is only a loose expression, contradicted by his own statements and it should not be taken too seriously. It is at best expressive of Harṣa's primacy amongst the Kings of the 'Five Indies', certainly not of his supremacy over them.

22. Jayasimha Siddharāja and Bhīma II, the Cālukya Kings of Anhilapātaka are styled as Siddhacakravartin and Abhinavasiddharājasaptamacakravarti respectively in the Patan and Kadi grants. cf. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, pp. 1000 and 1011; Bhoja is described as Paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaparamēśvara and Mālavacakravarti (cf. *Rājā Bhoja, Bisveśvara Nath Reu*, p. 83) or even Sārvabhauma (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 101).

Reviews

KASHMIR — RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT by Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, University of Bombay 1967, P. C. Manaktala and Sons Private Ltd., Bombay, p. 145, with Appendix, Price Rs. 8/-.

This handy book is a collection of three lectures (Patel Memorial Lectures) delivered by the author in December 1966 under the auspices of the All India Radio. Kashmir, a bone of contention between Bharat and Pakistan, has been a live issue for the past two decades defying a solution even at the hands of master minds. As a legal expert, the author has studied the pros and cons of the issue in a cogent manner and has represented the hard facts of the case in a forcible objective approach.

Lecture one, which is comparatively longer, (Pages 1 to 96) covers a wide ground, from the historical and political background of Kashmir to the birth of the State People's struggle for self-government, the invasion of Kashmir, the Maharaja's constitutional position leading to the accession of Kashmir to India and India's complaint to the Security Council. Elaborate proofs have been advanced to show that Kashmir was a true symbol of India before the fateful 15th August 1947 since the multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religious state never witnessed communal discord. The undemocratic and at times autocratic Governments of Indian States were responsible for a demand for integration of the movement of the States Peoples with the general national struggle for the political freedom of India carried on by the Indian National Congress. Sheikh Abdullah headed the National Conference in September 1944, which was secular and progressive in character, while Gulam Abbas, under inspiration from Jinnah and the Muslim League started the dissident movement in Kashmir. Against this background "The quit Kashmir" agitation was launched in May 1946 against its Dogra Rulers by the National Conference. It was banned and Sheikh Abdullah, the President of the Conference, was arrested on 20th May 1946. On the other hand the Muslim League favoured the *status quo* in Kashmir. At this significant hour, India

got independence, India and Pakistan separated and the Indian Constitution was adopted from 26th January 1950. It is in this context that we have to study the constitutional developments of a radical character which ultimately led to Kashmir becoming a part of India.

In 1925 Maharaja Hari Singh became the ruler of Kashmir. To satisfy the popular demands, he issued Regulation I of 1991 (1934), consisting of 46 sections, ushering in political reforms. Section 3 gives the Highness high prerogative powers while section 30 deems it necessary that His Highness's assent is essential for any measure to become a statute. With the passing of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, the suzerainty of His Majesty the King of England over the Indian States lapsed and Kashmir was free to accede to Pakistan or India or be independent. The tribal leaders invaded the territories of Kashmir with the support of Pakistan on 22 October 1947. On 26 October 1947 the Maharaja signed an Instrument of Accession with India. On 20 June 1949 His Highness issued a proclamation entrusting all powers to his son Karan Singh. Kashmir became a Part B State under the Indian Union. The Constituent Assembly of the State made Karan Singh "Sadar-i-Riyasat" on 31 October 1951 and this was accepted by a Presidential declaration. The author shows how, in an indecisive mood, the Maharaja delayed the problem of accession and thus gave rise to constitutional difficulties. He also shows, in the light of relevant legal arguments, that Kashmir's accession to India is final and irrevocable. It was in this light that India preferred a complaint in the Security Council under Article 35 of the Charter, against Pakistani-inspired raids on Kashmir and occupation of a part of it. Pakistan's reply to the complaint was false, malicious and grossly in contravention of facts. The three binding resolutions of the Security Council regarding ceasefire were honoured scrupulously by India, while Pakistan, as is clear from the words of foreign observers, violated them.

Lecture II (page 96 to 123) is devoted to analysing the constitutional issues involved in the accession. A volume of evidences, legal and practical, is adduced to show that the accession was free and not obtained by fraud and that it was the result of a popular will, which was confirmed by the next free elections. Nor was the promise of a plebiscite binding on India under changed

political conditions and violated promises by Pakistan. A plebiscite at such a stage will rudely shake the secular concept of the State in India. The author appeals in his third and final lecture (pp. 124-145) to the intellectuals of both the countries to create an atmosphere, by their talks and writings, of understanding, of coexistence and cooperation between India and Pakistan so that the evil consequences of the partition and the endless train and chain of unpleasant military tensions are avoided. The partition of the two countries, based upon the ill-conceived two-nation theory of Pakistan has become a final fact and though the two countries cannot coalesce, they can live as friendly neighbours in view of the many common problems to be peacefully solved.

The three lectures are characterised by a clarity of thought and constitutional arguments bearing the authority of a jurist of eminence.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

INDIA'S DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICIES: Edited by A. B. Shah, P. C. Manaktala and Sons Private Ltd., Bombay, 1966, Price Rs. 18/50.

The defence and foreign policies of India evoked little public interest during the first fifteen years of independence as it was thought to be in the safe custody of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Congress party looked upon his policy as sacrosanct and above all criticism, while the general public, mostly illinformed and uncritical, followed suit and never bothered themselves about it. Adverse comments were made by isolated individuals, but they were ignored or ridiculed, and the public lived in a fancied security under the aegis of the 'most brilliant Foreign Minister' who had raised India in the estimation of the world. But the Chinese bullets pricked the bubble in 1962. The Chinese invasion and ignominious and disastrous defeat of the Indian army demonstrated the utter failure of the foreign policy and the criminal neglect of defensive measures of the Congress Government under Pandit Nehru. Since then defence and foreign policies of India began to be seriously discussed by a gradually increasing number of competent men on the basis of facts and reason. The book under review is a collection of nine essays dealing with various

aspects of defence and foreign policies and connected problems. These are intended to acquaint the reader with the main arguments on both sides so that a conscientious citizen of India might, if he so chooses, form his own judgment instead of faithfully echoing his Master's voice. The need and value of such a book cannot be overestimated. The Chinese invasion of October 1962 made Nehru realise the folly of his foreign policy, and he confessed that he and most of his countrymen (i.e., his blind devoted followers) had till then been living in a paradise of their own creation, being completely dominated by lofty ideas and out of touch with the political realities. But as the Editor rightly observes (Pp. 1), the feeling was very short-lived and did not lead to any thorough-going critical re-appraisal of the policies on which Nehru and the too-obedient Congress Party had for years staked their prestige. As soon as the imminent danger had passed "one witnessed a relapse into familiar apologetics and equivocations particularly on problems of foreign policy" (pp. 1-2). But the danger is not yet over as the Chinese are still firmly entrenched on Indian soil. It is sheer folly therefore to leave the shaping of our foreign and defence policies to old leaders whom ballot box has maintained in power to continue the old folly in the name of high ideology. It is alike the duty and responsibility of average citizen of India to take serious note of the fact that the current foreign and defence policies have brought India to the brink of disaster and make an effort to understand the major problems facing the country and think of their proper solutions. As the Editor says, this "cannot be ensured through emotion and exhortation alone", but "can only be done through rational discussion in the light of facts," and he is fully justified in his claim that this 'anthology' of critical essays would "promote such discussion on some problems of India's foreign policy and defence". (p. 3).

It is only natural that the dominant topic in this volume will be the policy of non-alignment which was pursued by Nehru till the very end, and is still looked upon by the ruling party as divine revelation and hence infallible like the Vedas. Nobody will dare dispute the truth of the following observations by N. R. Deshpande:

"During Nehru's time there was no free and full debate on this issue divorced from prejudices about his personality. The policy and its implications were not objectively discussed, though

these were described and often expounded mostly by the late Prime Minister. India's foreign policy, particularly in respect of its aspect of non-alignment, had practically become the monopolistic projection of Nehru's personality because of the (self-imposed?) moratorium on expression of their views and thought in this field by the members of the ruling party. The identification of the policy with the personality tended either to inhibit free debate or to misdirect it." (p. 31).

One is therefore relieved to come across a dispassionate review of this policy from different standpoints, contained in a number of articles.

Mr. V. B. Karnik's brilliant exposition of the foreign policy of Nehru (pp. 10-29) should be read and re-read by every Indian at this critical moment of India's destiny. The discussion between Rajni Kothari, the supporter, and A. B. Shah, the opponent, of the foreign policy of Nehru, contained in three articles (pp. 42-93), perhaps supplies all necessary material and arguments for forming a balanced and impartial judgment of Nehru's policy. The new situation for the defence of India created by the Chinese Atom Bomb Test is thoroughly discussed in three articles by M. R. Masani, M. R. Dandavate, and Raj Krishna (pp. 123-164) and different views on this problem are collected in an Appendix (pp. 165-9). The point has been ably brought out that it concerns not merely the question of defence but is bound to affect profoundly our foreign policy. Lastly V. K. Sinha has critically examined the foreign policy of India with regard to the neighbouring countries in South-East Asia (pp. 94-123). The first part of his discussion concerning the foreign policy of Nehru and the Indian National Congress before 1947 possesses little more than an academic interest and might well have been left out. It is not possible within the short compass of a review to refer to the various issues discussed in the nine articles of this book and the different approaches to them by different contributors. It will suffice to say that almost all the major problems that face us today in our relations with the outside world, and the subsidiary questions arising out of them, are discussed in this book in a manner that is sure to stimulate independent thought and judgment.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

ASHMOUND EXCAVATIONS AT KUPGAL: By G. G. Majumdar and S. N. Rajaguru. Published by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1966. Price Rs. 20/-, pp. XIV + 60.

This is a comprehensive report on the excavations conducted by G. G. Majumdar and S. N. Rajaguru in the ashmounds at Kupgal, a Neolithic site lying 7 km. North of the Bellary town in Andhra Pradesh. The problem of the origin, identification and chronology of the ashmounds in South India has been engaging the attention of archaeologists ever since their occurrence was noticed in different parts of South India by scholars like Mackenzie, Foote, Zeuner, Allchin and others. The present excavations at Kupgal have yielded ample material evidence to prove that the ashmounds exclusively belong to the Neolithic age. It has been also brought out from the excavations that the ashmounds originated from the burning of cowdung itself by the Neolithic pastoral people. No evidence for the use of woody material or any charcoal as fuel was noticed in the site. It is also interesting to note the presence of a few floors unearthed in the course of the excavations in the mounds which clearly indicates their probable association with some ritualistic practices.

The excavations at this site reveal two distinct cultural periods namely (1) the Pre-Neolithic age characterised by the occurrence of patinated flake tools of basalt and quartz, which was already noticed at Samganakkallu by the late Dr. Subba Rao and (2) the true Neolithic age distinguished by certain typical ceramic industries like the Brown and Black ware, Buff ware and Painted ware besides the usual Neolithic tool complex. There is no post-Neolithic settlement noticed in the site.

The Report also contains an interesting section wholly devoted to certain laboratory methods involved in the study of antiquities and their chemical composition. A careful examination of the cowdung ashes and slags in the laboratory has brought to light the various chemical changes that brought about the formation of ashes and slags which formed the main part of the ashmounds. There is also a good and lucid explanation of certain scientific methods like morphometric analysis of soil and pebbles, megascopic and microscopic examination of pottery and their practical application.

The Report contains a number of photographs, line drawings, charts and tables showing the data of technical studies. The volume is a welcome addition to the growing literature in Field Archaeology and will be found particularly useful for a study of antiquities by the application of modern scientific process.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

KERALA MEGALITHS AND THEIR BUILDERS: By L. A. Krishna Iyer, published by the University of Madras, 1967; pages 66 + 8 (Bibliography and Index); price Rs. 3.50.

The small book under review deals with the interesting problem concerning the megalith-builders whose energy was responsible for monuments like the dolmens and menhirs which have been troubling the students of Indian archaeology and anthropology for a considerable period of time. The subject has been discussed under the following nine heads:—

I. Emergence of Megalithism, II. Evolution of Industries, III. Travancore's Dolmens and Menhirs, IV. Megaliths of Cochin, V. Malabar's Cave Tombs, VI. Life of Palaeolithic Man, VII. Neolithic Technology, VIII. Still Building, and IX. Dating the Past.

The author observes, "Megalithism is still a living institution not only in Kerala, but also in Chota Nagpur, Assam, Bistar and Madras, In some places, the Megalithic monuments give place to symbolic wooden counter parts. It is important to remember that survivals of megalithism are found among the pre-Dravidian tribes on the hills, among some of whom matriarchy lingers. Megalithism and mother-right co-exist among the Kanikkars, the Muthuvans, the Uralis and the Ullatans" (pp. 62-63).

Unfortunately the treatment of the subject is not exhaustive, and some of the contributions on it escaped the author's attention; cf. M. B. Emeneau in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Vol. 98, No. 4, August 16, 1954 (p. 287, note 23); D. C. Sircar in *Man in India*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, January-March, 1955; N. R. Banerjee in *Silv. Jub. Vol. Arch. Soc. S. Ind.*, 1962; etc. While recommen-

ding the book to the people interested in ethnological studies, we request the learned author to make it more comprehensive in the second edition so that it becomes quite useful to the students.

D. C. SIRCAR.

SELECTIONS FROM EDUCATIONAL RECORDS, PART I, 1781-1839: By H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Price Board Bound, Rs. 8.25 or 19 s. 3 d. or 2 \$ 97 cents. Cloth Bound Rs. 10.00 or 23 s. 4 d. or 3 \$ 60 cents. Part II, 1840-59: By J. A. Richey, C.I.E. Board Bound Rs. 15.00. Cloth Bound Rs. 18.00. Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1965.

On the initiative of Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who was fully aware of the importance of educational records for historical research, the Bureau of Education collected and sifted them, covering the period, 1781-1839, and brought them out in book form in 1920. The documents were arranged in accordance with topics with which they deal without, at the same time, ignoring their sequence. Most of the records are those of the Government of India though relevant documents of the larger provinces also were included. Brief narratives connect the texts of documents included in the volume.

Chapter I contains documents referring to early private enterprise in the field and chapter II, containing the Despatch of 1814 and Lord Moira's minute of 1815, points to the Company's awareness of its responsibility for the education of the people. Subsequent chapters are concerned with institutional growth, mass education and the organisational problems to which it gave rise, educational surveys, the beginnings of English education for the middle class and the transfer of public interest and funds of Western learning. Macaulay's minute and H. T. Prinsep's note indeed constitute important landmarks in educational policy in their own way while Lord Auckland's minute of 1839 decisively closes "a period of vague but often heroic beginnings which paved the way for the Despatch of 1854 and the gradual realisation of an ordered policy."

Part II, edited by J. A. Richey C.I.E., covers the two decades, 1839-59. On account of the vast material available essential records had to be extracted with discrimination. The period is very much important with special reference to the educational pattern in provinces like Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the North Western Provinces and the Punjab. The documents relating to female and professional education are contained in Chapters II and VIII. The full texts of the Despatch of 1854 from the Court of Directors and that of 1859 from the Secretary of State and the University Acts are given as they outline a general educational policy for India.

Bibliography and Index are provided at the end of either volume. The main object of concentrating "on the original and the essential" has been satisfactorily fulfilled.

The two volumes above-mentioned have been out of print for a long time. In 1958 the Government of India charged the National Archives of India with the task of continuing the work left unfinished in 1922 and formed an Advisory Committee to supervise the work of publication. Accordingly two volumes on Educational Records relating to the period after 1859 have already been published. They were also reviewed in these columns some time ago. The reproduction, by offset process, of the two volumes under review in deference to large-scale scholarly demand for them, has come none too soon and research scholars will be deeply grateful to the authorities for having laid a large amount of original material, shedding light on the "spirit and tendency of the times," at their disposal.

P. K. K. MENON

THE WAHABI MOVEMENT IN INDIA: By Q. Ahmad: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966; xxiii + 391, pp; Rs. 25/-.

Dr. Q. Ahmad has done a good service to the cause of early British Indian history by bringing out this book which is a record of "one of the earliest, most consistent anti-British movement" of the last century. While preparing his thesis for the Doctorate Degree Dr. Ahmad had to delve into records in the office of the Collector and Divisional Commissioner, Patna, from which he was

lured to the records of the Government of Bengal and the Government of India and then to published and unpublished works in Persian, Urdu and English. He has thus produced an interesting book on a subject which is generally overlooked but which has definitely the germs not merely of the significant events of 1857 but also of the Non-cooperation Movement of the Gandhian era.

As the title of the book indicates, Dr. Ahmad has concentrated on the history of the Wahhabi movement (this is how the term should be spelt) in India. He has traced the near-puritanism of Sved Ahmad Sarhindi, the Mujaddid or Renovator (1564-1624), and the writings of Shah Waliyu'l-lah "the intellectual giant of Muslim India" (1702-1760) who was against monarchical system and laid emphasis on the reform of the Muslim society and of religion as then practised. As the author says the term "Wahhabism" is not the name of a new religion but means the puritan Islam as taught by Muhammad b. 'Abdul'l-Wahhab (1703-1794). 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, as he is known in history, became a legendary figure even in his lifetime. He was able to wrest Mecca from the Turks and keep it for a while, as well as to menace the Persian Gulf which was regarded as a British reserve even in the early years of the last century. Passing from being only a religious reformer, he became a political danger to the Turks, to the growing power of Egypt under Muhammad 'Ali Pasha and his capable son Ibrahim and to the British. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand the attitude of British Indian Government who left no stone unturned, to vilify the Wahhabi creed. The British believed in the destruction of their opponents root and branch, and even if a group of Indians considered the reform of the prevailing form of Islam fit and proper, they were "Wahhabis" and therefore suspect in the eyes of the British rulers of India.

The leader of the movement of such a reform in India was Syed Ahmad who hailed from Rai Bareli in Oudh (1786-1831). Sved Ahmad was at Mecca for two years and he must have been influenced by the Wahhabi tenets although Mecca had been occupied by the Turks when he was there. Dr. Ahmad is doubtful whether Sved Ahmad was influenced by the ideas of the Wahhabis, but there is no doubt that their ideas ran parallel to each other, and the British Indian Government dubbed all such reformers as

Wahhabis and anti-British. This was bound to have a reaction on Syed Ahmad and his followers who soon spread their views in Bihar and Bengal in the East, Bhopal in Central India, Tonk in Rajasthan and Hyderabad in the South. He felt the necessity of "developing an organisation, preferably military, and defeating an alien people". It was in 1826 that he migrated to the North-West frontier of British India where he had heard that the agents of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were playing havoc with the tribesmen. While evaluating his campaigns on the frontier, culminating in the battle of Balakot in 1831 in which he was killed, one must remember that on the way to the North-West he was entertained by Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior. Even when he had reached the frontier he writes a cordial letter to Daulat Rao's brother Raja Hindu Rao in which he envisages the time when "the land of Hindustan is cleared of alien enemies." It should also be remembered that the Treaty of Amritsar, which was signed by the ruling East India Company and Ranjit Singh on April 4, 1809, was of the usual pattern. It gave a free hand to Ranjit Singh in the trans-Sutlej area right up to the North-West, while "the cis-Sutlej chiefs, who were in treaty rights with the British were not to be molested." The wars of the British and the Sikhs were still behind the veil of the future, ending in the virtual protectorate of the Sikh Darbar by the British and the sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh. There is no doubt that the avowed object of Syed Ahmad and his followers was to eradicate the British influence which was indirect in the North-West frontier and direct in Bihar and Bengal. It is interesting to note that about the middle of 1828 Ranjit Singh actually offered to give up the trans-Indus districts keeping only the land between the Sutlej and the Indus under his sway; but Syed Ahmad refused this as "that would compromise the real intention of advancing ultimately against the English." Even after Syed Ahmad's death at Balakot the fire remained kindled, and in October, 1831 we find in a Proclamation by the leader of the movement "the end of the company's rule" in certain villages, followed by the defeat of the English army and its escape from the locality in November 1831.

Perhaps the most interesting event of the movement was when 'Inayat Ali of the famous Sadiqpur family of Patna, who had also migrated to the North-West, preached "a civic and cor-

porate spirit among the villagers, adoption of a policy of civil disobedience to Government and the boycott of its administrative organs particularly of the courts," which is a premonition of what Mahatma Gandhi taught a century later. Nearer in point of time was the mission of another "Wahhabi" agent Wilayat Ali to Delhi where he delivered a number of lectures at the Fathpuri mosque at which persons of high standing in the entourage of the titular Emperor Bahadur Shah, such as Imam Ali, teacher of the Empress Zinat Mahal, and the poet Momin Khan Momin were present. The Emperor even granted an audience and heard Wilayat Ali's sermon in Diwan-i-Khas. It may be remembered that this was barely a few years before the great conflagration of 1857 in which Bahadur Shah was chosen leader of the insurgents with dire personal consequences to himself.

The impact of the Wahhabi resistance on the general history of India is ignored or overlooked as the whole movement is regarded as communal. But the Wahhabis never touched non-Muslims who did not side with the British. Even the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara district, himself a staunch Englishman and no friend of the leaders of the movement, says that "they withheld their hands from all murder and robbery.... It is not known that they ever participated in the kidnapping and murder of our Hindoo subjects.... But in any case it will be necessary to destroy them."

While the repercussions of this widely spread movement, (which was most ruthlessly eradicated) are ignored, it was difficult to ignore a Hyderabad episode, which was the direct result of the Wahhabi emissaries, to that state. The story is given in detail in Sethu Madhav Rao's *Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol. I, pp. 120-180. He describes the conspiracy of Mubarizu'd-Dowlah who was the brother of the reigning Nizam, and says that he "owed its origin to the activities of Wilayat Ali," and "it was primarily against the projected increase in the power (of the English) that the plot was directed. The Rajas of Satara and Jodhpur and the Nawabs of Bhopal and Karnul were all in the know. It is significant that one of Mubariz's seals bore the legend, "Mubarizu'd-Daula", Na'ib of Syed Ahmad". His connection with the Wahhabis and his anti-British associations were fully taken into account by the Resident who reported the death of Mubariz

in 1854, saying that "he was confined as a state prisoner in the Fort of Golcondah in 1840 for having been engaged in a plot with the Wahabees, against the British Government and that of His Highness the Nizam." The anti-Wahhabi propaganda was made to take such a root in Hyderabad that till quite recently it was regarded a term of rebuke for a person to be called Ahl-i Hadith or Wahhabi.

This and many other interesting and pregnant facts are related with ability by the author. Unfortunately not enough attention has been paid to the spelling of Arabic and Persian words. Thus 'Ismuhoo', 'Tazkira-i Sadiqa', 'Qutbu'd-din' 'Wujudiya', 'Shari'ah', 'Suhrawardi', 'Asir', and even the name of the movement are wrongly spelt, and the word *bai'at* has been written in half a dozen ways. These *faux pas* mar the otherwise excellent printing and get-up. Notes and references are profuse and useful, but the index is faulty. The book however fulfils a much-needed want, and may be regarded as an important link in the history of the anti-British movements in India.

H. K. SHERWANI

THE MISSION OF WANG HIUEN-TS'E IN INDIA written in French by M. Sylvain Levi, Translated by Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, Edited by Dr. B. C. Law, Indian Geographical Society, 1957, pp. IV, 77 with Index.

Wang Hiuén-Ts'e an "improvised diplomat" and general who left China for India with an escort of thirty Cavalry was the contemporary of the famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen-Tsang, prince among Chinese travellers. A few extracts of Wang's travels have been preserved in *Fa-iouen-tchou-lin*, an encyclopaedia of Buddhism compiled and completed by Tao-Cheu in 668. With an escort of 22 persons and a brahmin official of Harṣa Silāditya, Wang Hiuén-Ts'e left China in 643 A.D. and reached Rajagṛha, ascended Gṛdrakūta and left an inscription there. He paid a second visit to India in 646 when King Harṣa died. Harṣa's successor treated the traveller with scant courtesy. Wang got military help from Strong-Tsan-Gampo of Tibet and from Nepal, defeated the King of Magadha and took him prisoner to China. Again in 657 A.D. he was sent to Western countries. He visited

the convent of Mahābodhi, Kapisa and Vaisāli and after his return wrote his book entitled "Account of the Voyage." It covers details about his entire activities in India, Tibet and Nepal.

The book is in 2 parts. Section I of Part I speaks about Wang's mission despatched by the Emperor of Tang Dynasty. It outlines extracts from Chapters IV to XX (p. 10-25) detailing the traveller's itinerary and experiences in North India. An account of the mysterious happenings associated with the sacred image of the Buddha on the Diamond Throne is furnished as also a history of the Emperors of the Tang Dynasty in China. On pages 25 to 28 an English rendering of the Inscriptions of Wang Huen-T'se on Grdrakūta and Mahābōdhi is given. Pages 29 to 32 contain the verses in the inscription erected at the foot of the Bodhidruma on the 14th March, 645 A.D. In section II a description of the statue of Mahānāma, a Bhikṣu, erected at Mahābodhi as also the inscriptions connected with it are given. It was then that Ceylon and China exchanged embassies and they have left accounts.

Part II, (pages 53-59) deals with modern times when the eunuch Tcheng Heuo was entrusted with the exploration of southern seas, with a fleet of 62 ships. He made seven expeditions commencing from 1405, with a Chinese muslim, MaHoan. They describe the social customs and economic condition of Ceylon during the period of King Alagakkonāra Buvanekabahu V of Peradeniya. Then again the author reverts to the 7th century A.D. detailing the condition of the monasteries in North India. Incidentally it is stated in the section that in the year 2 B.C. a Chinese traveller returned from the land of Yuetchis and introduced Buddhism in China.

The book does not confine itself to the scope of the heading given but goes away from the topic, dealing also with the notes left by other pilgrims during 15th century. Greater care should be exercised in using diacritical marks. The extracts of accounts dealing with episodes connected with Buddhistic centres, though at places exaggerated, often tally with those left by Hiouen-Tsang.

On the whole the treatment of the subject is rather diffuse and lacks concentration.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

FOLKLORE LIBRARY by Dr. Piyushkanti Mahapatra; Indian Publications, Calcutta, 1966. Price Rs. 6.50, (\$ 1.25).

The primary responsibility of any library is to acquire the needed materials, organize them scientifically and make them available for use by its clientele. While this is a basic function common to all libraries the details vary according to the type of library. The problems of a special library serving a specialized clientele engaged in the pursuit of a common purpose are not the same as those of a public library or University library catering to diverse needs and interests. The effective and successful functioning of a library is therefore dependent on a clear understanding of its scope and functions by those who are responsible for its management.

In the book under review, the author attempts to define the scope, organization and functions of a Folklore Library for the guidance of librarians. The topics discussed are the scope of the collection, functional requirements to be kept in view in designing the library building, acquisition of materials, their cataloguing and classification, staff requirements and qualifications, types of service and preservation of materials. As stated by the author in his Preface, he does not make a detailed study of these topics, but confines himself to a broad survey of the problems relating to them. Much of the ground covered in the book is relevant to all types of special libraries and hence the appeal of the book is not confined to those concerned with folklore libraries only. This is a welcome addition to the literature on special librarianship and can be read with profit by librarians and scholars. There is little left to be desired in the printing and get up of the book.

K. A. ISSAC.

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY, by Kishori Saran Lal; Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Delhi, 1966, pp. 259+viii. Price Rs. 15/-.

This book consists of fourteen articles, written by the author during twenty years of his career as a teacher. Some of these articles had already appeared in historical journals, but many have been written during the last two or three years and are being pub-

lished for the first time. The essays are arranged under three headings—History and Historiography, Government and Politics, Religion and Society. Though commonplace, the first article, entitled Meaning and Purpose of History, is written in an interesting manner and occupies 79 pages of the book. In emphasizing the need of objectivity in historical investigation, the learned author gives two unhappy examples of the critics of Professor M. Habib and Dr. R. P. Tripathi, whom he describes as impartial historians and their critics as pro-Muslim and pro-Hindu. Dr. Lal believes that Muslim critics found fault with Habib for, though a Muslim himself, he did not commend the invader Mahmud of Ghazni as a champion of Islam. Dr. Lal is oblivious of the fact that Mahmud was twice honoured by the Caliph, the recognised head of the Muslim world, for his *jihad* against the Hindus of India, and that he was held in high esteem by the entire Muslim community as one who had glorified Islam and rendered it conspicuous service. Professor Habib has been criticised for ignoring contemporary evidence on the point and for presenting an incorrect image of the invader. As regards the critics of Dr. Tripathi, who took Rana Pratap to task for refusing to recognise Akbar's suzerainty, Dr. Lal has again indulged in wishful thinking. The criticism of Dr. Tripathi is that he has completely ignored the contemporary recorded evidence that while Akbar was pressurising Pratap through four diplomatic missions sent to him one after another to persuade him to submit peacefully, the Great Mughal was at the same time blockading that part of Mewar that still remained in the Rana's possession and isolating him completely. Although the encirclement of Western Mewar annoyed the Rana, he agreed to submit, and he put on the royal *khilaat* and sent his crown prince, Amar Singh, to the imperial court. But Akbar insisted on the Rana's personal attendance and personal homage at Fatehpur Sikari. This the proud Rana declined to do, and hence the final rupture for which both Akbar and Pratap were equally to blame. It is definitely wrong to lay the blame entirely at Pratap's door. It is pertinent to remember that the terms proposed by Pratap were accepted by Jahangir in 1615 and that no reigning Rana was ever obliged to pay personal homage to any Mughal emperor. Dr. Lal, who blames the critic and misrepresents his motive for putting things in correct perspective, has pronounced an *ex-parte* judgment without reading the present reviewer's book, *Akbar the Great*, Vol. I,

and his article on the subject contributed to the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh Session, 1960. I am not aware that Dr. Tripathi has dubbed Pratap a 'tribal leader', which seems to be Dr. Lal's discovery. At any rate, that has not been the basis of Dr. Tripathi's criticism.

The next article deals with the modern historians of medieval India. For some time it has been Dr. Lal's favourite theme to talk of anti-Muslim and pro-Muslim schools of medieval Indian history. But whereas he has mentioned prominent historians of the so-called anti-Muslim school by name, he has discreetly avoided naming pro-Muslim Indian historians, probably for fear of risking his popularity and injuring his chances of worldly rise. He has, however, named two Pakistani writers of this school perhaps because he has nothing to fear from the latter. As regards himself, he would like to remain without a 'label'. It is, however, a pity that Dr. Lal has been obliged to abjure his "Muslim State in India", (Vichar Prakashan, Allahabad, 1950) by saying that it was written as a reaction against Dr. I. H. Qureshi's "Administration of the Sultanaate of Delhi" (though published ten years after the publication of the latter work) lest he should be considered an anti-Muslim historian. While he has noticeably shown his bias in favour of almost all historians of Allahabad, Dr. Lal has neither shown good taste nor a sense of objectivity in finding fault with Dr. Ishwari Prasad, his former teacher and research guide, by stigmatising his 'Quarauna Turks', Vol. I as a "weak production" and castigating him for not writing his promised II Vol. He has confused Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee with the late Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee and erroneously supposed that the authors of 'A History of Indian Shipping' and 'Economic History of India' are one and the same person. One should have expected the learned author to have at least cast a glance at the title pages of these works, if not gone through them carefully, before commenting on their value. As this has not been so with our author, he has laid himself open to the charge of making quite a few mistakes of omission and commission.

The essay on Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi, in which the main point sought to be made by our author is that the emperor set himself up as head of the Church in imitation of the European monarchs of the reformation era, which idea he had borrowed through the Christian missionaries at his court, deserves notice. In the first

place, Akbar did not assume the headship of the Church and all that he did was to have claimed (a) the position of a *Mujtahid* (interpreter) of the Muslim law in case of a conflict among the jurists and (b) the right to promulgate an ordinance, if it was in conformity with a verse of the Quran. These powers did not make Akbar head of the Church. In the second place, the above enactment (*Mahzar Nama*) was made in August-September, 1579, that is, more than six months before Akbar came into contact with the Portuguese missionaries of the first mission who were competent to discuss the Christian doctrines and who arrived at Fatehpur Sikri on 28th of February 1580. Akbar had no doubt met some other Portuguese Christians earlier—a few troops at Surat in March 1573, commandant Pedro Tavares (1577) and Julian Pereira, a priest (March 1578)—but these were not competent to expound the tenets of Christianity and advised the emperor to send for Christian missionaries from Goa, if he was keen to have a knowledge of that religion. Thirdly, all the Christian missionaries whom Akbar met were *Catholics* either from Portugal or Spain or some other Catholic countries and these would not naturally discuss the Reformation and the repudiation of the Pope's authority by Protestant rulers. Fourthly, although these missionaries have described in their letters and books many topics, including those relating to the Pope's power, authority and religiosity, there is absolutely no evidence that they discussed the Reformation and the challenge to the Pope's authority. There is also no evidence that Akbar had any knowledge of Elizabeth of England or of any other European monarch to have assumed the headship of the Church. The only Protestant Christian to visit Akbar's Court was the English traveller Ralph Fitch who reached Fatehpur Sikri in July or August 1585, years after the promulgation of the so-called Infallibility Decree and three years after the establishment of Din-i-Ilahi. And it is doubtful whether this Englishman, who was not competent to discuss subtle matters of religion, was received in audience by the great Mughal. Evidently Dr. Lal has allowed his imagination to work havoc with facts of history, and that is why he writes: "Surely, Akbar, who was in direct contact with Christians almost daily must have learnt that the Pope exercised powers which prejudiced the rights of rulers and how the authority of the Pope and the clericals of the church had been challenged in Europe". Does it not mean that the very clericals who were

attempting to convert Akbar to Christianity—of course Catholic Christianity—were at the same time giving a dark picture of themselves and their head, the Pope, and driving a wedge between Akbar and their own religion? And Dr. Lal, indulging in speculation, further writes: "Akbar, however armed *with the knowledge of the methods employed by European monarchs as he was decided to teach the Ulema a lesson*". One comes across many other fanciful assertions of the learned author in the essays presented in the volume under review.

Some of his essays, such as 'Nature of the State in Medieval India', 'Ideas leading to the impoverishment of the Indian peasantry in Medieval times' and 'conditions of the Hindus under the Khaljis' are good and useful. It must also be said in fairness to Dr. Lal that he is a forceful writer and that his style is pleasant. The paper, printing and get up of the book are good.

A. L. SRIVATSAVA.

THE CYCLE OF CIVILISATION by Charles Henderson Brough, Michigan, 1965. Published by Harlo Printing Co., 16721 Hamilton Ave, Detroit, Michigan, Price \$ 5-95.

The author of this book has undertaken a laudable, but very ambitious task, difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. He puts history on the same category as physical science. As science, through analysis of what *has* happened can predict what *will* happen under such-and-such conditions, so, the author thinks, it is possible to predict what *will* happen to human civilization by subjecting to a critical and scientific study the important characteristics, processes, and principles of human civilisation in the past. The author has attempted such a study in respect of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hindu, Chinese, Hellenic, Muslim, and some typical modern Western civilisations and, on the basis of some general principles deduced therefrom, has formed, to his own satisfaction, if not of others, more or less definite idea of the future of human civilisation. The following are some of the most prominent features of the changes in future as envisaged by the author.

"Europe is moving towards Russia by moving towards the Left . . . Indeed as Slav Communism continues to drift towards the West in outlook, culture and technological materialism, the point will come when the difference between European socialism and Slav Communism will be insignificant enough to enable all the rest of Europe to fall under the control of the Communist Party." (p. 367).

"ASIA: The Communist rural revolution in Asia is a successful, society-forming movement. Its very successes ensure that it will spread further. Nothing we can do will more than temporarily stop it—and then only in certain areas as described earlier." (p. 368).

"AFRICA: South of the Sahara, Africa will continue to divide into smaller, single-party governments. More of them will be Communist. Friction between these governments and the remaining white-dominated states will grow. Probably by the end of the century, the long-expected racial revolution will take place and the whites in South Africa will be killed or driven out. Throughout the rest of Africa, the whites will lose their positions and become objects of contempt and discrimination."

The author predicts the ultimate "Communization of all Latin America" (p. 372) and transformation of the Moslem world from Morocco to Pakistan by the Communist ideology. (p. 373).

So far as India is concerned we may quote the author's views in extenso. "As inefficiency, lassitude, superstition and corruption continually bog down the efforts of the planners, it will increasingly become apparent that some drastic change, such as a revolution, will have to take place. India will not much longer endure present humiliations. After 1500 or so years of decline, the time is near when she will be ready for a new religion and the beginning of her new age of civilization. For both reasons (actually, they are both the same), India's time is near—perhaps within the next fifteen years. When it comes, the revolution will be under the control of the Communist Party, but somewhere along the line, the party leadership will be taken over by individuals who owe allegiance not to Peking but to some place or somebody else." (p. 371).

One may justly question the scientific value of these deductions, though some of these may prove to be true or nearly so. The admission of such a value depends upon two assumptions, among others:

First, the possibility of accurate inference and generalisation from historical or social data such as is done by the scientists from natural phenomena.

Second, accumulation of exact and sufficient data, and correct interpretation or understanding of them.

As regards the first, the most important element in formulating scientific hypothesis, viz. testing and experimenting in order to ascertain the truth of such hypothesis, is not possible in the case of social sciences at least to anything like the same extent.

As to the second, a critical study of human history in the vast world extending over five thousand years is almost a superhuman task, and is certainly beyond the capacity of the author, if we may judge the quality and quantity of his historical knowledge from the statements and generalizations scattered throughout the book. In his view each civilization passed through a cycle of 500 year ups and downs and therefore, "it is useless to say any particular social conditions characterize a given civilization. For example, not one of the early civilizations was significantly more democratic than the other. Neither of them was more cultured or more barbaric. They all had the same conditions at their appropriate stage of the cycle." (p. 63). Such a view of human history being moulded in the same pattern all over the world throughout the ages is belied by well-known historical facts. The author describes the ancient Roman State as fascist, regards all the so-called universal empires as products of fascist states, and then remarks: "Fascist societies have been notably uncreative—the Roman State being a case in point" (p. 86). The author's generalization is of a sweeping character. For example, he seriously lays down that each civilization had its theocratic, capitalistic, sensual-materialistic and colonial age, and also an age "when women achieved a prominent social and economic position in Society", and illustrates the last by observing that "in Babylon, Gupta India, New Kingdom, Egypt and Imperial Rome, the businesswoman, the family matriarch and the famous courtesan became symbols of

ancient 'women-suffrage' (p. 87). The author's knowledge of Indian history is evident from the following passage: "By 1450, however, the southerners had still not contributed to the Hindu civilization except insofar as the fierce people of the Chola empire and the fascistic Vijayanagar empire stopped the Moslem armies. Characteristic of the later was the cruel punishment (flaying, cutting off of hands, feet, etc.) and the intrigue and assassination that plagued its oppressive regime" (p. 41). Finally the author traces all the troubles of Modern India to "errors that go back to Hinduism—the oldest, most decadent of the world's main religions." (p. 347).

After reading this nicely printed volume with a fine get-up, the one thought that would probably occur to many is that even today a class of men would rush in where angels fear to tread.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

'PRE-PALLAVAN TAMIL INDEX' by Dr. N. Subrahmanian, Published by the University of Madras, Madras 1966, Introduction I-XIX: Index 1-823, Price Rs. 30/-.

The realization that an index is a necessary tool for research is not recent in Tamilnad. The nearly complete word index prepared by E. V. Anantarama Aiyar for Kalittokai, the select word and phrase index appended to all editions prepared by U. V. Caaminatha Aiyar, now almost forgotten but, a comprehensive index for Tirukkural by V. Markkasahaayam Cettiar (1924) and the exhaustive index of Caami Velayudhan Pillai for the same classic, the thorough subject index for poruḷatikaaram of Tolkaapiam by the late lamented scholar M. A. Nagamany (1935) are only a few old indexes known to Tamilnad. With the popularity of grammatical studies, more precisely linguistic studies, preparation of indexes has become an essential step. If oral report can be trusted, it is heard that the same text has been indexed in more than one University in the South; even departments of a single University are said to have prepared separate indexes for a single text. These are definite indications of the popularity of index studies now dominant in the field of Tamil research.

Indexing is a hard job: if done well, will be a boon to generations of scholars: if done clumsily will be a source of irritation until it is improved.

The minimum requirements for a good index are (1) a clearly defined purpose, (2) complete collection and presentation of items to fulfil the set purpose, (3) exactitude in the citation and (4) avoidance of controversial glosses or explanations. If controversial interpretations are relevant to the set purpose of the index, they should be documented properly in the index itself or in footnotes or in the appendix. Assumptions that the user will find for himself the source will only minimize the usefulness of the index. With these as our guide lines we will examine the index under review. It has an introduction (I-XIX), a table of diacritical marks, a list of works indexed, abbreviations, index of items (1-807), a supplementary index (809-823) and two pages of Errata. It is an admirable example of the industry of Dr. N. Subrahmanian, the author. To see through the press nearly eight hundred and thirty pages of bilingual material with fewer mistakes is not an easy job for which the author deserves our compliments. His intimate familiarity with the early Tamil texts and his desire to bring together disparate points of view are also obvious from the index.

The set purpose of this work is to index the historical material of all Pre-Pallavan Tamil classics. Forty three Tamil texts have been examined by the author for this purpose. To the selection of these texts, if based on traditional belief, one more text, *muttollaayiram* could have been added. If it is based on the author's evaluation, in subject matter and diction which form his bases, that work belongs to the Sangam group. Therefore, it deserves to be treated in this index.

In the preface the author has mentioned several scholars by name. Among them the late savant, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai has been honoured by citation for about a dozen times in the preface and in the body. A greater honour has been done to him by contradicting him in almost all places. Some of the contradictions are ill-founded. To cite one, on p. XI it is stated by the author that "S. Vaiyapuri is not reluctant even to misread a commentary for this purpose". But Vaiyapuri Pillai has adequately explained why he has read it as *Piṛ caanṇoor* (later scholars) and not '*Piṛacaan-*

roor' (other scholars). The qualified Piṛa has a non-gender plural suffix -a. The noun qualified is a gender plural noun. According to him it should be Piṛar Caanroor or Piṛcaanroor. He preferred the second reading which will create lesser number of problems. One may disagree with the segmentation of Vaiyapuri Pillai for the word Piṛa. But one cannot fail to concede that he has a valid point of grammar and it is unfortunate that this attempt has been described by the author as an effort to 'misread the text'.

In the Preface, instead of drawing punches on others, the author could have clearly explained his method of selecting the index items. The explanation available in this regard is meagre. For instance on p. i, he says that 'Every piece of information, event, personal names, toponym etc., occurring in these texts which have some relevancy either to the political or social history of the country have been collected in the Index. But in the index, chapter headings, as for instance arattuppāl on p. 66* innāceyyāmai on p. 125, iniyavai kūṛal on the same page and uvamattōṛam and other grammatical categories collected from Tolkaapiam on p. 143 are found which are not relevant to history. Again almost all occurrences of names of animals, birds, trees, etc., are given in full, as for instance, yaanai on p. 719, the entries for which run to two full pages. No additional information is gleaned from the full list except that the item is found in all texts indexed. But arasan on p. 49, which is much more relevant to the purpose of the index has been cited selectively from the texts.

Without selection, the index will be unmanageably bulky. When selection in citations is adopted, it should be clearly explained. For instance, from the item, irai on p. 123 one can infer that the selection and classifications are based on the glosses which are relevant to the history. But this classification is not consistently maintained. For instance, in Karikālan on p. 224, all information regarding the head word is clubbed together. If the user wants one particular information only, say Karikālan's victory in venṇi, he has to check all references to pick up the relevant citation. The index therefore is not strong enough to help the user to give all historical information with regard to a particular head

* I am grateful to R. Panneerselvam, Research Fellow, Department of Linguistics, University of Kerala for helping me in checking the references.

word with exact references, though in some instances it does. This might be on account of a change of planning which is inferable from the author's statement in the Introduction that, 'The work is an index of names, events, institutions, flora and fauna' as against his statement in the Preface (p. i) cited above.

In the Preface no discussion is included about the dependability of historical information gathered from literary texts the prime function of which is not social or historical documentation. Whenever there is incongruity between texts in the presentation of historical information, as in *Paṭiṟṟupattu* and *Silappatikāram* or *Paṭiṟṟupattu* and *Puraṇānūru*, how the author has handled it is not mentioned in the Preface.

The index follows a transliteration system which is not helpful. In several places it is misleading. It follows the Tamil Lexicon system which is out-dated. In transliteration, one Roman symbol is substituted for one Tamil graph consistently. But in the index more than one symbol is substituted for one Tamil letter. The voiceless stops for example, which occur intervocalically are either written with a voiced stop or with a voiceless fricative. Vide *Aḍaiyal* (p. 28) *Asōham* (p. 25). There are also a few exceptions to this practice. In some instances the initial voiceless stop is written with a sibilant as in *Śenni* (p. 389) or with a voiced stop, *Gaṅgai* (p. 191). The letter *aaytam* ° is transliterated with 'h'. Medial *k* is also transliterated with *h*. In *e o kam* (p. 156) for instance, the transliteration given is *ehham*, where *o* and *k* are written with *h*, which indeed is ambiguous. The voiceless stop after a nasal is voiced in some places and voiceless in others: e.g., *iḷaṅgōvēndu* and *iḷaṅkōn* both occurring on p. 118. *y* in some places is transliterated with *i* which is also the symbol for the vowel *i*; eg. *māinda* (p. 120) and *eṇnei* (p. 158). This will introduce non-existent vowel clusters in Tamil, like *āi* and *ei*.

Omissions of citations and omissions of items are not few. When a few pages of the 'Index of *PuRanaanuuRu*' and this work are compared the word *aṇjanam* found in *Puraṁ* song (174.5) is not listed. Under *Aṇḍiran*, two citations from *Puraṁ* (240.3. 374.16) are left out. Items relevant to the social history, like *aṭakkal*: the act of burying (*Puraṁ* 93.11) *aṭicil*: food (*Puraṁ* 10.7, 127.7) *anal*: beard (*Puraṁ* 83.1, 258.6) *amalai*: ball of rice (*Puraṁ* 33.14) *avil*: boiled rice (*Puraṁ* 159.12) and *aḷi*: hay,

(Puram 125.7) are left out. Again, for want of space the results of checking only one word, kaḍampu, found on p. 197 in the present Index with a few indexes available in the Departments of Tamil and Linguistics, University of Kerala, are given below: A reference found in Paripāḍal, 21.11 is not found in the present Index. A reference in Maduraikkāñji, 613 is omitted. Four additional references in Silappatikāram are not found. Sirupāṇ citation 61 should read 69. And Paḍiṇ 10.4 should read 20.4. Other citations are correctly given.

Information gleaned from colophons is indicated in some items: but not in several other cases. For the former an example is Añji on p. 26: for the latter, Aṇḍar on p. 29.

Incidentally the abbreviation for colophon (p. 267) is not explained in the list of abbreviations. So also the abbreviations, not found on p. 731 and P. V. M. on p. 288 are not expanded.

Repetition of citations is found in related items. For example iḍaikkāḍanār and iḍaikkāḍu on p. 102 have the same citations except, the former has a mistake in transcription in addition: (kuṟuñ for kuṟun).

Loose explanations are found in several places in the index. Example. on p. 107 it is stated that 'of these two' but, the Demonstrative pronoun has no reference. Another on p. 549, is that 'He was himself a tolerable poet'.

Digressions not relevant to the index are found in a few places. On p. 85 a reordering of the text line is suggested which will involve serious errors in the Sandhi grammar. On p. 96 āṇ and āḷ are brought under the same root and the male dominance is inferred. But, the word āṭṭi meaning 'woman' has the root āḷ which will go against the inference.

In a few instances, transliteration serves as explanations. A non-Tamil scholar for whose benefit the index is published in English will find difficulty in understanding the head-word. Iraruporuḷ on p. 127 will illustrate this.

Erutu and eruttu on p. 162 need not have been separated. Their meaning is the same. In the body of the index at least half a dozen scholars have been mentioned without reference to their publications. Some of them are authors of several publications

and a few of them have shifted their stand from publication to publication. Their publications and page numbers (as given in one instance on p. 539 when R. Raghava Iyengar is referred to) if given to K. Subramania Pillai on p. 176, M. Raghava Iyengar on p. 211, U. V. S. and Dr. M. Rajamanikkam on p. 501 etc., at least in footnotes or in a bibliography, will enable the user to check the statements.

Some misleading errors are not corrected in the Errata. A few are: on p. 550 *duty by* should be read as *duty to*; *warded* (p. 485) as *wore*; *fasted* on p. 129 as *fast*; *It so called* on p. 83 as *it is so called*. When the index is to be reprinted as the author himself has declared on p. XII of the Preface, he may 'rectify or supply the errors of commission or omission.' In spite of these shortcomings, the varied uses to which the Index can be put and the stability it can bring to the research activities centring round the history of Tamilnad remain unquestioned.

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN FOLKLORE AND RELATED SUBJECTS by Sanker Sen Gupta and Shyam Parmar, Indian Publications, 1967, Calcutta, Rs. 36.

The joint authors have done a laudable work in bringing out the above publication. In a work of this magnitude, omissions and commissions are always possible. The authors have anticipated criticism in this regard. It is therefore in no carping spirit that the following observations are made for rectification.

In the Chapter on Social and Cultural Anthropology, the authors have muddled about authorship. For instance on page 138, it has been said that L. A. Krishna Iyer is the author of the "Cochin Tribes and Castes." This is a mistake, as Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer is the sole author of the "Cochin Tribes and Castes," and "Lectures on Ethnography." The above two works have to be disentangled from those of his son, L. A. Krishna Iyer, who has been following his trail in the field of Anthropology in Travancore from 1931 and wider Kerala since 1961. He is the author of the "Travancore Tribes and Castes" and "Coorg Tribes and Castes."

Similarly, on page 108, the same mess is made in the Chapter on "Totem, Taboo, Belief and Superstition"; there L. A. Krishna Iyer is wrongly referred to as the joint author of the "Cochin Tribes and Castes," along with Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer.

Lastly, work in blood-grouping was done in Travancore on the suggestion of Dr. Ruggles Gates in 1938 among the Kanikkar, the Pulayas, and the Muthuvans—with the co-operation of the Public Health Department. The results were published by L. A. Krishna Iyer in the 'New Review of Calcutta' and 'Anthropology in India' about which no reference is made. These may be incorporated.

The authors have made a strenuous effort in bringing out the work. The spelling mistakes however could have been avoided. We commend the work to all who are interested in the study of Folklore and related subjects.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE WELFARE STATE. Edited by S. P. Aiyar, Published by P. C. Manaktala & Sons Private Ltd., Bombay, 1966, Price Rs. 32/50.

The phrase "Welfare State", though introduced in politics, within the last quarter of a century, has come to occupy a prominent place in the vocabulary of politics. Indeed it seems to connote today 'the proper functions of a modern state. The influence of the phrase extends to the history of the past, for though the expression was then unknown, modern historians are apt to judge of the success of a State in every age by the extent to which it conforms to the modern conception of a Welfare State. Opinions differ widely on the actual contents of this all-embracing concept or designation, but there is perhaps a general agreement on the broad outline of what should constitute a Welfare State. This is stated by Asa Briggs in the following words:

"A 'welfare state' is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions—first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income

irrespective of the market value of their work or their property; second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain "social contingencies" for (example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise to individual and family crises; and third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services." (pp. 10-11).

The book is a collection of 13 articles, divided into two parts. Part I contains six articles by Asa Briggs, S. P. Aiyar, R. Srinivasan, Mark M. Healed, A. R. Desai and N. G. S. Kini which trace the historical growth of the concept of a Welfare State in various countries. Part II deals with the actual working of the concept in the actual administration of a State, and naturally most of the articles are concerned with India. This Part is introduced by M. Venkatarangaya with a general discussion on the Welfare State in underdeveloped Economics. The four articles by V. Jaganadham, Ashok V. Desai, R. Bhaskaran and R. Morton Smith deal with the different issues arising in India out of the general ideal of a Welfare State, while M. V. Pylee and V. K. Narasimhan lay stress on its legal and constitutional aspect.

Though the different contributors approach the problem from different standpoints, a perusal of their articles would convey a fair idea of what Welfare State means or should mean, and focus the attention of the readers on its more important aspects. As such the book will serve a very useful purpose as the Welfare State is the ideal professed by all modern politicians.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

ISLAM. By Fazlur Rahman, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London; 271 pp. + 24 pages of photographic reproductions; 55 sh.

Whether one does or does not agree with all that the learned author (who is the Director of Islamic Research Institute of Karachi) has to say in this book about Islam, there is no doubt that he has given his analytical thought to the subject he has discussed. One would have wished that the name of the book had been "Islam and the Muslims", for page after page carries

the impression that pristine Islam, as taught and practised by the Apostle (the word 'Prophet' connotes an entirely wrong meaning), was diversified into many devious paths which tended to separate the Muslims from the real Islamic ideal. The chapters, 14 in number, deal with practically all aspects of Muslim religion and religious thought from "Muḥammad" to "Modern Developments" and "Prospects". The notes on the chapters are appended at the end of the book with the result that the reader has to turn the leaves of the whole work before he finds any reference. There are 38 illustrations spread over 24 pages and a fine jacket drawing representing the beautiful Moti Masjid within the Red Fort at Delhi (name not mentioned), but unfortunately not one of the buildings illustrated has been described in the text.

Most of these chapters have only an indirect reference to Indian history; but at least some have pointed reference to India. The learned author may not see eye to eye with the Ṣūfis, but he is definite that "the spread of Islam in...India was carried on through Ṣūfī brotherhood". The chapter on "Pre-Modernist Reform Movements" and "Modern Developments" has references to religious and social movements in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although even here Indian movements, either "progressive" according to the connotation of the author or otherwise, are dealt with, and rightly, as a part of world movements. Thus the so-called Wahhābī movement was really a movement to resuscitate early Islam and was initiated by two revivalists, Murtaḍa and Showkānī of the Yemen and taken up in earnest by Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Nejd (1703-1792). This movement had vast religious and political repercussions in India. There was a direct clash between the Sultān of Turkey, who held sway in the Hījāz and the disciples of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, resulting in the suppression of the Wahhabis in the Turkish Empire. When Sayyid Aḥmad of Rāe Bareli (U.P.), who was a protagonist of the movement in India, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, "he was interrogated about his beliefs and banished from there". On his return home he became a zealous preacher against accretions to Islam and the cult of the saints. In this connection the author takes us to the famous seminary of Deoband which was founded after the failure of the Great Rebellion of 1857 (as Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān calls the movement) by the disciples of the great reformer Shāh Waliyu'l-lāh of Delhi.

The author then traces the impact of Christian missionaries on the Muslims of India. Here it may be pointed out that in the thought-provoking book by Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* (1858), one of the appendices details the high-handed policy of the British Indian Government to have supported the Christian missionaries in their proselytising work among both the Muslims and the Hindus. The author has briefly dealt with the views of Sayyid Ahmad Khān. He lived almost right through the 19th century (1817-1898) and saw the downfall of one culture and its replacement by another. As time went on, his character became versatile and his reforming wand touched religion, education, society, morals and practically all aspects of life, particularly of the Muslims of India. Mr. Fazlur Rahman only touches the fringe of what was later called the Aligarh Movement. So far as Islam is concerned Sayyid Ahmad Khān presented it in such a way as should be understandable not merely to Muslim young men who were prone to deviate from the Path under the influence of European winded education, but also non-believers. But his was not an exclusive life. Some of his boon companions were non-Muslims, such as Raja Jai Kishan Das, the Joint Secretary of the Scientific Society, which was the fore-runner of the famous Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, and the great mathematician, Professor Jadhav Chander Chakravarti. Moreover, from the very beginning, non-Muslims were admitted to the school and the college without any restriction whatsoever, and it may interest the readers to know that Sanskrit was taught in these institutions all along. Sir Sayyid put his faith on the touchstone of reason, and this must have helped him to round off the corners, if any existed.

The subject matter of the book is not so much "Islam" as "the Muslims", and this fact should have been made more explicit. The learned author has contented himself with seeing the problems through European coloured glasses, even to the extent of allowing the Publishers to translate the word "Hijra" by "Flight". Contrary to what the blurb says, the book is more "interpretative" than "informative".

H. K. SHERWANI

EXCAVATIONS AT DWARKA. By Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate.

Published by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1966. Price Rs. 25/- Pp. XIV + 103.

This volume contains a detailed report on the excavations conducted in 1963 by Z. D. Ansari and M. S. Mate at Dwarka, one of the famous Vaiṣṇava centres of ancient India and located on the Western coast of Saurashtra. The location and antiquity of Dwarka has been a subject of much controversy among scholars for nearly a century and Dr. Sankalia in his introduction "Dwarka in Literature and Archaeology" has brilliantly discussed the question on the basis of evidence obtained from several literary works and archaeological excavations at this site. He has brought to light the importance of archaeological field work which could alone supply evidence to check, corroborate and correlate the information supplied by literary works on certain sites of historic and archaeological importance. The excavations at Dwarka reveal the existence of three Dwarkas at this place in different periods covering a time span of nearly 2000 years from about 2nd century B.C. to 18th century A.D.

The excavations have also revealed four different occupational deposits representing three phases in the cultural history of Dwarka starting from about 2nd century B.C. to about 18th century A.D. The occurrence of a few structural remains in the deposits as also their behaviour and contents suggest the destruction of old Dwarka and the emergence of new ones in different periods.

The minor antiquities from the excavations include objects of terracotta, stone, glass, metal and coins of the Sultans of Gujarat. The occurrence of Muslim coins in the topmost levels (Period IV) covering a time span of about six centuries from about 12th century to 18th century A.D. tell the history of the last phase of Dwarka and its cultural contacts with the Islamic world. The Report also contains a good account of different ceramic industries of ancient India and detailed study of the Muslim coins unearthed from the site.

On the whole the Report is an important addition to the slender literature available on Field Archaeology in Gujarat. The treatment of the subject though brief, is comprehensive and will be found useful to the general reader and those interested in archaeological work.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

PRE-LITERATE MAN. By P. Gisbert, published by Manaktalas, Bombay, 1967; pages 264 (excluding Bibliography and Index—27 pages); price Rs. 28.00.

The author of the book ably deals with the problems of cultural anthropology, and the work is expected to be a good text book for the under-graduate students of the subject in our Universities. Following a modern line of approach, he uses the expression 'Preliterate' to indicate what we usually call 'Primitive'. This reminds us of the history of designations like *Mehtar*, *Harijan*, etc. Of course the author's synthetic exposition does not suffer from the nomenclature.

The book is divided into 14 Chapters, the titles of which indicate their scope and are quoted below: I. Food-gatherers and Hunters, II. Pastorals and Agriculturists, III. Kinship, Marriage and Family, IV. The Position of Women, V. The Law of the Jungle, VI Law and Order, VII, 'Homo Faber', VIII. The Sense of Beauty, IX. Property and Personality, X. Mother Earth, XI. Religion and the Supernatural, XII. The Evil that Men do, XIII. Man Surveys Man, and XIV. The shape of things to come. The treatment of the various topics generally exhibits the author's intelligence, sobriety and width of study.

We recommend the book to the students of Ethnology.

D. C. SIRCAR

A STUDY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, 1927-34, by Shanti Swarup, Oxford University Press, 1966. Price 35 s. net. (U.K. only).

Cast for a long time under the spell of the West, the Chinese intelligentsia began to change their line of thinking from the time of the great October Revolution, "a supreme example of mass participation in politics". The peasantry, though adversely affected by the advent of European business and warlord tyranny, constituted yet a powerful centripetal force in China. Sun Yat Sen had tried to improve their lot through mass movement. But Chiang Kai-Shek little appreciated the immediate need for radical changes in land tenure and agriculture, while communists stressed the need

for agrarian revolution. Chiang broke with them and relied on landlords and warlords. The re-emergence of warlordism proved an erosion into the nationalist aims of the Chinese Government. The Kuomintang lost touch with "the pulse of the nation" as the government failed to tackle Japan during 1931-32 and as the youth became disillusioned. But the communists too could not take advantage of the situation because the peasants could not rise in all provinces at the same time.

The years 1927 and 1934, are crucial in the history of Chinese Communism. During 1923-27 the Communists emphasised national interests and worked with the Kuomintang but on their defeat at the hands of its military wing they reversed their priorities and began to lay stress on agrarian revolution. They slowly built up organisational power at the height of which they were again defeated by the Central Government troops. These two failures gave them insights and experience that enabled them to gain ultimate victory.

Mao thought that the Chinese revolution could not succeed at one stroke. His strategy was one of slow victory for the social revolution. Conscious of the revolutionary potentiality of the peasantry, he understood and catered to their psychology and emphasised class struggle.

The author comes to the conclusion that the Communist policy in China was not shaped by the Comintern during 1925-34, but the latter, on account of its limited knowledge of facts, rather relied on Chinese opinion. Mao's genius lay in the fact that he appreciated that "in China the national and social revolutions were inseparable and must be fought simultaneously".

The author also comments on the view that the Communist victory was due to leadership of a social revolution based on peasant discontent. He shows that the Chinese revolution, as complex as any other revolution, could not have been motivated by a single cause. Apart from peasant dissatisfaction, the communists had to tackle the demands of other dissatisfied elements in society as well. To Mao the double task was to overthrow the imperialist oppression from outside and to crush the feudal landlord oppression. The national revolution and the democratic revolution were "simultaneously mutually exclusive and yet mutu-

ally inter-dependent". This fact made the Chinese situation complex in the twenties and thirties. The sophisticated intelligentsia had to reconcile some of their ideas with some of the more urgent demands of the different sections of people. This was the challenge that the communists successively faced before achieving power. They had to "synthesize the fundamental forces" of revolution with the "peculiar problems" of power in their own society. The revolution, the author opines, was neither exclusively a social revolution nor purely a national revolution.

Divided into nine chapters, the book analyses the political forces in China during the period under review, traces the evolution of communist strategy and its relations with the peasantry, and discusses the problems of nationalism and relations with the Comintern. The author's task must have been difficult because there is little authentic information about the movement so far as one has to rely, to a great extent, on the views of hostile people or on the subjective writings of ex-communists. The book, the author admits, does not address itself so much to the study of conditions and forces in Chinese society as the response of the communists to the situations they faced in China and their major policies, intended to meet the conflicting demands of various groups, in the context of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The book is a fine study based on a critical analysis of facts within the narrow range of its object and offers a clear interpretation of the rise and growth of communist power and its victory in China. Bibliography and Index are added at the end. The book is neatly printed and attractively got up.

P. K. K. MENON.

REFLECTIONS ON THE 'MUTINY' by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Vice-Chancellor, Patna University. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1967, pp. vi+82. Price Rs. 3/-.

It is pleasing that in spite of his heavy administrative duties, Dr. K. K. Datta has not slackened his zeal for scholarship, and that he finds time to continue his life-long pursuit of historical research. His latest book, which, it is hoped, will not be the last, deals with some of the recently discovered sources and the nature of the Great Rebellion of 1857 about which scholars and writers

in this country and also abroad have not ceased thinking and writing. Dr. Datta's small book consists of Calcutta University's Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures that the learned author was invited to deliver in 1964. First of all he discusses on the basis of fresh contemporary evidence the tangled problem whether the outbreak of 1857 was a mere mutiny or a wide-spread national rising against the foreign rule. He gives copious quotations from the letters and statements of the British officers posted in the districts to show that the rising had spread to the rural areas and the people of many villages in Bihar and the modern Uttar Pradesh had risen against the British and given active military assistance to the 'insurgents'. Although he has not thought it necessary to enumerate the causes of the rising, he says that the hauteur and arrogance of the generality of the British officers and their rough and insulting behaviour towards the people were very important factors responsible for it. Dr. Datta gives a graphic picture of the revolting policy of retribution consistently followed by the British, and of how it alienated the people for a long time indeed. Some of the details of barbarous executions of men and of innocent women and children, the burning of villages and large-scale devastations, normally so unlike the handi-work of the British, are given in the words of the perpetrators themselves. The reaction of the rising in foreign lands, particularly in France, Ireland, Italy, the U.S.A. and Russia is described briefly, but on the basis of contemporary records. Then follows the sequel, that is, the death of the English East India Company and the transference of the dominion of India into the hands of the British Crown. The lectures conclude with an assessment of the significance of the great rising in the history of Indian nationalism, which some of the previous modern writers, notably Dr. R. C. Majumdar, had denied.

A. L. SRIVATSAVA.

KAMARAJ—A STUDY by V. K. Narasimhan; Manaktalas, Bombay 1967, pp. X, 176, with Appendix, Chronology, and Index, Price Rs. 12/-.

As an economist and a social thinker with a critical acumen towards study of men and political celebrities, V. K. Narasimhan,

the leading journalist of South India is eminently fitted to sketch the profile of Kamakshi, otherwise called Komarasami Kamaraj, the most crucial figure in Indian politics since the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru. The author's wide travels have equipped him with a frame of mind, essential to a keen observer of the evolution of politics. His contacts with Kamaraj and his closest associates have provided the necessary background to watch and portray, in this biography, the environmental forces that have shaped Kamaraj's career.

In the 26 short chapters covering 161 pages, the author has outlined the entire personality of Kamaraj, as a pupil, a friend, a son, a disciple and head of a political group, shaped by the Gandhian creed. Born at Virudupatti in July 1903, Kamaraj comes from a poor Nadar family, running a coconut shop. At the age of 5 he was put to the '*Pide Arisi*' (handful of rice) school where his scholastic career was not very bright. With the passing away of his father and grandfather, Kamaraj, under the protection of his mother, Nagammal, became a trade apprentice in his uncle Karuppiah Nadar's cloth shop. But the Amritsar tragedy of 1919 turned that lad of 16 into politics. His simple habits, identification with truth and the cause of the suffering, made him accept Gandhian ideals heartily. The Nadars were business people in alliance with Governmental agencies and hence, when Kamaraj was against the British bureaucracy, his kinsmen called him a traitor to the community (*Kodaali Kambu*). But the fall of the Justice Party in 1936 and the formation of Rajaji's Ministry in Madras in 1937 turned the minds of the Nadars towards the Congress and towards the blooming youth Kamaraj.

The Vedaranyam salt satyagraha campaign saw Kamaraj in the jail for 2 years. He was released in 1931 before the expiry of the term, following the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. Then he was elected to the Congress Committee to represent Ramnad. Since then he played a significant role in the affairs of the Madras Congress first as an ardent disciple of the President, S. Satyamurti. It has been said that his political sagacity outran his guru's when to the surprise of all, he advised Satyamurti not to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of the Madras University, as it was a political ruse to stifle his career. With the failure of the Cripps' mission in April 1942, the 'Quit India' campaign gathered momentum and

Kamaraj rose equal to the occasion. He was hunted from pillar to post by the police till he finally surrendered of his own accord. As the President of the T.N.C.C. from 1940, he moved with all the great Congress leaders of India. But, an unpleasant occasion created a rift between him and Rajaji, which continues even to this day. He even mildly reacted to Gandhiji's note about the "Clique" in Madras Congress. Yet Kamaraj became a King maker, and made in turn first O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar and then, Dr. Subbarayan, Chief Ministers of Madras.

With the fall of Rajaji's Ministry at Madras on April 8, 1952, Kamaraj took the Chief Ministership under trying conditions. As a Chief Minister for two terms, he made a mark as a statesman and put into practice his pet idea "that the rules existed for the public and not the public for the rules" (p. 53). The organization of the Avadi session in 1955 reveals the high watermark of his organizing and unifying capacity, which caught the eye of Nehru. In chapters 13 and 14 the Keezathooval incident with the Thevars and the Alagiriswamy affairs are discussed. The coming in, into the political arena, of the D.M.K. and its growing power caught Kamaraj's searching eye.

The pretty squabbles of the Congress members and the lust for power nauseated him so much that he proposed the Kamaraj Plan, which made him an All-India figure. His presidential address at the Bhuvaneswar session of the Congress is a masterpiece of political statesmanship. On hearing of the death of Pandit Nehru on May 27, 1964, he had to shoulder the heavy responsibility to choose his successor. The unanimous choice of Lal Bahadur then, and then the modified democratic method of choosing Indira Gandhi (after Lal Bahadur's death), are examples of Kamaraj's political sagacity. As the President of the All-India Congress Committee, he chanced to go to Russia to study the working of the institution there. He moved with the Russians in such a way that, in spite of his language difficulty, he did not exhibit any sense of inferiority.

The year 1966 witnessed a trial of strength for the Congress. Its internal dissensions, added to the food and water famine and the thundering challenges and frequent walkouts of the opposition in the Lok Sabha created an unpleasant situation, added to demonstrations of language fanaticism. Though a man of destiny, Kamaraj was no visionary and in spite of his tremendous efforts, born of

his personal convictions and integrity, he failed to evolve a moral standard among the members. This ended in the political debacle of February 1967, when many non-Congress Governments voted to power, much against his expectations.

The book, written in a lucid style, gives an impartial account of Kamaraj, who got into the political scene, under crucial circumstances. That even his efforts at consolidation have failed to produce the needed moral purity among the members does not reflect against him. The disease had got too far and the Congress paid a heavy penalty in the election. Yet Kamaraj, as a model of simple living and high thinking and as one who has dedicated his life as a bachelor for the welfare of the poor, serves as an example to true politicians interested in the country's welfare.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC—SOME ASPECTS OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTION IN THE MAKING: By Panchanand Misra—Scientific Book Agency, 22, Raja Woodmunt Street, Calcutta-1, 1966, Price. Rs. 12 /-.

Formal amendments, growing conventions, judicial decisions and dynamic changes in socio-economic life may transform the spirit of a constitution, but it will continue to retain its fundamental features and to reflect the essential ideas and ideals that inspired its framers. It will certainly be instructive to study the clash of contemporary ideas and forces during the formative period, 1946-50, and the final expression of the national will through the Indian constitution.

Dr. Misra examines the democratic features of the Constituent Assembly and of the business procedure and shows how the Preamble adopted by it was the realisation of long-cherished aspirations and how balanced its judgment was while incorporating the provisions about citizenship and fundamental rights. As regards Directive Principles, the author observes; "Genesis of Indian culture has been that of assimilation and synthesis. India has provided a receptive soil to all foreign ideas with whom she

had come in contact. And the process of Indianisation of foreign ideas still goes on. The Directive Principles of State policy is a good example."

In fixing the nature of the Union Executive different opinions were taken into account and the provisions of the Act of 1935 utilised with suitable modifications. There was practically little controversy about having the parliamentary type of Executive. Careful study of the working of other constitutions is revealed in the adoption of provisions regarding India's Parliament. It is not clear, however, why the Federal Judiciary has not been dealt with, though it plays an important role in the establishment of healthy constitutional traditions and in the protection of individual freedom in the Indian republic.

The author strongly defends the Constituent Assembly against the criticism that it was not truly representative of the people. Popular participation in the making of the constitution is revealed in the adoption of several clauses based on the "experience of the people." The spirit of compromise characterised the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly which adopted many articles irrespective of party considerations, after re-opening them several times and inviting public criticism. The author shows that the conception of secular state evolved by the Constituent Assembly was based on the traditional Indian concept of toleration.

The author has made use of the voluminous proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, papers in the Ministry of Law and those in the hands of the makers of the constitution and above all, papers in the President's Secretariat. He has clearly indicated the trend of discussions in the Constituent Assembly relating to various provisions. Thus as Prof. Norman D. Palmer rightly observes, his book is a "basic reference work on the making of the Indian Constitution." This handy volume, based on a clear study of authentic documents, is bound to be useful to research scholars interested in analysing the basic ideas and ideals that guided the makers of India's constitution in their responsible task.

P. K. K. MENON.

THE INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH LAW INTO INDIA: by
B. N. Pandey, Asia Publishing House, 1967, pp. XIII-248.
Price Rs. 26/-.

This book, substantially a London University Doctoral thesis, traces the early stages in the evolution of the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary in India under the British in the 18th century. This is one of the greatest gifts of the British, and the author justly draws attention to the two essential features of the first, unknown before in India, namely, "the absolute supremacy or predominance of the regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power," and "equality before the law, or the equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts." "The independence of the judiciary signifies the security of the judges in their office and their freedom from governmental influence and public pressure." (p. 1).

Although these were regarded as fundamental principles of English constitutional law in the 18th century, the East India Company's Government in India fought hard against their adoption in India. According to the author, it was the Supreme Court at Calcutta, established in 1774, which laid down these principles in India, and the chief credit for this goes to Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of that court. The author narrates in detail the conflict between the Government of Bengal and Impey. The three new Councillors, Clavering, Monson and Francis, who were opposed to Hastings, were also dead against Impey, the friend of the latter, and were in favour of a 'War with the Judges' and a 'declaration against the establishment of the Supreme Court' (p. 75). The author illustrates the conflict by giving a detailed account of the famous or notorious trial of Nandakumar, a protégé of the three Councillors whose commitment occasioned a struggle for supremacy between the Government and the Supreme Court.

"The Council claimed a general power to supervise the judicial conduct of the judges in general and their conduct as justices of the peace in particular, while the judges claimed absolute independence in their judicial conduct" (p. 76). According to the author, at least one member of the Council, Clavering, even thought "of using force against the Supreme Court" (p. 75). This

thrice-told tale has been re-stated from a new angle of vision. The author not only exonerates Impey and other judges of a vile motive of accomplishing the death of Hastings' accuser, but regards it as the first step in the establishment of rule of law. "The real motive", says he "of the judges was to establish the supremacy and the independence of the Supreme Court against a hostile executive government and to let the Indians realise that the court stood for equality before the law and that it would not be dictated to by the executive power" (p. 108). So in the view of the author, "the trial and execution of Nandkumar represented the first victory of the Supreme Court over the executive government of Bengal. It also marked the beginning of a new era; an era in which the rich and poor, the Brahman and the Sudra, the governor and the governed—all were to be equal before the law" (p. 110). The author next deals with a few other cases illustrating the steps taken by the Supreme Court against the arbitrary acts of the Government. These are (1) Kamaluddin's case (1775) involving the right of the Supreme Court to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus in favour of a revenue farmer taken into custody under the orders of the Government; (2) the case of John Stewart, Secretary to the Supreme Council, who appealed to Supreme Court for a writ *mandamus* against the Government for his dismissal; (3) the Patna case involving the question of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over Company's revenue collector residing in a remote part of the Province; and finally (4) the Kasijora case, the most interesting of all, which involved the question whether the Zamindars were subject to the jurisdiction of the court. It was now the turn of Hastings, who had gained the majority in the Council, to oppose the Supreme Court, and he even went to the extent of sending troops against its officers to prevent them from executing its orders.

As a result of this the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was in effect reduced to the town of Calcutta, and this was legalised by the Act of 1781 which vindicated the stand of the Government against the Supreme Court. But as the personal friendship between Hastings and Impey remained as before, a compromise was effected by the appointment of Impey as the judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat in addition to his office as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This act of Hastings was strongly denounced

by many, but is defended by the author. The acceptance of the office led to Impey's recall and impeachment. But the author fully approves of it on the ground that "it was under Impey's short supervision that the Company's courts assumed for the first time a semblance of justice."

The author ends his book with this vindication of Impey, and does not discuss further stages in the "Introduction of English Law into India". Though this is the title of the book, it is really a review of the career of Impey in India. Though the author may be accused of partisanship for Impey, he shows great industry and critical insight in throwing fresh light upon the character of a much maligned judge.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

KUNWAR MUHAMMAD ASHRAF, AN INDIAN SCHOLAR AND REVOLUTIONARY, 1903-1962. Edited by Horst Krüger, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. Pp. xvi + 495. Price not given.

It is a fascinating production, published by the Berlin Akademie, to commemorate the memory of the late Dr. K. M. Ashraf. It is divided into six sections, namely, history, culture, an account of the freedom movement in Mewat, tributes and reminiscences, minor scripta dicta of Ashraf and an index. The history and culture sections consist of twenty-one papers contributed by scholars of repute, Indian, British, German and Russian, including such veterans as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. H. K. Sherwani. In the history section is included Mulk Raj Anand's article in the form of an undelivered letter. Space forbids assessing the value of these research papers. It must, however, be said that one or two of them, such as the one from the pen of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, do not seem to conform to the standard attained by most of the contributions. More important from the stand-point of recent history is the third section dealing with a narrative of the freedom movement in Mewat and the role of the late Dr. Ashraf therein. It is written by Chowdhry Abdul Haye of Mewat, a principal participator and a close associate of Ashraf, and cannot, for obvious reasons, be an objective narrative of the movement. In fact it depicts Ashraf as a hero as the well-

known book 'Mission with Mountbatten' does the last British governor-general and viceroy of India. The tributes and the reminiscences by the late revolutionary's comrades and fellow-travellers are also eulogistic. The most balanced assessment in this section is the one from Sri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the present Chief Minister of Kerala. Dr. Sarup Singh, the principal of Kirori Mal College where Dr. Ashraf served for a few years, describes him as an "outstanding historian and a remarkable teacher." He says that in Ashraf's death the country has lost "a great man." A meeting of the citizens of Delhi convened to mourn his death described him as "an eminent scholar and historian" and an authority on the Mughal period of Indian history. A more factual account is the short biographical sketch written by Ashraf himself and included in the volume. It was intended to show how various personalities and influences moulded his life, first as an orthodox Muslim in his boyhood, next as a liberal-minded patriotic young man, and finally as a staunch communist. The present reviewer met him for the first time in Lahore in April 1946 when, being the Head of the History Department of the Panjab University, he was approached by a group of post-graduate students to spare one of the departmental lecture theatres in the University Hall, for a lecture by Dr. Ashraf on the political situation in the country. Speaking in flowing Urdu Dr. Ashraf vehemently criticised the Indian National Congress and advised it to spurn the British offer of the country's freedom, combine with the Muslim League and continue the struggle with the 'imperialists'. He said that if his advice was not heeded, 'rivers of blood will flow'. As Ashraf's prophecy came true, the suspicion went round that he was in league with the League, or at least he was fully posted with the League's future programme of killing. Whether Ashraf incited a popular rising in Mewat is more than can be said with absolute certainty. But evidence seems to be in favour of the 'presumption.' Abdul Haye's account does not clear him of the charge, and Ashraf refusing to face trial in an open court of law, fled to Pakistan. He was distrusted there and thrown into prison. On his return to India, he sought Maulana Azad's intercession, and the charge of rebellion was dropped. Ashraf's differences with Gandhiji and Nehru and his hostility to the Congress policy and programme were those of his party, the C. P. I., and he held the opinion that India became independent not because of the

Congress but because of Stalin's success against Hitler. There is no doubt that Ashraf was an intellectual of a high order, but his scholarly pursuits were vitiated by his communistic bias. Unfortunately he could not utilise his vast knowledge of the original Persian sources of Medieval Indian History on account of his pre-occupation with political activities. We have therefore no other research publication of his except his Ph.D. thesis on the social and economic condition in Northern India during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi.

The memorial volume under review written to honour a scholar and revolutionary of Ashraf's calibre is thrice welcome, and though one might not be in a position to endorse many of the views expressed therein, it certainly repays perusal.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona
2. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala*, Poona.
3. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, Bombay.
4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
6. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
7. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
8. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
9. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
10. *Folklore*, Calcutta.
11. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
12. *Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *Indica*, Bombay.
15. *Indo Asian Culture*, New Delhi.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
19. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
20. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
21. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
22. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
23. *Political Scientist*, Ranchi.
24. *Studies in Islam*, New Delhi.
25. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
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On Hiuen Tsiang's Travels in Baluchistan

BY

B. D. MIRCHANDANI

In an earlier paper¹ I showed that the *Sin-tu* (Skt. *Sindhu*) kingdom described by Hiuen Tsiang in the record of his travels² was distinct from the kingdom of Sind that was conquered by the Arabs in A.D. 712.

I now propose to locate and identify the countries visited by the Chinese pilgrim from the time he left *Sin-tu* till he reached *Fa-la-na*, whence he proceeded by way of Ghazni to China. This part of his itinerary has presented difficulty to scholars, because they invariably start with the supposition that *Sin-tu* was modern Sind. That unwarranted assumption has led them into a series of erroneous determinations. For example, 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo they identify with Cutch or the Indus Delta, and *Pi-to-shi-lo* and 'O-fan-ch'a they take to be parts of Sind, whereas these political divisions of India, it seems to me, lay in the Trans-Indus region now known as Baluchistan. When once the position of *Sin-tu* is properly established, it is fairly easy to fix the broad locations of the countries mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang if we follow his distances and his bearings. The earliest Muslim chronicle of Sind called the *Chach-Nāma* and the writings of the medieval Arab geographers, which shed light on the historical geography of Sind and Baluchistan, also help in identifying these regions. Only the names by which the Chinese pilgrim designates these countries

1. "Sind and the White Huns and Identification of Hiuen Tsiang's *Sin-tu* kingdom," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (J. Gerson Da Cunha Special Volume), 1964-65, xxix, pp. 61 ff.

2. Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, pp. 272-74, Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, ii, pp. 252-54.

and their capitals are difficult to account for.³ For one thing, the Indian topographical names that were transcribed by Hiuen Tsiang into Chinese are not traceable in Sanskrit writings. For another, scholars are not unanimous as to the proper rendering of these Chinese transcriptions back into their Indian originals. Besides, many of the present place-names in Baluchistan are either Arab or Baluch impositions or corruptions and alterations of the older Indian names.⁴ As Fergusson justly observes "it is very rarely that we find the names mentioned by Hiouen-Tsang on our present maps, or anything like them, even when, from the bearings and distance, we are able to fix the locality with almost absolute certainty. When we find the names agreeing, it is of course a very satisfactory confirmation of our views; but in no instance can I conceive that a nominal discrepancy or deficiency should be considered as decisive either for or against any particular locality being the one visited by our author."⁵

3. Lambrick (*Sind: A General Introduction*, p. 146), a recent inquirer into the early geography of Sind, says: "A large number of Yuan Chwang's place-names can be identified with certainty, but this is not so in Sind and provinces described by him as subject to that kingdom, and the reconstruction of this part of his itinerary must be partly conjectural." Cf. Haig (*The Indus Delta Country*, p. 40): "It would have been interesting if we could have traced his route along the countries on the Indus with some degree of certainty, but his fancies, or his errors, in the matter of place-names have rendered that impossible."

4. Alberuni notes that "names change rapidly, when, for instance, a foreign nation with a different language occupies a country. Their tongues frequently mangle the words, and thus transfer them into their own language, as is e.g. the custom of the Greeks. Either they keep the original meaning of the names, and try a sort of translation, but then they undergo certain changes... In this way new names spring up as translations of older ones. Or, secondly, the barbarians adopt and keep the local names, but with such sounds and in such forms as are adapted to their tongues, as the Arabs do in Arabising foreign names, which become disfigured in their mouths... However, what is more curious and strange is this, that sometimes one and the same language changes in the mouth of the same people who speak it, in consequence of which strange and uncouth forms of words spring up, not intelligible save to him who discards every rule of the language."—*Alberuni's India*, i, pp. 298-99.

5. "On Hiouen-Tsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi," *JRAS*, 1873, vi, pp. 220-21.

Li, the Chinese measure of distance, in which the pilgrim reckons his estimates of distances is valued by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin at one-fifth of an English mile. Père Gaubil has shown that the *li*, shortly after the time of Hiuen Tsiang, was equal to 329 metres or 1079.12 English feet.⁶ That works out to 4.88 *li* to the mile—in round numbers say 5. Cunningham throughout his *Ancient Geography of India* allows 6 *li* to the mile as a practical road-measure, but that valuation of the *li* does not give consistent results. As Hiuen Tsiang's distances are invariably stated in round numbers—in so many hundreds, or thousands, of *li*—we must take them as approximations and not interpret them too strictly. According to Fergusson, "we may safely, when necessary, allow a certain margin—say 10 per cent either way on this account."⁷ Lambrick thinks that the pilgrim "probably made his reckoning in days' journeys of 50 *li*, or about ten English miles in average conditions. Where the conditions were unusual, his days' marches might be longer or shorter than this average, but in writing of them subsequently he would be liable to calculate his ordinary equivalent."⁸

Some difficulty in following the route of the Chinese pilgrim arises from the fact that the order in which he visited these countries is given somewhat differently in the abbreviated account of his travels by his biographers, Hwui Li and Yen Tsung.⁹ As the traveller himself would be the better authority on such a point, I have in proposing my identifications depended mainly on Hiuen Tsiang's own account in the *Records*. The distances and directions given by the pilgrim as from country to country are almost always the distances and directions from one capital to the next one described by him, and I have treated them as such; and these I have neither modified nor disregarded to suit my identifications. Hiuen Tsiang's statements in regard to distances and bearings, so far as this part of his itinerary is concerned, are worthy of confidence and require, in my opinion, hardly

6. *Histoire de l'Astronomie Chinoise*, i, p. 77.

7. *Art. cit.*, p. 218.

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-47. Cf. Vincent Smith: "In easy country the *li* may be reckoned as 3/16ths of a mile, or somewhere between one fifth and one sixth." (*Vide* Watters, ii, p. 337).

9. *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, translated by S. Beal.

kingdom, it was ruled by a Śūdra king, and its capital was a large city named *P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo*.

It may be noted with respect to the name *Sin-tu* of this kingdom that the level portion of Dera Ghazi Khan District (the southernmost of the three revenue districts of the Dērajāt) along the Indus, which includes all the lands within the influence of that river, and so is capable of irrigation either by means of canals, wells, or by inundation direct from the river, is even at the present day called *Sindh* after the river Indus.¹⁵

Sin-tu is described by Hiuen Tsiang as being 7,000 *li* in circuit and its capital city, *P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo*, as 30 *li* round. The soil was favourable for the growth of cereals and produced abundance of wheat and millet. The country abounded in gold and silver, and also copper. It was suitable for the rearing of oxen, sheep, camels and mules. It yielded various kinds of salt, red, white, and black, and a white rock salt which was used as medicine by people of various foreign countries. The inhabitants were upright and honest. Although superficial in learning, they were firm believers in Buddhism. There were several hundreds of monasteries occupied by some 10,000 monks, all of the Hīnayānist Sammatīya school. There were 30 Deva temples in which sectaries of various kinds congregated. The king was of the Śūdra (*Shu-t'o-lo*) caste, who was by nature honest and sincere and he revered the law of Buddha. Buddha had frequently passed through this country and Aśoka had built several tens of *stūpas* as memorials of his visits; there were also monasteries or *stūpas* erected in places where the great *arhat* Upagupta had preached and taught. By the side of the river Indus, along the flat marshy lowlands for some thousand *li* were settled myriads of families who supported themselves by rearing cattle. They were of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and were given to bloodshed. Nor did they observe any social distinctions or had any government. Beal, ii, pp. 272-74; Watters, ii, pp. 252-53.

15. *Dera Ghazi Khan District Gazetteer*, p. 2. Cf. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India* (i, p. 907): "The lower part (of Dērajāt) bears the name of *Sind* from its bordering on the Indus, and the upper part that of *Daman* or skirt from its bordering on the Sulaimān mountains."

Hiuen Tsiang went to *Sin-tu* from Gurjjara (*Kiu-che-lo*), that is the district of Mārwar in south-west Rajputana.¹⁶ *Pi-lo-mo-lo*, the capital of Gurjjara, as named by the pilgrim, corresponds to Bhillamāla, now known as Bhinmāl or Śrimāl, which lies 50 miles north-west of Mt. Abu.¹⁷ From Gurjjara, the pilgrim says (Beal, ii, pp. 271-72, 274): "Proceeding northward through wild deserts and dangerous defiles about 1900 *li*, crossing the great river *Sin-tu*, we come to the kingdom of *Sin-tu*." Again: "Going from this eastward 900 *li* or so, crossing the Sindh river and proceeding along the eastern bank, we come to the kingdom of *Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu*", that is, *Mūlasthānapura*, or modern Multan.¹⁸ *Sin-tu* and Multan, thus, according to Hiuen Tsiang, were neighbouring kingdoms in the Punjab, lying on the opposite sides of the Indus. That is confirmed by the pilgrim's biographers, although they represent him (*Life*, pp. 151, 152) as having travelled to *Sin-tu* from 'O-fan-ch'a, which, as we shall see farther on, is the region of Kachhi, which borders on the north-west of Sind and lies to the west of the Punjab.

It is this Sindhu (*Sin-tu* of the Chinese pilgrim) that is frequently mentioned in the Sanskrit Epics, *Purāṇas* and other works along, or conjointly, with Sauvīra. Sindhu was the district to the west of the Indus, while Sauvīra comprised the area round and above Multan to the east of that river; and the region bearing the composite name of Sindhu-Sauvīra lay entirely in the Punjab. It did not comprehend any part of modern Sind as erro-

16. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 72; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, i, p. 14.

17. *Pi-lo-mo-lo* has been erroneously identified by Cunningham with modern Bārmēr. That place was not founded till the 13th century. The capital of Gurjaras between the 6th and 9th centuries was Bhillamāla. — *Ind. Ant.*, 1888, xvii, p. 192; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, i, pp. 193, 194.

18. Watters (ii, p. 254) is needlessly doubtful about this identification. He says: "Mūlasthāna-pura of Saint-Martin and others is an impossible restoration." The pilgrim's description of the celebrated temple of the Sun with its golden image, however, accords with what we are told of Multan in the *Chach-Nāma* and by the Arab geographers. This ancient shrine was robbed of all its gold and treasure by Muhammad Kasim after his capture of Multan. — Elliot, i, pp. 21, 27, 123, 206; *Alberuni's India*, i, pp. 116-17.

neously supposed by several scholars.¹⁹ Alberuni defined Sauvira as "Multan and Jahravār", and Jahravār lies at the junction of the Jhelum and Chenab 30 miles north of Multan.²⁰ To support his theory that Demetrius, king of Bactria (2nd century B.C.), founded a city and port in Sind called Demetrias after him, Tarn postulated that "Sauvira-Sindhus", at this time, were on the lower Indus and occupied the Delta.²¹ Johnston has ably refuted that suggestion. Review of all the evidence in Indian literature bearing on the position of Sauvira led that distinguished Indologist to the following conclusions: "Firstly that at quite an early date Sauvira ceased to be recognizable as a tribe, their name being applied to a country, and secondly that at the earliest period the name may have indicated the part of the Indus valley immediately below Gandhāra, and later certainly meant the area round and above Multan."²² Mention of two Sindhus, one *before* Sauvira and the other *after* Sauvira, by Varāhamihira in his *Brhat-Samhitā* (chap. xiv), composed in the sixth century, makes the distinction between the Sindhu-deśa in the Punjab and the lower Indus country of Sind clear beyond doubt.²³ That distinction is confirmed by the *Matsya Purāṇa*, which in enumerating the countries traversed by the Indus mentions *Sindhu* as well as *Saindhava*.²⁴

Some indication of the position of the pilgrim's *Sin-tu* country is obtained from his remark that: "They find here a great quantity of salt which is red like cinnabar; also white salt, black

19. Compare Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. Buhler (*Ind. Ant.*, 1878, v. p. 259): "Sindhu-Sauvira probably comprised modern Sind and a portion of Multan districts"; Jackson (*Bom. Gaz.*, i. pt. 1, p. 36 n): "Sindhu is the modern Sind and Sauvira may have been part of Upper Sind"; Vaidya (*Epic India*, p. 253): "Sauvira must be the part of modern Sind near the sea-coast called Patalene in Alexander's time"; Ali (*The Geography of the Puranas*, p. 144): "Sauvira coincides with the Rohri-Khairpur region of Sind."

20. Alberuni's *India*, i, pp. 260, 300, 302.

21. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 142.

22. "Demetrias in Sind?", *JRAS* 1939, p. 231.

23. It is curious that Kern in his English translation of the *Brhat-Samhitā* (*JRAS*, 1871, v. p. 84) renders the second Sindhu as "the Indus".

24. See Alberuni's *India*, i, p. 261.

salt and rock salt." Rock-salt comes from the Salt Range²⁵ and nowhere else lower down the Indus can rock-salt be found. It is clear from this that the Salt Range was included, in whole or in part, in the *Sin-tu* kingdom. It is for that reason, I suppose, that the term for rock-salt throughout North India is *Sindhu*, in various modifications.²⁶ Hiuen Tsiang notes that "In different places, both far and near, this salt is used for medicine." That is true even now.²⁷

Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo, the name of the capital of the *Sin-tu* kingdom, was rendered in 1861 by M. Julien on phonetic considerations as *Vijambha-pura*.²⁸ The real name of the city, as conjectured by me from Sanskrit literary sources, was *Vṛṣadarbha-pura*, and it appears to have been so named after the founder of the kingdom. A section of the ancient Anu race (*Ānavas*), headed by Śivi, is said to have occupied the whole of western Punjab except the north-west corner. Śivi established the kingdom of Śivapura, and extending his conquests westward, founded, through his four sons—*Vṛṣadarbha*, *Suvira*, *Kaikeya* and *Madra*—four other

25. The Salt Range, 150 miles long, stretches from the Jhelum on the east to the Indus on the west, and crops up again beyond that river.

26. For instance, in Sanskrit rock-salt is called *Sindhu-lavana*; in Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati *Saindhava*; in Hindi *Saindav*; in Sindhi *Sēndholun*; and Punjabi *Sindhā*.

27. Cf. Andrews (*The Indus and its Provinces*, pp. 200-201): "The supply is inexhaustible from a complete range of hills... This salt from its medicinal and general properties is most extensively exported." The following passage relating to Indian rock-salt occurs in a Chinese work of the third century A.D.; "There is rock-salt as white as rock crystal in large pieces; it is quarried and employed. K'ang T'ai says that An-hsi (ancient Parthia), the Yüeh-chih, T'ien-chu (India), as far as Ch'ia-na-l'iao-yu, all of them have the highest opinion of this salt." — Petech, *Northern India according to Shui-Ching-Chu*, p. 15.

28. "In 1853, M. Stanislaus Julien in his translation of the life of Hwen-Thsang (p. 444) wrote the word as *Vijanva-pura*. He transcribed it in 1858 in his translation of the travels of Hwen-Thsang (ii, p. 170) as *Vichava-pura*. Finally in his *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois* (p. 92), he writes *Vijambha-pura*. In 1853 and 1858 M. Julien accompanied his transcriptions with a note of interrogation; in his later publication he gives the new transcription as definitive." — *Ind. Ant.*, 1879, viii, p. 226.

kingdoms to which they gave their individual names.²⁹ It was this kingdom of Vṛṣadarbha that was visited by the pilgrim and which he describes under the name of *Sin-tu*. Sindhu was evidently its popular name, derived from the river Indus on which the kingdom bordered "for some thousand li," as attested by the pilgrim. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang the classical name had probably gone out of use. Cunningham,³⁰ quoting Lassen,³¹ remarks: "The name of Vrishadarbha is perhaps preserved in the *Brisabrita* or *Brisambritae* of Pliny, who being coupled with *Taxillae* must have been near neighbours of the *Sauviras*."

Misled by the name *Sin-tu* (Sindhu), Cunningham and other writers have all along supposed that the kingdom visited and described by the pilgrim was the Lower Indus valley kingdom of Sind. Hiuen Tsiang's account, however is irreconcilable with that in the *Chach-Nāma*. The difficulty of reconciling the two accounts is shown by the following observations of Haig (*The Indus Delta Country*, pp. 34-5):—"Hiuen Tsang's Sindh, in fact, is not the Sindh of any period known to history, and his description of it is wholly irreconcilable with the facts which we gather from the contemporary history embodied in the *Tārīkh-i-Hind wa Sind* (*Chach-Nāma*). He places the capital on the west of the Indus, whereas we know it was on the east bank, its ruins and the long dried-up channel of the river being still to be seen in attestation of the fact. He calls it *Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo*, which Chinese scholars take to represent such names as Vichavapur, or Vasmapur, or Balmapur; and General Cunningham, taking rather an unwarrantable liberty with the Chinese syllables, turns into Abhi-jānwapur. All these names, unknown in Sindh and unmentioned in its histories, serve only to mystify us, and the case becomes worse when Hiuen Tsang says that Multan was only '900 li or so'—that is, some 150 miles—distant from the capital of Sindh, and to the east of it, the fact being that Multan was 250 miles from it

29. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 109, 264, 293. In his article in *JRAS* for 1914 Pargiter at p. 277 remarks that the position of Vṛṣadarbha was "uncertain". In the sketch-map accompanying his book, however, he shows *Sindhu* to the west of the Indus, and opposite to *Sauvira*, precisely where *Sin-tu* has been located by me.

30. *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, 1862-65, ii, p. 14.

31. *De Pentapotamia Indica*, p. 13.

and north-east of it. To all of this must be added his statement that the king was a Shudra (Shu-t'o-lo), while from the source above-mentioned we learn that at this time (about 641 A.D.) a Brahman ruled Sindh". Notwithstanding all this, scholars have endeavoured to fit somehow the pilgrim's account to the kingdom of Sind. To that purpose they suggest that Chach had probably extended the northern boundary of his dominion as far as the Salt Range; that *Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo* was perhaps another name or "book-name" for Alor; that in 641 the last Rai sovereign—the Rais, they assume, were Śūdras³²—must have been still reigning in Sind; that *Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu* cannot possibly be a rendering of the Sanskrit *Mūlasthānapura*; and that the pilgrim in any case made a mistake in his bearing when he said that Multan was to the east of *Sin-tu*, which they take to be Sind.³³ All these suggestions, as I have explained at some length in my earlier paper, are entirely unwarranted.

It now remains to settle the position of Vṛṣadarbha-pura. That ancient city has disappeared and the pilgrim's description of his routes (a) from Gurjjara to *Sin-tu* and (b) from *Sin-tu* to Multan constitutes the only data to guide us in determining its site. Let me take up route (b) first. From *Sin-tu*—that is, its capital—Hiuen Tsiang tells us that he went eastward, crossed the Indus, and then proceeding along its eastern bank, evidently in a northerly direction, reached Multan.³⁴ Vṛṣadarbha-pura clearly, therefore, lay to the south-west of Multan city, and the distance, 900 *li*, men-

32. Only Vaidya (*op. cit.*, i, p. 19) offers an explanation. As the *Chach-Nāma* describes Mahrāt, the ruler of Chitor, as a brother of the last Rai sovereign of Sind, he infers that the Rais were Śūdras. The then ruling family of Chitor, according to him, was of Mauryan origin and the Mauryas, he says "were of course Śūdras".

33. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 286-87 and his article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, pp. 243 f; Haig, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 254; Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 368-69; Lambrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-48.

34. The Indus of the present day flows 30 miles to the west of Multan. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang it flowed probably to the east of its present course. As Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 288) has pointed out "the gradual westing of all the Panjab rivers which flow from north to south, is only the natural result of the earth's continued revolution from west to east, which gives their waters a permanent bias towards the western banks."

tioned by the pilgrim represents the length of his journey in two directions, first east and then north. The summary account in Watters's *Yuan Chwang* (ii, p. 254) on this point is misleading in that it suggests that the capital of *Sin-tu* was 900 *li* (180 miles) west of Multan. If it had been, we should have to seek for it on the other side of the Sulaimān range in the mountainous and arid region of Baluchistan—a location unthinkable for the capital of a kingdom lying on the Indus. It seems to me far more likely that *Vṛṣadarbha-pura* was situated in the south of the present Dera Ghazi Khan District, somewhere below the point of confluence of the Panjnad³⁵ with the Indus and close to the western bank of the latter river. From there the pilgrim's devious journey to Multan could have been 180 miles long, because of the many detours which he must have been obliged to make in this marshy riverine tract. I now turn to Hiuen Tsiang's description of his route (a). From Gurjjara, that is, its capital, Bhinmāl, he says he travelled 1900 *li*, or some 380 miles, northward "through wild deserts and dangerous defiles", and then crossing the river Indus to the west reached the *Sin-tu* kingdom or, as he probably meant, its capital. This bearing and distance bring us again to the southernmost section of D.G.K. District. Mithankot, situated not many miles south of the point where the Panjnad joins the Indus is distant about 300 miles as the crow flies from Bhinmāl. The actual marching distance across the sandy Mārwar desert, however, would be considerably more. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that *Vṛṣadarbha-pura* was situated in the southernmost part of D.G.K. District, somewhere not far from the Indus, as the pilgrim does not intimate that after having crossed that river he proceeded farther. This, I submit, is a fair inference from the two statements of the pilgrim noticed above.³⁶ The indications

35. The five great rivers from which the Punjab takes its name are the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Sutlej. After various junctions these unite to form the Panjnad, literally, "the five streams." It unites with the Indus near Mithankot, which lies 85 miles south of the town of Dera Ghazi Khan.—*Punjab Gazetteer*, i, p. 197.

36. Banfill identified this capital with Vijnot, a deserted site to the east of the Indus in Upper Sind, some 60 miles above Sukkur. He says: "Vijnot = Vijnōr = Vijnaur = Vijnavapura is very near to 'Vichava-pura', M. Julien's rendering of Hwen Thsang's Pi-chen-p'o-pu-lo." — *Ind. Ant.*, 1882, xi, p. 5. Vijnot, however, does not fit the position assigned to the capital by Hiuen

of the pilgrim's biographers also confirm my view as to the approximate position of Vṛṣadarbha-pura. *Sin-tu*—that is, its capital—, according to the statement of Hwui Li and Yen Tsung, was 700 *li*, or 140 miles, east of the capital of 'O-fan-ch'a. The country of 'O-fan'-ch'a, as already noted, corresponds to the region of Kachhi in Baluchistan, while its capital, as I shall show farther on is identifiable with modern Gandāva; and in relation to that place the general position of the southernmost section of D.G.K. District, in which I have placed the metropolis of *Sin-tu*, is quite in accordance with the indications of Hiuen Tsiang's biographers. Thirteen centuries have effaced all traces of Vṛṣadarbha-pura. Nor any such name now exists. Its exact position, therefore, cannot be assigned.

The position of *Sin-tu* and its capital having thus been fixed, we may now follow in the footsteps of the Chinese traveller stage by stage from *Sin-tu* to *Fa-la-na*. My identifications of the countries traversed by Hiuen Tsiang in this portion of his travels, however, are quite different from the determinations of Cunningham and other commentators. All these countries, in my view, lay in what is now the province of Baluchistan. McCrindle (*Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 33-4) writes: "Strabo, following Eratosthenes, regarded the Indus as the boundary of India on the west, and this is the view which has been generally prevalent. Ptolemy, however, included within India the regions which lay immediately to the west of that river, comprehending considerable portions of the countries now known as Baluchistan and Afghanistan. He was fully justified in this determination, since many places beyond the Indus bore names of Sanskrit origin, and such parts were ruled from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquests by princes of Indian descent". The testimony of Hiuen Tsiang—if my identifications be correct—affords abundant proof that Baluchistan, at the time of his pilgrimage, formed part of India both politically and culturally. But, as René Grousset (*In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, p. 192) remarks, "The onslaught of Islam, shattering in its effect, was about to change all the ideas

Tsiang. Besides, according to Raverty, the ancient name of that place was Wanjh-ruṭ ("Mihran of Sind", *JASB*, 1892, p. 497). William Anderson (*JASB*, 1847, p. 1200) identified *Pi-shen-p'o-pu-lo* with Bheekumpoor in Bikaner, but the identification is clearly a mistaken one.

of culture in the Middle Asia. Let us congratulate ourselves on the fact that, on the very eve of the great upheaval, a witness of Hsüan-tsang's calibre was able to study on our behalf this threatened civilization."

Leaving the Sin-tu kingdom, Hiuen Tsiang travelled south-west 1500 or 1600 *li* and reached the country of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, or A-tien-p'o-chih-lo according to Watters's transcription.³⁷ From there, again he proceeded west for about 2000 *li* to a country which he calls *Long-kie-lo*, on the north-western frontier of which lay the kingdom of Persia (*Po-la-sse*). From the pilgrim's indications it seems quite evident that *Long-kie-lo* comprehended Makrān together with considerable parts of adjoining territories.³⁸

'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo is described by the pilgrim as having a circuit of 5000 *li*. It bordered on the sea, and was bounded on the west by Makrān (*Long-kie-lo*) and on the east by the Indus. It had lately been without a ruler, but was subject to Sind. Its capital was called *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo*. The country had 80 monasteries and some 5000 monks, and also 10 Deva temples. Aśoka had built six *stūpas* in places associated with Buddha's visit. The capital contained a temple of Maheśvara "ornamented with rich sculpture." The character of the country is thus described: "The soil is low and damp and the ground is impregnated with salt. It is covered with wild shrubs, and is mostly waste land: it is little cultivated, yet it produces some sorts of grain, but principally beans and wheat, of which there is a great quantity. The climate is rather cold and subject to violent storms of wind. It is fit for raising, oxen, sheep, camels and other kinds of beasts".³⁹

The appellation 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo has been rendered by M. Julien as *Adhyavakīla*,⁴⁰ by Beal as *Atyanbakēla*⁴¹ and by

37. Prof Luciano Petech of the University of Rome in a letter informs me that, according to the standard work of B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Racensa*, the pronunciation of the Chinese characters in the time of Hiuen Tsiang was *a-tiem-b'ua-s'ie-la*.

38. According to M. Vivien de Saint-Martin *Long-kie-lo* answers to the eastern part of Makrān, but his view is only partially correct.

39. Beal, ii, p. 276.

40. *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde*, p. 359.

41. *Life*, p. 150.

Watters (ii, p. 256) as *Adīnava-chila*. No name corresponding to any of these restorations occurs in Sanskrit works.

'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, says Cunningham, "may be intended for *Audambatira* or *Audambara* which Professor Lassen gives as the name of the people of Kachh." Udambaras (or Audumbaras), according to the *Mahābhārata*, however, were the people of *Madhyadeśa*, denoting the whole of the Ganges basin from the Punjab as far as the confines of Bihar. Their coins too of the first century B.C., bearing Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, have been found in the Punjab districts of Kāngrā and Hoshiārpūr.⁴² Pāṇini, who flourished long before the commencement of the Christian era, in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (iv. 2.132) calls the people of Cutch "Cutchava". There appears, therefore, little warrant for Lassen's view that Udambaras—presumably identical with the *Odonbaeroaes* of Pliny⁴³—were located in Cutch. Trusting, however, to the correctness of Lassen's view, and relying on his own rendering of *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo* as *Koṭiśvara*,⁴⁴ Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, (pp. 346-48) confidently identified 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo with the province of Cutch, on the western border of which, near the mouth of the Kori,⁴⁵ there is a place of pilgrimage called Koṭeśwar. W. H. Sykes (*JRAS*, 1841. vi, p. 33) also suggested that this country corresponded to Cutch and identified its capital, *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo*, with modern Karachi.

This identification was warmly endorsed by Haig in *The Indus Delta Country* (pp. 36-7). "For there cannot be a shadow of doubt", he observes, "that 'O-tien-P'o-chi-lo—inexplicable, like the name of the Sindh capital—meant Kachchha. The chief town is *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo* (certainly *Kotishwara*, long since contracted to *Koteshwar* and *Kotesar*). *It lies on the river Sindh, and*

42. Vincent Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, i. pp. 160-61; Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction, p. lxxxvii.

43. *Natural History*, vi, 23-77.

44. Watters (ii, pp. 256-57) remarks that "Cunningham's restoration *Koṭiśvara* is quite impossible." Julien rendered the name as *Khajīśvara* and Lassen as *Kachchheśvara*.

45. Cf. Thornton: "Kori is an arm of the sea, supposed to have been formerly the estuary of the eastern branch of the Indus, and still receiving part of its waters during high inundations. At Cotasir (*Koteshwar*), twenty miles from the open sea, it is seven miles wide."—*A Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India*, i. p. 404.

borders on the ocean', and I may add that it still contains a temple of Maheshvara where the 'Pashupata heretics' worship just as in the days of the Chinese pilgrim. Again: 'Lately there has been no ruler; it (the province) is under the protection of Sindh. The soil is *low and damp*, and the ground is impregnated with salt. It is covered with wild shrubs and is mostly waste land'. Here we have Kachchha exactly described. Its very name is unconsciously explained by Hiuen Tsiang, for it is due to the circumstance of its surface being 'low and damp'. It is surprising that Professor Beal could miss the identification."⁴⁶

There are several objections to this identification which cannot be lightly disregarded. The general direction of Cutch from Dērajāt (*Sin-tu* of our pilgrim) is south, not south-west. Being cut off from the mainland, Cutch is neither bounded by Makrān on the west nor by the Indus on the east. Nor does the pilgrim intimate that in his journey he had crossed the Indus (it being his habit to mention the crossing of large rivers), which the traveller must to get to Cutch from *Sin-tu*. 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo can hardly be a transcription of the word Cutch. Nor does the *Gazetteer of Cutch* (see pp. 229-31) bear out the statement of Haig about the presence of a temple of Maheśvara at Koteśwar. Cutch probably, was a dependency of Sind,⁴⁷ but that fact would of itself

46. This is an allusion to Beal's identification of *K'ie-ch'a* or *K'i-t'a* of the pilgrim with Cutch, which is proposed also by Vincent Smith (see Waters, ii, p. 341). Relying on that identification Vaidya in his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* (i, p. 253) wrote that in Hiuen Tsiang's time Cutch was subject to Malwa. As Haig (*op. cit.*, p. 36) rightly points out, *K'ie-ch'a*, 300 li to the west of Malwa, is the Kaira District of Gujarat and not Cutch, which lies at a distance of 1200 li from the western frontier of Malwa. Fer-gusson (*Art. Cit.* p. 272) and Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, pp. 563-65) also agree in identifying *K'ie-ch'a* with the Kaira District.

47. Bilāduri records (Elliot, i, p. 121) that Muhammad Kasim, during the invasion of Sind, crossed the Indus to the east and "effected a passage in a place which adjoined the dominion of Rāsīl, chief of Kassa, in Hind." "Qassa", Haig explains (*op. cit.*, p. 62), "is the nearest approach to Kachchh, just as Sassa is to Chach, the letter *cha* being unknown in Arabic and unpronounceable by the Arabs." The *Chach-Nāma*, while it does not mention Cutch or Kassa, states that the Arab general crossed the river near the fort of Bet, situated to the east of the Indus, which belonged to *Basami Rāsāl*, a tributary ruler of Dāhir, king of Sind (Kalichbeg, p. 100). From these two statements taken together we may conclude that Cutch was a feudatory state under Sind.

be not sufficient to justify the view that Cutch was identical with 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo. Depending, however, on this doubtful identification, Rushbrook Williams in his interesting book *The Black Hills; Kutch in History and Legend*, I find, has applied Hiuen Tsiang's account to the province of Cutch.

Vincent Smith and Lambrick identify 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo with the Indus Delta. In his essay appended to Watters's volumes (ii, p. 342) Vincent Smith remarks that "A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, whatever the Sanskrit phonetic equivalent may have been, clearly designates the delta of the Indus."⁴⁸ Lambrick further suggests that *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo* was the same as the Indus valley port of Debal. "From other sources we know", he observes (*op.cit.*, p. 148), "that the principal city of the Delta country at this period was Debal: but as this is nothing more than the word 'temple', it may well have been a nick-name instead of which the Chinese pilgrim tried to express its real but less popular name." This identification of the country with the Indus Delta, though perhaps less wide of the mark, is also not in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's indications. 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, I think should be looked for in a section of Baluchistan which adjoins Makrān and borders on the Arabian Sea.

'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo' my view, was Armābel,⁴⁹ which the *Chach-Nāma* describes as a Buddhist principality subject to the kingdom of Sind, on the high road to Makrān. In that chronicle we read of Chach marching through Armābel and Makrān to define "the boundary between Makrān and Kirmān"; and we also read of Muhammad Kasim capturing it on his way from Makrān to Debal.⁵⁰ It has long been recognized that the present Las Bela State, which lies to the west of Sind, on the coast of Baluchistan, corresponds to the principality of Armābel of medieval times.

48. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* (p. 368) writes: "The Indus delta to which the pilgrim gives the name of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo was a province of Sind."

49. The name in the MSS appears also in several other forms, such as *Armaēl*, *Armanābīl*, *Armapilla*, *Armanbel*, *Armanbelah* and *Armaīl*. — See Elliot, i, p. 364; Kalichbeg, p. 38.

50. Elliot, i, p. 151; Kalichbeg, pp. 38, 77-8.

The maritime State of Las Bela is 100 miles long and 80 miles broad, and is bounded on the north by the hills of Jhalawān, on the south by the Arabian Sea, and on the east and west by mountain ranges which separate it from Sind and Makrān. Sonmīanī, the principal sea-port of the State, is 50 miles west of Karachi, and the capital, Bela, lies 78 miles from Sonmiani.⁵¹ "Las Bela", writes Aurel Stein, "was the scene of Alexander's last military operations during his invasion of India, and from it he started on that hazardous retreat through the wastes of Gedrosia which cost his army such grave sufferings and losses as all his historians have graphically recorded. It has been recognized long ago that Las Bela corresponds to the territory of the *Oreitai* in which those operations took place".⁵²

Armābel is also mentioned by the Arab geographers, but owing to the uncertainty of Arabic orthography and the carelessness of scribes the name in their works (as in the *Chach-Nāma*) assumes diverse forms.⁵³ The exact form of the name, therefore, remains uncertain. Elliot (i, p. 365), however, remarks: "Considering all these several names together, I am disposed to consider that Armābel is the ancient and correct reading; and that the name is partly preserved in, while its position corresponds with, the modern Bela, the capital of the province of Las... What adds much to the probability of this identification is that Bela is mentioned in native histories, not simply as Bela, but as Kārā-

51. Cf. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India* (i, p. 256): "Las has an area of about 5000 sq. milcs. It is a flat plain, barren, and lies between mountains and the sea, and has the Purali river, the *Arabis* of the Greeks, and other streams, the banks of which are fertile." *Arabis* of the classical writers is the Hab river, which forms the boundary between the Las Bela State and Sind, and not the Purali.

52. "On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia: An Archaeological Tour in Las Bela", *Geographical Journal*, 1943, cii, pp. 193-94. Gedrosia denotes the inland region which extended from Oreitai (Las Bela) to Karmania (Kirmān). The coast line is described by the classical writers as the country of *Ichthyophagi*, or fish-eaters.

53. Cf. William Anderson (*J.A.S.B.*, 1839, p. 49): "I consider there to exist no reasonable form into which any given Arabic proper name may not be contorted under constant copying."

Bela; showing that it has been usual to prefix another name, which is now dropped in ordinary converse."⁵⁴

Holdich in *The Gates of India* (pp. 304-305) writes: "The city of Armail, Armabel (sometimes Karabel) or Las Bela, is of great historic interest. From the very earliest days of historical record Armail, by right of its position commanding the high-road to India, must have been of great importance. Las Bela is but the modern name derived from the influx of the Las or Lumri tribe of Rajputs. It is at present but an insignificant little town, picturesquely perched on the banks of the Purali river, but in its immediate neighbourhood is a veritable *embarras de richesse* in ancient sites. Eleven miles north-west of Las Bela, at Ganda-kahar, are the ruins of a very ancient city. Not far from there are the caves of Gondrāni, about which there is no room for conjecture, for they are clearly Buddhist, as can be told from their construction".⁵⁵ Writing in 1840, Masson says: "Bela, the capital, however long it may have represented the capital of this part of the country, seems to have been preceded in the middle ages, by another town, the site of which, or rather of its sepulchres, is pointed out about five miles westward where at this day coins and trinkets are occasionally found. Funereal jars are also brought to light filled with ashes, charcoal, and other incinerated substances".⁵⁶

Whatever be the correct form of the name, there is no reason to doubt that Armābel corresponds with 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, which is now represented by the Las Bela State. Not only the position assigned to 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo fits the Las Bela State, but even the pilgrim's description of the character of that country is still per-

54. While it is likely that *Armabel* was the correct Arabicised form of the name, it could not, I think, have been the exact Indian name of the country, for phonetically *Armāhel* does not sufficiently accord with either 'O-tien-p'o-ch-lo, or A-tien-p'o-chi-lo or even A-tiem-b'ua-sie-la.

55. See *Las Bela Gazetteer* (pp. 38-41) for an account of these caves by Carless who visited them in 1839.

56. *Journey to Kalat*, pp. 304-305. Neither the *Las Bela Gazetteer* nor Holdich mentions any ruined site 5 miles west of Bela. Masson evidently had in mind the site at Gondakahar.

fectly applicable to Las Bela territory.⁵⁷ The eastern boundary of the Las Bela State is now defined by the Hab river, but the principality of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo in Hiuen Tsiang's time extended on the east up to the river Indus. What part of the Indus Delta, if any, 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo comprehended we do not know. But it is quite certain that the port of Debal was not included in it for the *Chach-Nāma* records that, in A.D. 636, when an Arab force under Mughaira attacked Debal, it was governed on behalf of Chach by his brother named Sāmba or Sāmha.⁵⁸ From the same source we learn that, in the year 631, when Chach led his expedition to the border of Kirmān, Armābel ('O-tien-p'o-chi-lo) was ruled by a Buddhist chief, who "had revolted from his allegiance". The rebellious chief, however, offered no resistance to Chach and submitted to him. The State of Armābel must have been eminently Buddhist, as that thinly populated country had as many as 80 convents with some 5000 monks. The caves near Gondakahar, Holdich remarks, "testify to the ascetic fervour of the Buddhist priesthood".

In the *Life* (p. 150) Hiuen Tsiang is represented as having travelled from Surāṭha westward—for what distance is not stated—to this country. This statement is, of course, a mistake, for that bearing from Surāṭha (*Su-la-ch'a*⁵⁹ of the pilgrim), that is to say the peninsula of Kathiawar, would place 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo in the middle of the ocean.

57. Cf. Thornton (*op.cit.*, ii, pp. 29-30) "It (Las Bela) is in general rather level, especially towards the sea-coast, *where the soil is impregnated with salt...* The country between these (the mountain ranges on the east and west) is level, or slightly broken by low hills, having *an unproductive soil covered with stunted woods, or scanty pasture, grazed by horned cattle, goats, sheep, and numerous herds of camels...* Such a country must of necessity be pastoral, the scanty population that exists being confined to the course of the Poorally, and *producing only a little grain, pulse and tobacco.* The people are supported almost entirely on the produce of their flocks and herds, pasturing great numbers of goats, cows, buffaloes and camels."

58. Elliot, i, p. 416; Kalichbeg, pp. 57-8.

59. *Su-la-ch'a* answers to the Sanskrit *Surāṣṭra* (Ptolemy's *Syrastrène*), the ancient name of Kathiawar, which in its Prakṛtized form is preserved in Sorāṭh, the present designation of the Junagadh District. *Orhotha* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote in the first half of the sixth century, says Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, i, pp. 229-30), is Sorāṭh or *Surāṣṭra*.

Where exactly was *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo*? The proper Indian equivalent of that name is uncertain;⁶⁰ nor any modern trace of the name has as yet been discovered. The position of the city, however, can be easily fixed from its bearing and distance from the capital of *Pi-to-shi-lo*, the country subsequently visited by the pilgrim from Las Bela. The name of that capital city is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, but he indicates that it was distant 700 li, or 143 miles (at 4.88 li to the mile), north from *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo*. The capital of *Pi-to-shi-lo*, as I will show later, was the town of KUSDĀR, which lies 139 miles north from modern Bela.⁶¹ *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo*, therefore, must have been somewhere near Bela. Eleven miles to the north-west of Bela, at Gondakahar, lie "the ruins of a very ancient city". I have no doubt these ruins occupy the site of the ancient city of *Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo*. Thirty-three miles south of Bela is another ruinous site with an old mound, known as Khaira Kot of Khaira Bela, which Aurel Stein⁶² describes as "of reputed antiquity" and Holdich⁶³ regards as "an undoubted relic of medieval Arab supremacy", but its distance from KUSDĀR precludes its identification with the capital of the country in Hiuen Tsiang's time. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin identified this capital with modern Karachi, but the identification is, no doubt, a mistaken one. It seems to me that Rambakia mentioned by Alexander's historians as the capital of the Oreitai, which Aurel Stein places in the vicinity of present Bela, in all probability also stood on the ruined site at Gondakahar.

Hiuen Tsiang gives no hint of the route by which he reached Las Bela from *Sin-tu*. From the south of Dera Ghazi Khan District there are several roads leading over the low hills of the Sulaimān range into Baluchistan.⁶⁴ As the pilgrim does not seem to have visited Sind, he must have proceeded to Las Bela from

60. The name has been variously rendered as *Khajīśvara* (Julien), *Kachchhesvara* (Lassen) and *Koṭīśvara* (Cunningham). It is certain only that the second half of the name was the Sanskrit word *īśvara*, which is one of the numerous names of Śiva.

61. From Bela to Ornach the distance is 70 miles, and from there, again, to KUSDĀR via Wad another 69 miles. See *Jhalawan Gazetteer*, pp. 311, 329.

62. *Art. cit.*, p. 200.

63. *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

64. *Dera Ghazi Khan District Gazetteer*, pp. 4-5.

Dērajāt via Kachhi or Kachh Gandāva region of Baluchistan. The easier course for him no doubt would have been to proceed to Sind and then take the high road from the Indus Delta to Las Bela. The reason why Hiuen Tsiang avoided Sind is not clear. Sind, as attested in the *Chach-Nāma*, had a large Buddhist population. Nor is there evidence of persecution of the Buddhists by Chach or other Hindu kings of Sind. Vaidya no doubt suggests that Chach's usurpation of the throne was actuated by "religious motives",⁶⁵ but there is little warrant for such a view in the chronicles of Sind. Whatever may have been Hiuen Tsiang's reasons, the fact remains that he did not visit the Lower Indus valley, and scholars to my mind, are in error in suggesting that 'O-tien-po-chi-lo, Pi-to-shi-lo and 'O-fan-ch'a were parts of what is now the province of Sind.

From 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo (Las Bela), as has been already mentioned, Hiuen Tsiang made a long journey to the west, about 400 miles ("less than 2000 li"), to a country which he calls *Long-kie-lo*, on the north-west of which lay the kingdom of Persia.

"This country", says that pilgrim, "is several thousand li from east to west and from north to south. The capital is about 30 li round. It is named *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo* (Sunurīśvara)."⁶⁶ The soil is rich and fertile and yields abundant harvests The population is dense. It possesses abundance of precious gems and stones. It borders on the ocean. It has no chief ruler. The people occupy a long valley, and are not dependent on one another. They are under the government of Persia. The letters are much the same as those of India: their language is a little different. There are some hundred *sanghāramās* and perhaps 6000 priests. . . . There are several hundred Deva temples. . . . In the city is a temple to Mahēśvara-Dēva: it is richly adorned and sculptured".⁶⁷

The length and breadth ascribed to the territory of *Long-kie-lo* show that it was a province of considerable extent, which must have embraced modern Makrān, with some considerable parts of

65. *Mediaeval Hindu India*, 1, p. 164.

66. Watters (ii, p. 257) transcribes this name as *Su-t'u-li-ssu-fa-lo*, which he thinks is a word like *Strī-īśvara*, i.e., "Woman Paramount."

67. Beal, ii, p. 277.

Persian Makrān,⁶⁸ Khārān and Jhalawān. Its westerly extension into Persian Makrān is evident from the fact that Hiuen Tsiang places *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo*, nearly 400 miles west of the capital of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, which, as I have shown, was at Gondakahar, near modern Bela. Greater Makrān, I should think, would be quite an appropriate modern designation for this country.

Makrān, in former times, was probably more fertile, prosperous and populous than it is today. The *Gazetteer of Makrān* (p. 137) states: "The fact that numerous traces of irrigation works still exist throughout the country, even in tracts which are now dry crop areas, and the circumstance mentioned by Idrīsī that sugar was grown in the country and that silk was produced in exportable quantities, indicates that Makrān enjoyed in the past a high degree of agricultural and commercial civilization". About the people of Makrān Marco Polo, at the end of the thirteenth century, wrote: "They live by merchandize and industry, for they are professed traders and carry on much traffic by sea and land in all directions".⁶⁹ G. Le Strange in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (p. 329) notes that "during the earlier middle-ages the country appears to have been more fertile and populous than it is now". These opinions bear out to some extent the Chinese pilgrim's statement that he found the country fertile and thickly populated, particularly as the part of Makrān that he appears to have traversed was its most favoured tract, namely the Kēj valley.

Makrān is a region full of long narrow valleys running east and west, of which the most important is the great central valley of Kēch or Kēj. In the *Gazetteer of Makrān* (p. 295) it is thus described: "The whole consists of a long narrow valley hemmed in by high ridges, and widening at the extremities. The central portion possesses a large irrigated area, and is better cultivated and more thickly populated than the eastern and western parts

68 "Makrān consists of two parts to which the term *Makrānāt* is applied by some writers. That situated in Baluchistan is generally known as Kēch Makrān to distinguish it from Persian Makrān" — *Gazetteer of Makran*, p. 3. Cf. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India* (i, pp. 255-56). "Makrān, the ancient Gedrosia, is partly Persian and in part belongs to Baluchistan lying between Persia and the Baluch province of Las."

69. Yule, Marco Polo, ii, p. 410.

where dry crop cultivation is more extensive....The total length of the valley is about 200 miles. The breadth, at the widest point excluding Bulēda, is about 12 miles and at the narrowest about 6'⁷⁰ The Kēj valley, writes Aurēl Stein,⁷¹ "forms the economic backbone as it were of Makrān. This is illustrated by the fact that the valley tract extends for upwards of 200 miles and contains close on one-third of the whole population of the country. It also accounts for the current application of the name Kēj-Makrān to the whole territory, as attested since mediaeval times by Marco Polo⁷² and others".

Hiuen Tsiang's "long valley" could only have been the valley of Kēch that traverses Makrān from east to west. Nor is there great room for doubt that it was through this valley that the pilgrim passed in his journey from Gondakahar to *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo*, the capital of *Long-kie-lo*. Holdich in *The Gates of India* (p. 297) observes that "the old highways through Makrān, however much they may have assisted trade and traffic between East and West, could only have been confined to very narrow limits indeed. It is, in fact, almost a one-road country". The Kēch valley, which Holdich evidently had in mind, forms a natural highway between Las Bela and Persia.⁷³ As *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo* by the Kēch valley route was nearly 400 miles west of Gondakahar (which is 11 miles to the north-west of Bela), its position is easily determined. Now from Bela to 'Gayāb, situated near the western extremity of the Kēch valley, the distance is 308 miles.⁷⁴ *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo*, therefore, was further to the west. Seventy-

70. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xiv, p. 701, 14th ed.: "With the exception of the Kēj valley, and that of the Bolidā, which is an affluent of the Kēj, there are no considerable spaces of cultivation in Makrān. These two valleys seem to concentrate the whole agricultural wealth of the country. They are picturesque with thick groves of date palms at intervals, and are filled with crops and orchards."

71. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 43, p. 8.

72. Yule, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 410. *Kesmacoran* of the Venetian traveller is the Makrān of today.

73. Cf. "The old pilgrim route from India via Las Bela crosses the Jaulak and traverses the whole length of the Kēch valley leading into Persian Makrān." — *Gazetteer of Makran*, p. 298.

74. See the description of the Kech valley route in the *Gazetteer of Makran*, App. viii, pp. 341-44.

five miles as the crow flies to the west of Gayāb lies Kasarkand, which Curzon in his *Persia and the Persian Question* (ii, p. 263) describes as "the principal town and seat of government of Persian Makran". I have no doubt that Kasarkand corresponds to *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo* of the Chinese pilgrim. It is the only likely place in Persian Makrān with which the capital of *Long-kie-lo* can properly be identified; Geh and Bint further to the west are out of the question on account of their distance from Gondakahar. *Kasarkand* is a Muslim name which must have been applied to the old city after the Arab conquest of Persia or was given by the conquerors to a new city built on, or near, the old site.⁷⁵ *Kasar* in Arabic means Castle and *Kand*, says Bretschneider,⁷⁶ "as is known, in Persian means a village, a town". A large mud fort still stands in Kasarkand.

Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo (now Kasarkand), in former times, must have been a considerable city, for it lies on two old trade routes, one connecting Persia with India *via* Makrān,⁷⁷ the other leading from the famous medieval port of Tiz on the Persian Gulf to Seistān and beyond. Kasarkand shows but few signs of its former greatness now.⁷⁸

75. Although the earliest mention of Kasarkand is in Istakhrī (A.D. 951), the name is probably much older. *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo* may have been pillaged and destroyed by Arab armies "thirsting for rapine and renown", which overran the provinces of Persia, after the overthrow of the Sassanian monarchy at the battle of Nehavend in A.D. 641.

76. *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1, p. 21.

77. Holdich (*Geographical Journal*, vii, pp. 392-93) remarks that "there existed through Makrān one of the great highways of the world, a link between West and East such as has never existed elsewhere in the world, save perhaps through the valley of the Kabul river and its affluents. Along this highway flowed the greater part of the mighty trade of India."

78. Grant, who visited the place in 1809, gives the following description of it: "Kasarkand lies in a fertile valley, about twenty-one and a half miles broad, having the Kaiu Nulla running through it; the cultivable part is about eight miles in circumference. The town stands on the west side, and consists of about 500 huts and a large mud fort; water is plentifully supplied from twenty-five large springs on the north side of the valley. Wheat, rice, and dates are produced in the greatest luxuriance." — *JRAS*, 1839, v. p. 331. See also St. John's description of the place in Goldsmid's *Eastern Persia*, p. 129.

If I am right in identifying *Su-nu-li-chi-shi-fa-lo* with *Kasar-kand*, the presence of a "richly adorned and sculptured" Śiva temple in a place so far west of Sind is very interesting, as it shows the wide extension of Hindu worship in the first half of the seventh century. The last place of Hindu pilgrimage and worship in that direction now is Hinglaj, 160 miles to the west of Karachi, in Las Bela territory. The shrine at Hinglaj is dedicated to Pārvatī, or Hingula Devi, consort of Śiva. Thornton's *Gazetteer* (i, p. 249) describes Hinglaj as "a celebrated place of pilgrimage for Hindoos, in consequence of being one of the fifty-one *pitās* or spots on which the dissevered limbs of *Satī* or *Doorga* were scattered". "The large batches of Hindu pilgrims", writes Aurel Stein (*art. cit.* p. 202), "are guided to Hinglaj all the way from Karachi by a duly recognized purohit known as *Agowa*, who arranges for their transport and supplies. He collects from them the fees which are levied by the Las Bela administration and form a regular source of revenue to the State."

Sovereignty over the border region of Makrān appears to have alternated from time to time between Sind and Persia.⁷⁹ Originally it formed part of the dominion of the Rais, but during the reign of Rai Siharas II it was annexed by Persia. Later, about A.D. 631, when Chach advanced to the border of Kirmān, he absorbed it into the kingdom of Sind. Supremacy over Makrān, however, must have soon passed to Persia, for when Hiuen Tsiang visited the country in A.D. 641 he found it "under the government of Persia". Again, in the year 643, when the Arabs reached Makrān, it is described by the Muslim historians as a dependency of Sind. "The ruler of Makrān, a Malik named Sāād"—a Hindu name vitiated—, states the *Gazetteer of Makrān* (p. 43), "managed to offer a stubborn resistance with the help of large reinforcements, which were sent to him from Sind, but was eventually defeated with heavy loss in a sanguinary battle, and Makrān fell into the hands of the victors".

79. Cf. Aurel Stein (*M.A.S.I.* No. 43, p. 10:) "Dependence either on the power holding the neighbouring Persian provinces of Kirmān and Sīstān or else on the rulers of Sind and the hills immediately adjoining the Indus valley westwards has always characterized the political status of Makrān, from the earliest times to which reliable data allow us to go back right down to the present."

Long-kie-lo, the appellation of this country as given by the Chinese pilgrim, is rendered by M. Julien as *Laṅgala* or *Lāṅgala*,⁸⁰ and these equivalents have been adopted by Beal.⁸¹ Watters (ii, p. 257), who preferably reads the name as *Lang-kie(ka)-lo*, renders it as *Lankar*. No topographical name corresponding to any of these equivalents is to be found in Sanskrit works. Curzon (*Geographical Journal*, vii, p. 557) remarks that *Makrān* is a "Dravidian name, which appears as *Makara* in the *Bṛhat Saṃhita*⁸² of Varaha Mihira, in a list of tribes contiguous to India on the west". As Watters's restoration "*Lankar*" is near enough to "*Makara*" of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, I was inclined to think that the initial Chinese character *Lang* might be a corruption of *Mang*, but Prof. Petech rules out the possibility of an error in the text. In his letter to me the distinguished Sinologist writes: "*Lang-chieh-la* is ancient *lang g'iat la*. Chinese *l* may transcribe *l* or *r*, thus the possible equivalents are *Raṅgala*, *Laṅgara*, *Laṅgala*. No variant is given in Taishō critical edition and there is not the slightest reason for admitting a corruption of the text". I confess the Chinese designation, which I am thus unable to elucidate is something of a riddle to me.

In concluding the discussion on the position of *Long-kie-lo* let me refer to the various identifications that have been proposed by scholars. M. Vivien de Saint Martin, as I have mentioned before, thought that this country answers to the eastern part of *Makrān*. Vincent Smith in his essay did not propose any identification, but in his map appended to Watters's volumes he shows *Long-kie-lo* somewhere 'o the west of Lower Sind. Lambrick, having already identified 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo with the Indus Delta, naturally supposed that *Long-kie-lo* "included the modern Las Bela, together probably with parts of Jhalawān and Eastern *Makrān*."⁸³ According to William Anderson (*JASB* for 1847, p. 1201) *Long-lie-lo* was either *Makrān* or *Kirmān*. R. C. Majumdar (*art. cit.* p. 7), on the other hand, was of the opinion that it "corresponded to modern *Makrān* and *Kirmān*." However, from

80. *Vie et Voyage*, pp. 208, 360.

81. *Records*, ii, p. 277; *Life*, p. 151.

82. See Kern's English translation in *JRAS*, 1871, v. p. 84.

83. *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

what we are told in the *Chach-Nāma* about the expedition of Chach to the border of Kirmān,⁸⁴ it would appear that Kirmān formed a separate province. It is curious that Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* (pp. 356-57) suggests that *Long-kie-lo* "corresponded as nearly as possible, with the modern province of Baluchistan." Hiuen Tsiang, writes the distinguished archaeologist, "fixes the capital of *Lang-kie-lo* at 2000 *li*, or 333 miles, to the west of *Kotesar* in Kachh, but as this bearing would place it in the middle of the Indian Ocean, the true direction must be north-west. Now this latter bearing and distance correspond with the position of the great ruined city of *Lākoriān*, which Masson (*Journey to Kelat*, p. 63) found between Khozdār and Kilāt. In older maps the name is written simply as *Lakūra*, which appears to me to be very fairly represented by the Chinese *Lang-kie-lo*, or *Lānkara*. Masson describes the ruined fortifications as 'remarkable for their magnitude, as well as for the solidity and the skill evident in their construction.' From the size and importance of these ruins, I conclude that they are the remains of a large city, which has at some former period been the capital of the country. The Chinese pilgrim describes the province as being many thousands of *li* in breadth as well as in length. It is clear, therefore, that it corresponded, as nearly as possible, with the modern district of Baluchistan, of which the present capital, Kilāt, is only 60 miles to the north of *Lākura*. In the seventh century, the capital was called *Su-nu-li-shi-fa-lo*, and was 30 *li*, or 5 miles, in circuit. The Chinese syllables are rendered by M. Julien as *Sunuriśwara*, of which he offers no translation. But as Hwen Tshang describes a magnificent temple of Śiva in the middle of the city, I infer that the Chinese transcript may be intended for *Śambhuriśwara*, which is a well-known title of Śiva as the lord of divine beings', or the 'god of gods'. By assuming that this name belongs properly to the temple, the other name of *Lang-kie-lo*, or *Lākara*, may be applied to the capital as well as the province." This identification has nothing to support it except some similarity of sound between *Lakūra* and *Lānkara*, the former the name of a city and the latter that of a country. Watters (ii, pp. 257-58) rightly dismisses it with the comment that: "Cunningham's remarks on this country

84. Elliot, i, pp. 151-52; Kalichbeg, pp. 37-8.

and its capital are in his usual style and need not be quoted." One is tempted to recall in this connection his sarcastic criticism of another of Cunningham's identifications—that certain discrepancies in distances and bearings are "not inseparable difficulties to an enthusiastic Indian archaeologist."

From *Long-kie-lo* Hiuen Tsiang returned to 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo (Las Bela) and thence proceeded northwards for 700 li to the country called *Pi-to-shi-lo*,⁸⁵ which, he tells us, was dependent on Sind. Then, again, from *Pi-to-shi-lo* he journeyed north-east for 300 li or so to the country of 'O-fan-ch'a, which, like *Pi-to-shi-lo*, had no chief ruler but was subject to Sind. The pilgrim mentions but does not name the capitals of these two provinces or dependencies of the kingdom of Sind.

Pi-to-shi-lo and 'O-fan-ch'a appear to be the districts of Tūrān and Budha (spelt also *Budah*, *Budahah*, etc.) mentioned by the medieval Arab geographers.⁸⁶ The *Chach-Nāma* also mentions these two districts, but it calls the latter district Būdhiya. G. Le Strange in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (p. 331) writes: "On the north-eastern frontiers of Makrān, and close to the Indian border, the Arab geographers describe two districts; namely, Tūrān,⁸⁷ of which the capital was KUSDĀR,⁸⁸ and Budahah to the north of this of which the capital was KANDĀBĪL." KUSDĀR is the headquarters of the modern Jhalawan District, while KANDĀBĪL⁸⁹ has been identified with Gandāva, the headquarters of the modern Kachhi

85. In the *Life* (p. 151) we are informed that from *Long-kie-lo* the pilgrim proceeded direct to *Pi-to-shi-lo*, which is described as 700 li to the north-east. This is evidently an erroneous statement.

86. The forms *Nadha* and *Nudha* in Idrisī and Kazwīnī appear to be corruptions of *Budha*. In Arabic characters the letter *ba* (B) can be easily mistaken as *nūn* (N), if the diacritical point is not properly placed. Cf. Elliot (i, p. 388): "These later authorities are of no value when arrayed against the repeated instances to the contrary from the *Chach-Nāma*, and the great majority of readings in Ibn Haukal and Istakhrī."

87. Ernst Herzfeld in his *Paikuli* (p. 39) remarks that Tūrān, if correctly written in Arab sources, "is not used in a vague sense as opposed to Iran, but means the district of Kuzdar, to the south of Quetta."

88. The *Chach-Nāma* makes no allusion to the town of KUSDĀR, but mentions that "the mountains of KUSDĀR" together with Kaikānān formed the north-western boundary of the kingdom of Sind.

89. Variant readings: KANDĀIL, KANDĀBĒL, KANDHĀBĒL, etc.

District. These two Districts of Baluchistan are, therefore the approximate representatives of *Pi-to-shi-lo* and 'O-fan-ch'a' countries of the Chinese pilgrim.

The capital of *Pi-to-shi-lo* is not named by Hiuen Tsiang, but as he indicates that it was 700 *li*, or 143 miles, north from Gondakahar, the capital of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, it seems quite evident that KUSDĀR was the place meant. KUSDĀR lies 139 miles north of Bela.⁹⁰ From Gondakahar (11 miles to the north-west of Bela), therefore, the distance to KUSDĀR would be just a few miles more. There can therefore, be no doubt that KUSDĀR corresponds to the Chinese pilgrim's unnamed capital of *Pi-to-shi-lo*.

Pi-to-shi-lo, the pilgrim tells us, had a circuit of about 3,000 *li*, or about 600 miles. It was subject to fierce cold winds and was thickly populated. The soil was salt and sandy; a great quantity of beans and wheat was grown, but flowers and fruits were scarce. There were 50 monasteries with some 2,000 monks, and also 20 Deva temples. The people were fierce and rough in manners, but were sincere Buddhists. Their language slightly differed from that of Mid-India. The capital city (not named) was 20 *li* in circuit. About 3 miles north from the capital, in the middle of a forest, was a *stūpa* several hundred feet high, built by Aśoka. It enshrined a relic associated with Buddha in his birth as a rishi. Near this was an old monastery and beside it, again, another *stūpa* to mark the place where Four Past Buddhas had walked for exercise.⁹¹

The Jhalawan District, which has an area of 21,128 square miles, is roughly equivalent in size to *Pi-to-shi-lo*, which is described by the pilgrim as being some 600 miles in circuit. "The country", states the *Jhalawan Gazetteer* (p. 1), "is for the most part broken and mountainous, being intersected here and there by valleys of varying width. It forms the catchment area of three large rivers and of several small ones." Again: "The country slopes gradually southward, the highest valley being about 6,500 feet above the sea level near Kelāt, and the lowest about 1,000 feet

90. See note 61.

91. Beal, ii, pp. 279-80.

above the sea level near Sārūna." For its size Jhalawān is very sparsely populated. The pilgrim's remark that "the population is dense" seems, therefore, an exaggeration. That could have been true only of the valley tracts, and of KUSDĀR, which, says Aurel Stein, "enjoys the advantage of adequate irrigation from its river and of being situated at a point where main routes coming from Makrān and Sind, from Kandahār and the sea-coast meet."⁹² About KUSDĀR the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (II, p. 1159) writes: "Yākūt (A.D. 1225) describes it as a small town in a fertile district which he calls Tūrān, producing grapes, pomegranates and other fruits, but not dates." Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the country was "subject to cold and tempestuous winds" however, is true of Jhalawān even now.⁹³ Aurel Stein specially remarks upon "the cutting cold of the winds which sweep down from the higher valleys" in the Jhalawān country during the winter. He also notes (*op. cit.*, pp. 13-4) that "a vast majority of the present population of Jhalawān is composed of Brāhūis, who speak a Dravidian language and are thus wholly distinct linguistically from all the surrounding population speaking either Indian or Iranian tongues." The pilgrim's observation that the language of Pi-to-shi-lo "slightly differs from that of Mid-India" has reference probably to this Dravidian dialect still spoken in the central highlands of Baluchistan.⁹⁴ Masson in his *Journeys in Balochistan Afghanistan and the Panjab* (ii, pp. 43-4) writes: "Khozdār, figuring in Persian romances and having been formerly beyond doubt, a place of note, I cast my eye over the plain to ascertain if there was any object

92. *Memoir Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 43, p. 13. Cf. Thornton's *Gazetteer* (i, p. 384): "It (KUSDĀR) is situated in a narrow, fertile, well-watered, and highly-cultivated valley, amidst gardens and orchards."

93. At KUSDĀR (3,800 feet above the sea-level), towards the latter part of February, the thermometer falls many degrees below freezing point, severe frosts take place nightly, succeeded by intensely cold winds and heavy rain. — *Gazetteer of Jhalawan*, p. 32.

94. Cf. Basham: "Most surprising of all is Brāhūi, a Dravidian language spoken in the far north-western corner of the sub-continent, in the region of Kalat. The speakers of this language, incidentally, show no Dravidian ethnic features whatever, and are not easily distinguishable from the other people of the region." — "Some Reflections on Dravidians and Aryans", *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 22.

which might be referrible to a remote epoch. My attention was directed to a considerable tappa or mound, north of the town, and towards it I bent my steps. On the way I found the soil strewn with fragments of burnt brick and pottery over a very large space; indeed I could not define its full extent. I strolled for some time over it, in the hope of picking up a relique, perhaps a coin. In this I was disappointed, but met with numerous lumps of slag iron, and fragments of dark-coloured glass, or some other vitrified substance. The tappa itself had the remains of mud-walls, comparatively modern, on its crest, and at its base, were sprinkled a few mulberry-trees." These objects and the mound noticed by Masson was probably the remains of the Buddhist monuments, three miles to the north of the capital, which are mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

Kusdār is an ancient place. That name 'however' is either an Arabicised form of an older Sanskrit name or an altogether new name for the town. Kusdār was captured by the Arabs sometime before their conquest of Sind.⁹⁵ G. Le Strange writes (*op.cit.*, pp. 331-32): "Ibn Haukal describes it (Kusdār) as standing on a river (wadi), and having a fortress in its midst. The plain around the town was very fertile, producing vines and pomegranates with other fruits of a cold climate. Mukaddasi adds that the city lay in two quarters, on either side of the dry river-bed; on one side was the place of Sultan and the castle, on the other, which was called Būdīn, dwelt the merchants, whose shops in the market were much frequented by the Khurāsān folk." In the days of its prosperity Kusdār must have been a considerable city and a place of note. Pottinger, who passed through Kusdār in 1810, speaks of it as having 500 houses occupied mostly by Hindu merchants from Multan and Shikārpūr. He remarks that "such is their influence in the place, that the keys of the town gate are entrusted in the hands of their senior Brahmin every night, of which class there are several, who officiate at a Pagoda that the community have here dedicated to *Kalee*."⁹⁶

95. Bilāduri records that Kusdār was captured in the reign of Caliph Muāwiya (A.D. 661-79). — Elliot, i, p. 118.

96. *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, pp. 36-7.

Pi-to-shi-lo, the name by which the Chinese pilgrim designates modern Jhalawān, is quite a puzzle. M. Julien Sanskritized the name as *Pīta-śilā* or "yellow rock". Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, pp. 323-24) rendered it as *Pāta-śilā* or "flat rock" and identified it with Lower Sind, the chief town in which is Hyderabad situated on a flat-topped hill. "The names of *Pātālpur* and *Pāta-śilā*", he adds "further suggest that Haiderabad may be the *Pattala* of Alexander's historians, which they are unanimous in placing near the head of the Delta."⁹⁷ Watters (ii, p. 259) rendered the name as *Bheda-sira* or "cleft-head". "The name", he observed, "may have had reference to the Jātaka of which the pilgrim makes mention, and here, as on other occasions, he may have used a Buddhist designation unknown to ordinary Indian literature." No specific identification of the country intended was, however, proposed by him. Haig (*op.cit.*, pp. 37-9) thought that the Chinese syllables represent probably such names as *Bēdāsīr* and *Pitāsīr* and he placed *Pi-to-shi-lo* in the region of Nagar Parkar or Unarkot in Eastern Sind, as place-names terminating in *sīr* or *sar* are common there and in the adjacent region of Mārwar. These restorations would have been convincing if they had answered better to the true geographical position of the district. If I may venture a guess, *Pi-to-shi-lo* was probably intended as a transcription of *Paṭṭa-śilā*. In Sanskrit *Paṭṭa* means "a place where four roads meet" and *Śilā* means "a stone, rock or crag."⁹⁸ The terms *Paṭṭa-śilā* accurately describes the rocky, elevated plain of Kusdār on which caravan routes from all the four directions converge.⁹⁹ If

97. Patalpur, according to Burton (*Sind*, ch. 1, note 7), was an old appellation of Hyderabad. Haig (*op.cit.*, p. 20n), on the authority of a tradition discovered in Tibet by the Hungarian philologist Cosma de Körös, maintains that the true name of the town which the Greeks called Patala was *Potila* or *Potalaka*. See also *JASB*, ii, p. 385 and vi, p. 319.

98. Wilson, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pp. 492, 898; Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1958 ed.), ii, p. 953, iii, p. 1553; Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pp. 579, 1073.

99. Cf. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 53: "It (the fort of Kusdār) is well situated for the purpose it is meant to serve, viz., to protect the caravan routes centring in this valley through Nāl from Kōj and Panjgūr on the west, through Wadd from Bela and Sonmīanī on the south, through the Miloh Pass from Kotra, Gandāva and Shikārpūr on the east, and through Baghwāna from Sūrāb and Calat on the north."

I am right in my conjecture, there can be little doubt that the name of the Jhalawān country in Hiuen Tsiang's time was *Paṭṭa-sīlā* or, as is more likely, a Pāli or Prākṛt form of that name. The name *Tūrān* for this district in the *Chach-Nama* and the works of Arab geographers dates probably from Islamic times. It is unknown in Sanskrit literature. Alberuni, who wrote in the eleventh century, calls even the sea along the southern coast of Baluchistan the *Gulf of Tūrān*.¹⁰⁰ *Tūrān* is an Iranian term, derived probably from the Avestan *Tūr* or *Tūra*, the name of a people represented as "the enemies of Iranians and true religion", who in later times came to be identified with the Turks of Central Asia. Some scholars suggest that the name *Tūrān* came to be applied to this region when, in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Scythians or Śakas had established themselves in *Seistān* (Śakasthāna) and extended their sway to the Indus valley and Western India.¹⁰¹ If that were so, then in the seventh century this border region must have had two names, one Iranian and the other Indian which our Chinese pilgrim used. *Jhalawān*, the present designation of the district, is of no very remote date. It is derived from *jhala*, a Baluchi word meaning below, or to the south, from which fact it is inferred that it was applied to the district when a Baluchi-speaking race was in power in this part of the country. The Baluchis originally dwelt in *Kirmān*, and they entered *Makrān* (i.e. western Baluchistan) only after the Seljuk invasion of *Kirmān*, in the first half of the eleventh century.¹⁰²

100. "The coast of India begins with Tiz, the capital of *Makrān*, and extends thence in a south-eastern direction towards the region of *Al-daibal* (*Debal*), over a distance of 40 *farasakhs*. Between the two places lies the Gulf of *Tūrān*." — *Alberuni's India*, i, p. 208.

101. Cf. Richard Frye (*The Heritage of Persia*, p. 41): "The district of *Tūrān* in present Baluchistan, the *tuwrn* in the Parthian version of Shapur's (*Shahpuhr*) great inscription from A.D. 260, may reflect a movement of the *Tūrā* to the south. Most scholars reject any connection between the two, but it is not impossible that there was real connection." See also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iv, pp. 378 f.

102. Dames, *The Baloch Race*, pp. 2, 29; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, i, p. 1005; Cf. *Gazetteer of Kachhi* (p. 33): "Ibn Haukal, who wrote in the 10th century, tells us that Koch and Baloch inhabited the 'Iran Zamin, bordering on Hind and Sind'." See also G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-24.

Before concluding the case of *Pi-to-shi-lo* let me mention some other suggestions that have been made regarding the location of that district. Lambrick observed (*op.cit.*, p. 149) that *Pi-to-shi-lo* "was round about Schwan, or possibly west of the Khirthar range in Jhalawān." "The former", he adds, "is more probable, as there is nothing in the pilgrim's description to suggest that the country was mountainous." The topographical indications of the pilgrim as a rule are so sketchy that for my part I would not regard that omission in the pilgrim's description as decisive against the alternative identification which Lambrick rejects. Vincent Smith in his essay appended to Watters's volumes (ii, p. 342) remarks that "the countries in the Indus valley, *Pi-to-shi-lo* and others, cannot be identified with precision", but in his map he shows *Pi-to-shi-lo* somewhere in north-west Sind. William Anderson (*art.cit.* p. 1202) locates this State at Bukkur in Upper Sind. R. C. Majumdar (*art.cit.*, p. 7), unable to suggest any specific modern identifications of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, *Pi-to-shi-lo* and O-fan-ch'a assigned all these three dependencies of Sind generally to the valley of the lower Indus. With respect to the location of *Pi-to-shi-lo*, W. H. Sykes (*art.cit.*, p. 332) in 1841 wrote that Hiuen Tsiang, "must have passed through Nusserpur (in Lower Sind), Chaukor (? Sukkur) and Ehukker (Bukkur)". Sukkur and Bukkur are both in Upper Sind.

I come now to Hiuen Tsiang's country of 'O-fan-ch'a, or A-fon-t'u as Watters transcribes the name, which the pilgrim places 300 li to the north-east of *Pi-to-shi-lo*.

The pilgrim informs us that 'O-fan-ch'a had a circuit of 2400 or 2500 li. Its climate was windy and cold. The soil was fit for the cultivation of grain; wheat and beans abounded but flowers and fruits were few; the woods were thin. The language of the people was simple and uncultivated. Men, though fierce and impulsive, were earnest believers in "the three gems". There were 20 monasteries with some 2000 monks, and also 5 Deva temples. The capital city (not named) was 20 li in circuit. In a great bamboo forest, not far to the north-east of the capital, was a monastery mostly in ruins; here Buddha had given permission to bhiksus to wear shoes. Beside the monastery was *stūpa* built by Aśoka, still some 100 feet high although the foundations had sunk into

the earth. In a *vihara* by the side of the monastery was a blue-stone standing figure of Buddha. When Buddha had stopped here, finding it cold in the night he covered himself with his three garments; on the following morning he relaxed the rule against bhikṣus wearing padded garments. Nearby were a number of other stūpas, which enshrined the relics of Buddha's hair and nails.¹⁰³

This feudatory province under Sind, lying to the north-east of Tūrān (*Pi-to-shi-lo*), was undoubtedly Budha or Būdhiya of the *Chach-Nāma* and the Arab geographers, of which the chief town was Kandābil. We read in the *Chach-Nāma* that Chach, after his return from his expedition to the border of Kirmān, marched from Armābel (Las Bela) *via* Tūrān to Kandābil, the people of which place tendered their submission to him and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 dirhams and 100 hill horses.¹⁰⁴ "It would appear", writes Elliot (i, p. 388), "that the old tract of Budh, or Būdhiya, very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kachh Gandāva, on all four sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension of which it is impossible to define the precise limits. It is worthy of remark that, in the very centre of Kachh Gandāva, there is still a place called Budha¹⁰⁵ on the Nari river" Kachh Gandāva is thus the modern representative of the Chinese pilgrim's country of 'O-fan-ch'a. It is from there, as has already been mentioned, that the *Life* (p. 151) makes the pilgrim travel eastwards to the *Sin-tu* kingdom.

"Kandabil," says Istakhri (A.D. 951), "is a great city. The palm tree does not grow there. It is in the desert, and within the confines of Buddha. The cultivated fields are mostly irrigated. Vines grow there and cattle are pastured. The vicinity is fruitful. Abil is the name of the man who subdued this town, which is named after him."¹⁰⁶ The Iranian tradition about the origin of

103. Beal, ii, pp. 280-81.

104. Elliot, i, p. 152; Kalichbeg, p. 39.

105. This place is marked on the map attached to Pottinger's *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*. The name there is spelt *Buddha*.

106. Elliot, i, p. 29.

that name however, is different: it states that in the life time of Gustāsf, king of Persia, Bahman led an army to Hindustan and took a portion of it. Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindus and Turks, to which he gave the name of Kandābil."¹⁰⁷ Ibn Haukal (A.D. 978) describes Kandābil as the chief city and mart of Budha.¹⁰⁸

No place of the name of Kandābil now exists in Baluchistan. The site of that medieval town is ably discussed by Elliot (i. pp. 385-86) and he concludes that Kandābil was the same as modern Gandāva. His conclusion, in the present state of our knowledge, cannot be bettered.¹⁰⁹ Masson, who travelled extensively in Baluchistan in the first half of the last century, also remarks that Gandāva is "deemed the ancient as well as modern capital" of Kachh Gandava.¹¹⁰ To this identification Raverty, however, raises the following objection: "It so happens that Kandābīl is not Gandābah, but stood on a hill which Gandābah does not."¹¹¹ He relied evidently on a statement to that effect by Bilāduri.¹¹² But Bilāduri was not a traveller and had not the opportunities of personal observation which Istakhri and Ibn Haukal enjoyed, neither of whom reports that Kandābil stood on a hill. Holdich, again in *The Gates of India* (p. 306) observes: "The capital of this ancient Buddha, or Buddhiva kingdom, I believe to be Armābel rather than Kandābēl." His view is manifestly untenable. Alluding to Kandābil the *Chach-Nāma* states that it otherwise is called Kandhār or Kandahār.¹¹³ Elliot escaped the difficulty of explaining this statement by suggesting that it was an interpolation in the text. "We can only regard the passage", he says (i. p. 385), "as the conjecture of some transcriber interpolated by mistake from

107. *Ibid.*, p. 106. Gustāsf of the Persian annalists is the Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 521-485) of the Greek writers.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 38.

109. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (ii, p. 710): "Kandabil, a city in the territory of Budha (Budhiya, var. Nudha), which corresponds to the modern Kachhi in Kachh Gandāva in Balochistan. It is probably the modern town of Gandāva, which is not now important."

110. *Kalat*, p. 330.

111. *Mihran*, p. 217n.

112. Elliot, i, p. 128.

113. Kalichbeg, p. 39; Elliot, i, p. 152.

the margin into the text." It is surprising that it did not occur to him that *Kandhār* or *Kandahār* in the text might be a corruption of *Gandāva*. It is easily seen that *Gandāva*, if badly written in Arabic characters—the letter *ga* (G) is unknown in Arabic—would very likely be copied as *Kandhār* or *Kandahār*. I think there is little reason to doubt the identity of *Kandābil* with *Gandāva*. It is also almost certain that the unnamed capital of 'O-fan-ch'a was this city of *Kandābil*, that is to say, modern *Gandāva*, which lies about 100 miles north-east from *Kusdār*, the capital of *Hiuen Tsiang's Pi-to-shi-lo*.¹¹⁴ The pilgrim no doubt places the two capitals only 300 *li*, or 61½ miles, apart. But there is no likely place at that distance—or farther—between *Kusdār* and *Gandāva* with which the unnamed capital of 'O-fan-ch'a (which was a considerable town) can reasonably be identified. I, therefore incline to the view that the figure "300" in the Chinese text is an error for "500", and *Kandābil* was the place intended.

It seems that *Budha* (*Būdhiya*) under Hindu rule had also another capital, for the *Chach-Nāma* expressly states that when *Chach*, early in his reign, marched from *Alor* to *Būdhiya* its capital was *Kākārāj*, which "the natives of those parts called *Siwīs*."¹¹⁵ *Siwīs* (*Siwi*) has been identified with present *Sibi*, which lies close to the eastern border of *Kachhi*, 70 miles as the crow flies north-east of *Gandāva*.¹¹⁶ "The history of *Kachhi*",

114. *Gazetteer of Jhalawan* (p. 217) gives the distance from *Kusdār* to *Kotra* as about 90 miles, from where, again, *Gandāva* is distant 8 miles. Appendix vi, Route I, in the same gazetteer gives the distance between *Kusdār* and *Kotra* as 84 miles. *Bellew* (op. cit., pp. 53-4) makes the distance from *Kusdār* to *Gandāva* by the *Milch Pass* 93 miles. We would, therefore, be not far wrong in taking the distance between the two capital cities to be 500 *li*, or about 100 miles.

115. *Kalichbeg*, pp. 30-31. *Nānārāj*, the reading preferred by *Elliot* (i. p. 145), appears to be a corruption of *Kākārāj*, literally, "the capital of *Kākā*." There are indications in the *Chach-Nāma* that *Kākā* probably was the cognomen of the princes of *Būdhiya*.

116. Cf. *Gazetteer of Sibi* (p. 1): "The District derives its name from the town of *Sibi* or *Siwi* as it was written in earlier times, and local tradition attributes the origin of the name to *Siwi*, a Hindu lady of the *Sēwa* race, who is said to have ruled over this part of the country in former times." *Masson* (*Journeys*, ii, p. 106) in 1842 wrote that "there are still some few families of the *Sēwa* tribe at *Kalāt*, who, agreeably to tradition, ruled the country before the *Brāhuīs*."

states the Gazetteer of that District (p. 13), "centres round two towns of Sibi and Gandāva or Kandābil as it is called by the Arab geographers. From the earliest times both places have formed part of the same district." Of Sibi town the *Imperial Gazetteer* (xxii, p. 344) says, "Owing to its exposed situation between the mouths of the Harnai and Bolan Passes, it has suffered from frequent sieges."

Kachhi or Kachh Gandāva region is a flat triangular plain, extending for 150 miles from Jacobabad in Upper Sind to Sibi in Baluchistan, with nearly as great a breadth at its base on the Sind frontier. It has an area of 5,310 sq. miles and thus corresponds roughly in size with 'O-fan-ch'a, which is described by the pilgrim as about 2,500 *li* in circuit. The soil is fertile wherever it can be irrigated by the floods brought down from the surrounding hills. "Nowhere in Baluchistan", says the *Census of India* (1921, iv, p. 3), "is the rainfall so scanty, yet the Kachhi plain is the most fertile area in the Province." The area outside the influence of irrigation, however, is "little better than a desert." Wheat is most cultivated on the west side of Kachhi, where irrigated lands exist. The north wind blowing at Gandāva in winter is described as "cold and piercing."¹¹⁷ It is no wonder that Hiuen Tsiang found the monks in the place wearing shoes and padded garments—a practice the origin of which local tradition ascribed to the special permission given by Buddha during his sojourn there. In the vicinity of Gandāva, 3 miles to the north-east of Gajan village, are two mounds called after Dallu Rai, a legendary king, with whose moral iniquities popular tradition connects almost every ruined site in Baluchistan and Sind.¹¹⁸ These two mounds

117. *Gazetteer of Kacchi*, p. 12.

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91. About the mound near Sibi (628 yards in circumference and 135 feet in height) the *Gazetteer of Sibi* (p. 34) states: "It is said to be the ruins of an ancient city founded by a semi-mythical infidel king named Dallu Rai, who, according to local tradition, married his own daughter contrary to all usage and established custom, and thereby incurred the wrath of the deity who destroyed his city." For slightly different local tradition ascribing the ruin of Alor and the destruction of Brāhmanābād to the wickedness of Dallu Rai see Abbot, *Sind*, p. 75 and Dayaram Gidumal, *Something about Sindh*, pp. 65-6. Smyth in the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (B. Vol. v, p. 29) remarks that "this legend is fitted to almost every imposing heap of ruins in Sind, and they are many."

great mountains and wide valleys, and leaving the frontiers of India, reached after a journey of 2,000 li, or 400 miles, the country of *Tsao-ku-t'a*.

Tsao-ku-t'a of the Chinese pilgrim is without doubt the Arachosia of the classical writers and Zābul or Zābulistan of the Arab authors. It possessed, as Hiuen Tsiang tells us, two capitals, *Ho-si-na* and *Ho-sa-la*, of which the former has been identified with Ghazni. "Everybody is agreed", remarks Vincent Smith, "that Ghazni was either on or near the site of *Ho-si-na*, the ancient capital of *Tsao-ku-t'a*."¹²⁴ The valley of *Lo-mo-in-tu* river in this country, which is mentioned by the pilgrim as producing asafoetida, says Cunningham, "is readily identified, with the Helmand by prefixing the syllable *Ho* to the Chinese transcript."¹²⁵ The country of *Fa-la-na* has to be looked for some 180 miles to the north-east of Gandāva and about 400 miles to the south-east of Ghazni.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, *Fa-la-na* was 4,000 li, or about 800 miles, in circuit. It was subject to the kingdom of *Kia-pi-shi*¹²⁶ and consisted mostly of mountains and forests. It had regular crops and a cool climate and was well populated. The people were rough and fierce; some believed in Buddha, others not; and their language was somewhat like that of Mid-India. There were some tens of Buddhist monasteries and about 300 monks, all Mahāyānists.

124. See Watters, ii, p. 342. Cf. Bombaci, *East and West*, 1957, viii, pp. 255-56: "Satisfactory from the geographical point of view, but not entirely from the linguistic is the generally accepted hypothesis that Ghazni is the city of *Ho-hsi-na* of which *Hsuan-tsang* speaks as one of the two capitals of the kingdom of *Tsao-chü-ta* i.e., of Zābul. The archaic pronunciation of the Chinese characters is indeed *Yāk-siet-na*, rather different from the known denomination of Ghazni, of which, however, we do not know with certainty the ancient native name."

125. *Anc. Geog.*, p. 45.

126. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar: "The northernmost kingdom of Afghanistan, in ancient times, was known to some of the Greek and Roman geographers by the name of Kapisene, and the Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang calls it *Kia-pi-she*. Pāṇini mentions *Kāpishī* (iv-2-99), which he derives from *Kāpishāyanī* — the name of a wine manufactured from grapes produced in the district. The country about Kabul is still remarkable for its fine grapes." — *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, i, p. 22. *Kāpishī* is also mentioned in *Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra* (Bk. ii, ch. xxv.)

There were also five Deva temples. The chief city (not named) was 20 *li* in circuit. Not far to the south of the capital was an old monastery where Buddha had preached. The pilgrim adds that he was informed by local report that adjoining this country on the west was the *Ki-kiang-na* country. The people there lived amidst great mountains and valleys; they had local chiefs but no sovereign. The country abounded in sheep and horses, including a breed of excellent horses, large in size and highly prized by the countries around.¹²⁷

M. Julien gives *Varana* as the restoration of *Fa-la-na*. Watters suggests *Varṇa* instead. Pāṇini mentions (iv. 2. 103, iv. 3. 93) a country named *Varṇu*, which Bhandarkar (*art. cit.*, p. 22) says "is very likely the same as Hiuen Tsiang's *Fa-la-nu*."

M. Vivien de Saint-Martin thought that *Fa-la-na* corresponds with the region of *Vanēh* which lies about the middle part of river Gumal's course. This view is endorsed by Vincent Smith¹²⁸ and Lambrick.¹²⁹ Cunningham¹³⁰ and Aurel Stein,¹³¹ on the other hand, identify *Fa-la-na* with the region round *Bannu*. Cunningham conjectures that the original name of this district must have been *Varana* or *Barna*, which he regards as identical with Fa Hian's *Po-na* or *Bana*. According to Dey, however, *Bannu* is a corruption of *Banāyu*. The tribe of *Banāyavas*, he points out, is mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Svarga Khanda*, *Ādī*, ch. iii) among the tribes of the north-western frontier of India.¹³² However that may be, both these identifications, though phonetically perhaps not untenable, seem to be wide of the mark. From *Gandāva* either to *Vaēnh* or to *Bannu* the distance is a great deal more than 180 miles; and, again, from either of these two places the distance to *Ghazni* is considerably less than 400 miles.

It seems to me that the province of *Fa-la-na*, whence Hiuen Tsiang proceeded to *Ghazni*, lay across a main east-west route lead-

127. Beal, ii, pp. 281-82; Watters, ii, p. 262

128. See Watters, ii, p. 242.

129. *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

130. *Anc. Geog.* p. 97.

131. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.* No. 37, pp. 29-30

132. *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 221.

ing from India through Northern Baluchistan to Central Asia. Such a route traverses the Loralai District of Baluchistan and passes through the town of Duki, situated in the south of that District. In the year 1614, in the reign of Jehangir, two English merchants, Richard Steel and John Crowther, who were on their way from Ajmer to Isfahān, passed through Duki. Travelling from Multan, they crossed the south-eastern frontier of Loralai District near Chacha and passed by way of Duki and Pishin to Kandahār. At Duki, for the protection of the caravans, they inform us, "The Mogore (Mughal) maintayneth a Garrison, with a little square Fort, built of mud a good height, distant a mile from the Towne."¹³³ Again, in 1653 during the reign of Shah Jahan, when Dara Shikoh led an army to capture Kandahār, the prince marched through Duki and Pishin, while his heavy guns made their way by the Bolān Pass."¹³⁴ As the position of Duki in relation to Gandāva is exactly in accordance with the indications of the pilgrim,¹³⁵ I would place the unnamed capital of *Fa-la-na* at or near that place. It seems, therefore, a fair presumption that the province of *Fa-la-na* included a considerable part of Loralai District and the adjacent tract to the west, together probably with the Bolān Pass. That historic pass, about 60 miles long, extends from Rindli to Darwaza¹³⁶ and connects the Districts of Sibi and Quetta. "This pass", says the *Cyclopaedia of India* (i. p. 446), "is particularly important, as occurring in the direct line of communication between Sind and the neighbouring countries, with Kandahār and Khorasan. The natives say that all below the pass is Hind, and that all above it is Khorasan." The Bolan Pass has for centuries been the route traversed by merchants, invaders and nomad hordes on their way to and fro between India and Central

133, *Loralai District Gazetteer*, pp. 33-4.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

135. Duki lies 125 miles north-east of Gandāva as the crow flies, but the marching distance between the two places in this hilly region would be very much more — say about 180 miles.

136. About Darwaza Steel and Crowther say: "This day we passed *Durues*, or Gates of the Mountaines, being narrow straits, hauing Rocks on both sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the multitude; and diuers Carauans have been in these places cut off." — *Loralai District Gazetteer*, p. 34

Asia. It is not improbable that the country of *Fa-la-na* derived its name from this important pass, of which the Sanskrit name, it seems, was *Bhalānsah*.¹³⁷ As *Fa-la-na* sounds like *Bolan*, William Anderson (*art.cit.*, p. 1203) also in 1847 suggested that "analogy would point to Bolān."

Ki-kiang-na,¹³⁸ the country on the western confines of *Fa-la-na* which is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, is without doubt the Kikanān of the *Chach-Nāma* and the Arab authors. "This name." Elliot (i, p. 38) notes, "appears under various aspects of Kaikānān, Kikān, Kīzkānān, Kabarkānān and Kīrkāyān,—the first being of most frequent occurrence. Though so often mentioned, we can form but a very general idea of its position." "The *Chach-Nāma* tells us that, under the Rai dynasty, the territory of Sind "extended on the north (north-west) to the mountains of Kurdān and Kikānān"¹³⁹ From another passage in the same chronicle we learn that, in the year 658, when the Arabs arrived at the mountain of Kikānān. "the natives stood up to fight with them"¹⁴⁰ We also read of Caliph Muāwiva in 664 instructing Abdullah Sawād, who was ordered the Indian frontier, as follows: "In the country of Sind, there is a mountain, which is called Kikānān. There are big and beautiful horses to be found there... The people are very cunning, and, under the shelter of that mountain, have become refractory and rebellious."¹⁴¹ Bilāduri speaks of Kikānān, or Kikān, as he writes the name, as being "in Sind near the frontier of Khurāsān."¹⁴²

137. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary* p. 226 Cf. Macdonnell-Kelth, *Vedic Index*, ii, p. 299: "Bhalānas, plural, is the name in the Rīgveda (vii, 18.7) of one of the five tribes, Pakthas, *Bhalānas*, Alinas, Visānins, and Śivas, who are mentioned as ranged on the side of the enemies of Sudās in the battle of the ten kings... Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, p. 431) suggests as their original home East Kabulistān, comparing the name of the Bolan Pass. This seems a reasonably probable view."

138. Sastri in his notes on Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, (p. 679) says that *Ki-kiang-na* is intended for the Sanskrit *Kankana* of the *Kurmavibhaga*.

139. Kalichleg, p. 11 *Kurdān* in the text should be read as *Kusdār*.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

142. Elliot, i, p. 116.

These vague references to the country, however, do not help in ascertaining its exact position. Hiuen Tsiang is more precise. As he tells us that *Ki-kiang-na* country was on the west of *Fa-La-na*, I am inclined to place it in the Quetta-Pishin region. The general character of that region is mountainous, the mountains being intersected by long, narrow valleys. It is curious to find that Cunningham also suggests that *Ki-kiang-na* was "somewhere in the vicinity of Pishin-Kwetta",¹⁴³ although the Quetta-Pishin District does not lie immediately to the west of the Bannu District but far to the south-west of it.

Several other identifications of the *Ki-kiang-na* country have also been proposed. Aurel Stein located it in the hill region of Waziristan, which adjoins the District of Bannu on the west.¹⁴⁴ Lambrick, who placed *Fa-la-na* in the neighbourhood of Barkhan which lies in the south-eastern portion of Loralai District, suggests that *Ki-kiang-na* "corresponded to Loralai and Zhob."¹⁴⁵ Zhob District, I may mention, occupies the north-eastern corner of Baluchistan. G. Le Strange (*op.cit.*, p. 332), again, was of the opinion that Kaikānān (the *Ki-kiang-na* of the Chinese pilgrim) was at Kalat, which lies at a distance of 88 miles south of Quetta. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (vi, p. 257) locates it still further south at Nāl, which place is 27 miles to the south-west of KUSDĀR.¹⁴⁶ Idrisi places Kīrkāyān to the west of "Fardān", which name is a corruption of KUSDĀR.¹⁴⁷ Hodivala suggests that Kaikānān may have been the district round Lakoriān, the ruins of which city lie between Kalat and KUSDĀR, 60 miles south of the former.¹⁴⁸

I may fitly conclude this notice of the last portion of Hiuen Tsiang's remarkable journey through India with the following observations of Bretschneider (*op.cit.*, i, p. 4) "All the narratives

143. *Anc. Geog.*, p. 99.

144. *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.* No. 37, pp. 29-30

145. *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

146. This identification is also suggested in the *Jhalawan Gazetteer* (pp. 34, 221) and *Kachhi Gazetteer* (p. 14).

147. Elliot, i, p. 81.

148. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, i, p. 64.

of travels we meet in Chinese literature", he writes, "owe their origin either to military expeditions, or official missions of the Chinese emperors, or they were written by Buddhist or other pilgrims who visited India or other parts of Asia famed for their sanctity. The number of reports, written by Chinese travellers on different parts of Asia beyond China, is by no means inconsiderable. They often contain very valuable accounts regarding the ancient geography of Asia; but it is not easy to lay them under contribution in elucidating this subject in a European and scientific sense."

Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughluk: Royal Patron of a Contemporary Sanskrit Work

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The *Yantrarājāgama* or *Yantrarāja*, as the title is sometimes abbreviated, is a mediaeval astronomical treatise in Sanskrit verse by Mahendrasūri. It mainly furnishes an integrated exposition of an astronomical instrument named 'Yantrarāja' (lit. the king of instruments) in its total 182 stanzas of diverse metres constituting 5 chapters respectively named Gaṇitādhyāya, Yantraghaṭanādhyāya, Yantraracanādhyāya, Yantraśodhanādhyāya and Yantravicāranādhyāya.

The said astronomical instrument, though herein given a Sanskrit name, was originally invented or designed by a 'supreme Hakīm (officer? or, physician?) residing in Khurāsāna-deśa (Irān)' as per a hear-say tradition¹ and was drawn by our author from a contemporary Arabic or Persian source, as he duly acknowledges in his Prologue, although without exactly specifying the particular basic work used by him. It is evidently a major instrument, somewhat of the type of a sun-dial, and is constructed either with clay or with metal. It usually has two distinct phases for northern and southern hemispheres of the globe, but it may also be adapted jointly for both the hemispheres. With minute observation through this Yantrarāja many vital astronomical results are detected readily, e.g., exact horary time and legna, durations of day and night, latitude degree of the place of observation, degrees of meridians of the Sun and other planets and asterisms, degree dis-

1. As recorded by Gōpīnāja in his commentary— "evam Khurāsāna-deśādhivāsi-mahā-kalpaka-Hakīmottamena iyaṁ yantrīya-racanā kautukārtham yatitā iti. ataś cānumīye jñāyate drśyate ca bahudhā. yadidṛśany aparāṇy api....tair evopakalpitāni sarvataḥ pracaranti...." — Nagpur University Library MS Accession No. 1120, Folio 60b.

tances between any two heavenly bodies, matters pertaining to rising and setting of the five planets Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, etc., etc. While some of these results are yielded by the instrument only during clear sunshine hours, the rest ones are possible only during cloudless clear nights. Thus the *Yantrarājāgama* admirably integrates the science of this astronomical instrument (*Yantravidyā*) of non-Indian origin with India's indigenous Astronomy (*Goḷaganīta*) and indeed heralds, in respect of the science of the Zodiac, a departure from the hackneyed line of earlier Sanskrit astronomical treatises, which, instead of being materially influenced by the up-to-date great astronomical achievement of progressive western countries, mostly whirled round the *Sūryasiddhānta* or some other ancient *Siddhāntas* and were content at best with putting forth emending devices (*Bīja-saṃskāras*) to adjust the current observations to the age-long findings of those *Siddhāntas*.

The *Yantrarājāgama* was composed about Śaka 1292 or Saṃvat 1427 (= c. 1370 A.C.) by Mahendrasūri, a Jaina author, who describes himself as 'a disciple of an eminent astronomer of Bhṛgupura (= Broach) named Madanasūri who was highly esteemed even by the ruling king.' A brief commentary (*Yantrarājāgama-vyākhyāna*) on the treatise was composed about Śaka 1300 or Saṃvat 1435 (= c. 1378 A.C.) by Malayendusūri, a disciple of the author Mahendrasūri himself. The *Yantrarājāgama* and Malayendusūri's commentary thereon are represented by many hitherto recorded² MSS and both were also printed and published from Vārānasī in 1882 under the editorship of Sudhākara Dvivēdi, who also added in the edition his own new gloss entitled *Pratibhābodhaka* on the original treatise. Further commentaries or digests by Mathurānātha Śukla, Yājñeśvara Bābā Josī Rode, etc. on the treatise were recorded by Aufrecht,³ S. B. Dikshit,⁴ etc. Very

2. Aufrecht: *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 472, II, pp. 109b, 218b, III, p. 101b, etc. Vide also later MSS Catalogues. The Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, too, has stocked in 1954 a fine MS (Accession No. 9364) scribed in Saṃvat 1872 of this *yantrarājāgama* with Malayendusūri's commentary.

3. CC, I, p. 472.

4. *Bhāratiya Jyotiḥśāstra* (Marathi History of Indian Astronomy), Poona, 1931 edition, pp. 297, 300, 351.

recently a broken MS of an extensive old commentary entitled *Yantrakalāvilāsinī* alias *Vilāsavatī* by Gopirāja on this *Yantrarājāgama* was traced by me in the Manuscripts Section (Accession No. 1120) of the Nagpur University Library. Vide my detailed notice "*Yantrakalāvilāsinī* alias *Vilāsavatī*: A Rare Commentary by Gopirāja on Mahēndrasūrī's *Yantrarājāgama*" contributed to the forthcoming *B. N. Chatterji Felicitation Volume* to be published from the Kurukshetra University. In that notice I have furnished several original extracts, have discussed many relevant data concerning the *Yantrarājāgama*, Mahēndrasūrī, Malayēndusūrī, etc., too, and have tentatively assigned Gōpirāja to c. 1540 A.C. and to a renowned Vidarbha family of astronomers hailing originally from Dadhigrāma near Ellichpur (Achalpur) and enjoying royal patronage of some Muslim kings and emperors at various stages.

Mahēndrasūrī and the *Yantrarājāgama* both bear a peculiar importance in Indian History. My main concern in the present paper is to throw vivid light on their said historical aspect, especially as the same seems to have hitherto failed to catch the notice of all front-rank historians, European as well as Indian, of the period, notwithstanding the fact that even a printed edition of the *Yantrarājāgama* with Malayendusūrī's commentary has been before the scholars for the last 86 years.

The author's Prologue to the *Yantrarājāgama* runs as under:⁵—

5. (1) "The (Jaina) teacher named Mahēndra, having contacted in his mind the lotus-like foot of the venerated (Deity) Sarvajña conferring dignity and the glorified noble preceptor named Madanasūrī who is (as it were) the celestial tree yielding good fortune, is with a desire to the welfare of the people, composing this chaste treatise dealing with the science of Yantrarāja (lit. the king of instruments), containing various sections and causing astonishment.

(2) "In this boundless world there have been innumerable men of genius. However, they, with mature intellect, made Astronomy rather unintelligible (or, composed rather stiff treatises on Astronomy). As pure minute quintessence therefrom, I am preparing this extremely charming treatise for the delight of the hearts of appreciating scholars.

(3) "The Yavanas (Greeks or Muslim-) have similarly produced many types of scientific treatises on astronomical instruments with their own special faculties, in their own tongues. I, having churned those treatises as oceans, am incorporating herein their entire nectar-like quintessence".

- (1) śrī-Sarvajña-padāmbujam hr̥di parāmr̥śya prabhāva-
pradam
śrīmantam Madanākhyasūrī-sugurum Kalyāṇa-
kalpadrumam/
lokānām hita-kāmyayā prakurute sad-Yantrarājāgamam
nānā-bheda-yutam camatkṛti-karam sūrir Mahendrā-
bhidhaḥ//
- (2) apāre saṁsāre kati kati babhūvur na caturāḥ
param tair durbodham gaṇitam araci prauḍha-matibhiḥ/
tataḥ svalpam sāram viśadam idam atyanta-subhagam
vitanve 'ham śāstram sahr̥daya-hr̥dānanda-kṛtaye//
- (3) kl̥ptās tathā bahuvīdhā Yavanaiḥ sva-vāṇyā
Yantrāgamā nija-nija-pratibhā-viśeṣāt/
tān vāridhīn iva vilōḍya mayā sudhāvat
tāt-sāra-bhūtam akhilam praṇigadyate 'tra//

His conclusion at the end of the treatise is as under:⁶—

6. (1) "Let remain over a hundred astronomical treatises of great sages (or, of master-poets) composed by them for propagating their own theories. Our present performance herein, however, is indeed only for the benefit of others.

(2) "In this treatise on Yantrarāja, get drowned vile-minded (or non-intelligent) ones tormented by ill-grasping, as by crocodiles in deep ocean.

(3) "But those endowed with pure intellect, who take shelter as though of a ship rendered very strong on account of the preceptor's lessons, definitely remain floating by stretching their sail in the form of Astronomy.

(4) "This great lore (of Yantrarāja) is related here in the midst of the difficult science of Astronomy. One should not make a gift of it to a stupid disciple or to an ungrateful or a wicked person.

(5) "The secret knowledge of dignified Yantrarāja, when on one's throat (i.e. learnt by heart and ready to be repeated) like a pearl-necklace on one's neck, creates highest grace, causing richly equipped examiners look up favourably towards oneself.

(6) "May this treatise on Yantrarāja composed by (Mahendra). Guru not perish so long as the Sun and the Moon function as lamps in the world-mansion!

(7) "In the great town of Bhrgu (i.e. Broach) there lived an equipped preceptor named Madanasūrī, who was the head-ornament of the circle of astronomers and was extolled even by the King. At his feet was domesticated (his disciple) Mahendra-Guru, who composed this scientific treatise on the dignified instrument (Yantrarāja). In that treatise the consideration on the instrument is now completed."

- (1) paraḥ-śatāḥ santu kavīśvarāṇām
svārthopapattyai gaṇita-prabandhāḥ/
asmākam etat kila kevalāya
paropakārāya vidhānam atra//
- (2) granthe 'smin Yantrarājasya
gambhīre 'mbhonidhāv iva/
durbuddhayo nimajjanti
kugrāha-paripīḍitāḥ//
- (3) gurūpadesā-prabalam
yānapātram ivāśritāḥ/
sadbuddhayas taranty eva
vitatya gaṇitam paṭam//
- (4) vidyeyam mahatī proktā
gahane gaṇitāgame/
kuśiṣṭvāya kṛtāghnaya
duṣṭāyaitām dadīta na//
- (5) śrī-yantrarājopaniṣan niṣaṇṇa
kaṇṭhe satī mauktika-mālikeva/
tanoti śobhām paramām guṇādhyā-
parīksakān svonmukhatām nayantī//
- (6) sūryācandramasau yāvad
dīpāyete jagad-grhe/
grantho 'yam yantrarājasya
tāvan na dyād gurūditā//
- (7) abhūd Bhṛgupure vare gaṇaka-cakra-cūḍāmaṇiḥ
kṛtī nrpati-saṁstūto Madanasūri-nāmā guruḥ/
tadīya-pada-śālinā viracite su-yantrārame
Mahendra-guruṇoditā 'jani vicāranā yantrajā//

The colophonic verse 7 (abhūd Bhṛgupure etc.) of the above conclusion recurs almost identically, with relevant slight variation in the fourth quarter, also at the close of each of the earlier four chapters.

Malayēndusūri commences his commentary with a solitary Introductory verse as under:⁷

praṇamya Sarvajña-padāravindam
sūrer Mahendrasya padāmbujam ca/
tanoti tad-gumphita-yantrarāja-
granthasya ṭikāṃ Malayendusūriḥ//

His colophonic verse recurring almost verbally, i.e. with relevant slight variation in the last quarter, at the close of each of the five chapters of his commentary runs:⁸

śrī-Peroja-nṛpendra-sarva-gaṇaka-praṣṭho
Mahendra-prabhur
jātaḥ sūri-varas tādīya-caraṇāmbhojaika-bhṛṅga-dyutā/
sūri-śrī-Malayendunā viracite sad-yukti-yantrāgama-
vyākhyāne ādi-kathanādhyāyaḥ samāptim gataḥ /

These citations yield us the essential information that the author Mahēndrasūri, besides being a disciple of the royally appreciated astronomer Madanasūri of Broach and the preceptor of the commentator Malayēndusūri, was also head among all the astronomers in the royal court of King Peroja. The said King Peroja, contemporary of Mahēndrasūri (1370 A.C.) and Malayēndusūri (1378 A.C.), is evidently Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughluk (1351-1388) of Delhi.

In all likelihood, Mahēndrasūri was instigated by Firūz Shāh Tughluk himself to compose the present *yantrarājāgama*, as an adaptation of a reputed contemporary Arabic or Persian astronomical treatise, for the benefit of Sanskrit astronomers. This surmise receives specific confirmation from the commentator Gōpirāja in his Prologue as under:⁹

7. "Malayēndusūri, having bowed to the lotus-like foot of Sarvajña and also to the lotus-like foot of Mahēndrasūri, sets to compose this commentary on the treatise composed by him (i.e. Mahēndrasūri) on Yantrarāja."

8. "Master-Mahendra, best among (Jaina) teachers, has become the head of all the astronomers of the venerated King Peroja. Like a bee at his lotus-like feet shines Malayēndusūri. In the commentary composed by that Malayēndusūri on the scientific treatise on the instrument (Yantrarāja), the chapter dealing with etc. has now come to a close."

9. "Now (begins Mahēndrasūri's *Yantrarājāgama*). A disciple of venerated Madanasūri, resident of the major town named Bhrgupura flourishing on the bank of Narmadā and reputed in the Gujarāt region, was named

“...atha Gurjara – deśa – prasiddha – Narmadā – tīravirājita – Bhṛgupurābhidha – mahāpattanādhiṣṭhita – śrīman – Madanasūri – śiṣya – Mahendraguru – nāmaka ācārya – varya preritaś ca yava-nāgama – rahasya – bhūta – sāmpradāyika – yantravidyā – prati-pādakābhinava – grantha – kṛtaye paropakṛtaye Kurukṣetrābhida – dharmakṣetra – saṁnidha – mahānagara – Perojābāda – Kṛtādhiṣṭhāna – mahārājādhirāja – Perojaśāha – pādaśāhena ekasaptatya-dhika – Saptaśati – mite 771 Arbau śake saptaviṁśatyadhika – caturdaśa – mite 1427 Vikrama – śake svayam atiśayita – yantravidyā – viśārado golagaṇitopapatti – kalpanā – nirvāhaka – sayuktikopakalpitaracanā – viśeṣa – vinoda – pradarsana – paraika – pratijñāvān sakala – gaṇita – sāra – bhūtābhinava – yantra – grantha – grathane mahān utsuko mahāprajñādhiko 'tīva – kalpakāḥ paropakārārtham parama – kāruṇikāḥ sva – pratijñāta – granthasya prārabdha – parisamāptyai śiṣyopaśiṣya – paramparopacitidvārā pra-siddhyai cāntarāya – nirasanaṁrtham svābhīṣṭadevata – guru – caraṇa – smaraṇa – rūpa – maṅgalam ācarann anyokti – dvārā svepsitam saṁprati pratijānīte....”

Herein Gōpirāja explicitly states that Mahēndrasūrī wrote the present novel treatise integrating *yavana* yantravidyā with Indian Astronomy under specific instructions from Emperor Firūz Shāh Tughluk, whom, too, he distinctly locates in his self-built¹⁰ new

Mahēndraguru and he was an excellent preceptor. He was directed in the Arab Era 771 and the Vikrama Era 1427 by King-Emperor Perojaśāha-Pādaśāha, who had made his residence at the capital city Perojābāda near the land of religion named Kurukṣetra, to compose, for the benefit of others, a new treatise propounding the science of astronomical instruments that has been the traditional secret of the lore of the Yavanas (Muslims). Thereupon Mahēndrasūrī, himself highly proficient in the science of astronomical instruments, made a unique resolve to put forth a divertive display by means of a special composition wherein the rationale and ideas of Astronomy (Astronomical Mathematics) are reasonably accommodated. (Accordingly) he was extremely anxious to prepare the novel treatise on Yantravidyā also embodying the quintessence of entire Astronomy, as he was endowed with surpassing intellect and high aptitude for design and invention and was excessively compassionate to render beneficial service to others. With a view to achieving commencement and due completion of his promised treatise, to attaining celebrity through accumulation of a series of pupils and pupils' pupils and also to dispelling obstacles, he is now performing benediction in the form of recollection of the feet of his favourite Deity and of his preceptor and is declaring his desired object through a third person utterance.”

10. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 1958 edn. (Delhi), pp. 175, 587.

capital Firūzābād adjacent to old Delhi and not far away from Kurukṣetra. Gōpirāja (c. 1540 A.C.), posterior to Firuz Shāh Tughluk and Mahēndrasūrī by hardly 160 years as he is, appears well conversant with pertinent genuine traditions of astronomers and Islamic royal courts of the country.

Mahēndrasūrī in his Prologue and conclusion states that he is composing the *Yantrarājāgama* out of his keen benevolent desire thereby to benefit the people ("lokānām hita-kāmyayā", 'kevalāya paropakārāya'). But, according to Gōpirāja's commentary on Mahēndrasūrī's opening verse, the motive of rendering a utility service to the people by this composition is to be attributed rather to the royal patron Firūz Shāh, who issued pertinent instructions to the author mainly with that outlook:

"....lokānām hita-kāmyayā hetu-bhūtayā kṛtvā tena rājñā anujñātaḥ Mahēndrasūrīḥ sad-yantrarājāgamam Kurute, iti yojanā....."¹¹

In Mahēndrasūrī's 'lokānām hita-kāmyayā' and 'kevalāya paropakārāya' we indeed find a very audible echo of the age. History¹² tells us that the welfare of the people and generosity to the people were the watchwords of the new administration of Firūz Shāh Tughluk, and several of his works were executed expressly with the object of benefiting the subjects thereby.

The contemporary monarch whose high esteem Madanasūrī, the author's preceptor, is said to have enjoyed, too, is in all likelihood none else than Firūz Shāh Tughluk himself. In the course of his early conquests and expeditions to Sindh etc., Firūz Shāh Tughluk¹³ had personally stayed in Gujarāt for many months during 1362-1363, and later on, too, was often directly concerned in appointing and dismissing the Governors of Gujarāt that was a province of the Delhi Empire. It is likely that Madanasūrī and

11. *Oxford History of India*, 1958 edn., p. 257, etc. "'With a desire for the people's welfare,' i.e., with a view to serving this purpose Mahēndrasūrī was authorised for the task by that king, and he is now composing the relevant treatise *Yantrarājāgama*: Thus stands the construction."

12. Lane Poole: *Mediaeval India*, 1951 edn., p. 106; Ishwari Prasād: *History of Mediaeval India*, 1940 edn; pp. 293, 305, etc., A. L. Srīvastava: *Sultanate of Delhi*, 1953, p. 243.

13. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 173-188.

Mahēndrasūrī came in first personal contact with Firūz Shāh in c. 1362, that on Madanasūrī's recommendation Firūz Shāh took Mahēndrasūrī from Broach to his Imperial Court at Delhi and that under his instructions Mahēndrasūrī commenced and completed in 1370 the *Yantrarājāgama* on the basis of a current Arabic or Persian treatise for the use of Sanskrit astronomers.

Addiction to Astronomy and Astrology appears to be a common feature of all the Sultāns of the Tughluk Dynasty. Ghiyāsuddin Tughluk (1320-1325 A.C.) and his son Muhammad Shāh Tughluk (1325-1351) both patronised a band of court astrologers.¹⁴ Muhammad Shāh especially is seen indulging in the astrologers' prophecies and forecasts, even in his early secret intrigues against his own father, and he, despite his numerous acts of madness and savage repression throughout his reign, was himself¹⁵ a keen student of Mathematics, Astronomy and Physical Sciences as much as of Logic, Philosophy and Persian Poetry. His cousin and successor Firūz Shāh in his early conquest of Nagarkoṭ in Kāngrā in 1360-61 had procured in his arson and booty a rich collection of 1300 well preserved Sanskrit manuscripts from the Jvālāmukhī temple many of which he forthwith got translated into Persian,¹⁶ as later on recorded by Firishta and Badāonī. One of these works dealt with Astronomy and Philosophy, and its Persian metrical version made by Āzuddīn-Khālīd-Khānī under the Sultān's orders was given the title *Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī*.¹⁷ There is thus every reason to give full credit to the contemporary Malayēndusūrī's information that Firūz Shāh Tughluk patronised a band of astronomers-cum-astrologers, whether in his court or privately, and that Mahēndrasūrī was very prominent among them. If Firūz Shāh is silent about Mahēndrasūrī and the *Yantrarājāgama* in his own autobiography *Fatūhāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, the omission is evidently due to his oversight, or rather to his keenness to record therein mainly his Islām-pleasing activities. Baranī's account of Firūz Shāh's regime in his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* need not be taken to be exhaustive to each and every detail.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 133.

15. Lane Poole: *Mediaeval India*, p. 86; A. L. Srivastava: *Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 222, etc.

16. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 179, etc.

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 179.

Over two centuries later Badāonī says¹⁸ that he saw and read at Lahore in 1591-92 the pre-said *Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī* and other Persian translations, caused by Firūz Shāh Tughluk, of Sanskrit works from the MSS collection of the Jvālāmukhī Temple. Badāonī, while admitting the Sanskrit original of the *Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī* as 'moderately good, free neither from beauties nor defects,' condemns the same of some of the rest versions as 'unprofitable' and 'trivial'. It is not unlikely that some contemporary Muftis and Maulvis in Firūz Shāh's own Imperial Court, too, later on grumbled over those translated Sanskrit works, hinting that corresponding original works in Arabic and Persian on such technical and scientific subjects were far more advanced and of superior utility. Probably some such cause, coupled with his philanthropic desire to benefit his Hindu subjects with up-to-date advanced astronomical achievements of Islamic countries, inspired Firūz Shāh Tughluk, as stated by Gōpirāja, to ask his court astronomer Mahēndrasūrī to prepare the *Yantrarājāgama* on the basis of a current Arabic or Persian treatise. Gōpirāja is even earlier than Firishṭa and Badāonī and due weight has to be granted to the historical tradition recorded in his commentary.

Firuz Shāh Tughluk, despite his good rule and administrative reforms and several acts of taste and public utility like building many new cities, new roads and imposing structures, digging the Sutlej and the Yamunā canals, re-erecting two Aśōka Pillars near Delhi, etc., is also notorious, hardly less than his cousin predecessor, for his exclusive extra partiality for Islam, Islamic ways and Muslim subjects, for his destructive intolerance of Hindu religion, temples and idols and for his repressive persecution of Hindus, mainly Brāhmaṇas, usually terminating in their slaughter or mass conversion.¹⁹ Still, in the midst of these adverse facts, here is an instance of his causing something of literary permanence for the uplift of Sanskrit Astronomy of the Hindus by instructing his protégé Mahēndrasūrī to compose the *Yantrarājāgama*. However, in this task, notably enough, only a Jaina author, and not a Brāhmaṇa author, could be available to him. Here we are naturally reminded of his attempt to solve the mystery of the Aśōka Pillars,

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 179.

19. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 173-188, etc.

wherein some equipped *Paṇḍitas* caught hold of for the purpose had declared, most probably in a spirit of non-cooperation, their inability to decipher not only the Brāhmī inscriptions but even some Old-Devanāgarī inscriptions on the pillars.²⁰

While most of the modern major historians of the Delhi Sultānate Period show acquaintance with the *Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī* the *Yantrarājāgama* appears quite unknown not only to Elphinstone (*History of India*, 1841), S. Lane Poole (*Mediaeval India*, 1903), etc., but even to Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 1919), Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 1928), Ishwari Prasad (*History of Mediaeval India*, 1925), A. L. Srivastava (*Sultanate of Delhi*, 1953), etc. This to some extent may be due to Aufrecht, etc., not noticing in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, etc. our Mahēndrasūri's association with Firūz Shāh Tughluk. Even Sudhākara Dvivēdi, the eminent editor of the 1882 *editio princeps* of the *Yantrarājāgama*, has almost ignored and silently passed over the peculiar historicity of the treatise and its author both in his Preface to the edition and in his later Sanskrit Chronicle of Indian astronomers entitled *Gaṇakatarāṅgini*.²¹ However, from what has been said and discussed above, it will be clear enough that the historical and cultural importance of the *Yantrarājāgama* is in no way less than the same of the *Dalāyil-i-Firūz Shāhī*. At least henceforth, no perfect historian of Firūz Shāh Tughluk can afford to go without an adequate allusion to his association with Mahēndrasūri and the immortal *Yantrarājāgama*.

20. Ishwari Prasād: *History of Mediaeval India*, p. 315. Vide also footnote 36 on this page citing the opinion of Edward Thomas.

21. First published in the Sanskrit journal *Pandit* in 1890, separate book-form in 1892, new edition in 1933 (p. 48). By the way, both the Jaina astronomers Mahēndrasūri and Malayēndusūri are rejected maturity and depth in Astronomy and Mathematics by Sudhākara Dvivēdi!

Virgin and the Divine Seed-layer (Rg. V. X. 61)

BY

DR. SADASHIV, A. DANGE

The hymn that we are fixing our attention on is very important from the point of social behaviour and ritual-history. It is unique in many ways. It is believed to have in it the seeds of the famous myth about the incest of the "Father" and the "Daughter", which later developed into the wonderful tale of the "Incest of Prajāpati." It is also known in later tradition as the hymn of the *sprinkling of the semen*, and is known as the *Nābhānediṣṭha*, as we shall see further. It is only in this hymn that *Nābhānediṣṭha* and *Cyavāna* appear together in the whole of the Rg V. *Nābhānediṣṭha* is said to be the seer of two hymns of the Rg V. (X. 61 and 62) according to the tradition; but his name actually occurs only in the previous of the hymns (V. 18). *Cyavāna* (or later *Cyavana*) is well known as the protégé of the *Aśvins*, (Rg V. I. 116.10; 117.13; 118.6; V. 74.5 etc.). He does not have any hymn to his credit in the Rg V. except X. 19, which is a doubtful case; for the tradition mentions other seers also for the same hymn (*Sāyaṇa*). From the Rg V. we know that *Cyavāna* was an old decrepit man favoured by the *Aśvins*, but in this hymn he is associated with semen. The hymn itself abounds in sex-symbolism and speaks constantly of sexual *friendship* with a virgin.

The hymn has been admitted to be obscure by scholars; and the names occurring in it, especially *Nābhānediṣṭha*, appear to have a ritual and mystic significance.¹ The hymn also appears to be originally having different parts.² According to Haugh³ the hymn imbibes the mystical significance of providing the sacrificer

1. Geldner, *Der R̥g Veda* III, Intr. to the hymn; Potdar, *Sacrifice in the R̥g Veda*, p. 220.

2. Ludwig, *Tr. R̥g Veda*. He divides the hymn as 1-4; 5-9; 10-13; 14-to the end.

3. Intr. to the *Ai.Br.*, p. 23 ff; esp., p. 28.

with new body. Potdar⁴ does not agree with this view as it is based on later ritual,⁵ though he feels that the name Nābhāne-diṣṭha is assumed for some "desired mystical effect."⁶ It is clear that Cyavāna appears in this hymn as a powerful person, and not as the decrepit old man whom the Aśvins rejuvenated. The hymn has the praise of the Aśvine also; and this, probably, led Pischel⁷ to see in this place the seeds of the later accounts about Cyavāna. As the view of Pischel has influenced scholars, it will be proper to examine it prior to any fresh attempt at the interpretation of the hymn. The verse that are directly concerned with this view are the first two of the hymn. The second mentions Cyavāna. We give below a translation of the verse without disturbing the portion that is doubtful:—

"He, verily, desiring for the gift that was *dabhyā* (?), Cyavāna arranged the *Vedi* (altar) with the *sūda-s*. The singer of a lofty laud (*gūrta-vacas-tamah*), *tūrvayāna* sprinkled the semen like a flow of water for hither-ward weal (*ksodo na reta ita-ūti śiñcat*." (V. 2).

Pischel (op.cit., p. 74) remarks— "Cyavāna bringt das opfer den Aśvins dar gegen den willen des Indra, den er hintergegen will. Er sieht es also ab aus ein betrügerisches opfer: er ist *dīnīya dabhyāya vanvan*." It would be clear that Pischel feels that this place is indicative of the deceitful offering of soma to the Aśvins on the part of Cyavāna, whereby Indra was displeased. He corroborates his statement by pointing out that Cyavāna was a protégé of the Aśvins according to the śat. Br. (4.1.5.1) and the Mb. (Mahābhārata) (III. 122-124). He also states that, on account of this deceit, Cyavāna kindled enmity with Tūrvayāna ("Den gegensatz zu ihm bildet Tūrvayāna"), who propitiated Indra with a rich drink-offering. Thus he believes that Cyavāna became antagonistic to one Tūrvayāna. Geldner⁸ accepts the opinion of

4. *Op.cit.*, p. 244.

5. The ritual is of the sixth day of the ten-day sacrifice, where this hymn is said to indicate the sprinkling of semen. See *Ai.Br.* V. 14; *Pañc.Br.* 20.9.4; etc

6. *Sacrifice in the Rg Veda*, p. 220.

7. *Vedische Studien*, p. 71 ff.

8. *Op.cit.*, p. 227, N. 2.

Pischel as to the antagonism between the two saying— "Schon Pischel hat den gegensatz zwischen Cyavāna and Tūrvayāṇa richtig erkannt." For Macdonell and Keith the hymn is no doubt obscure,⁹ but Tūrvayāṇa is a King who was helped by Indra against Cyavāna and his protectors, the Maruts.¹⁰ A question presents itself here — What is the relationship between Cyavāna and Tūrvayāṇa as seen from this particular context? It would appear that Pischel and the other scholars mentioned above consider Cyavāna to be at some time the priest of the King Tūrvayāṇa whom he sought to deceive, and that the latter was saved and favoured by Indra on account of his piety as against the deceit practised by Cyavāna. According to a fairly recent opinion,¹¹ however, Cyavāna was the priest of "another patron" (?); and "Indra however is said to have driven away the priests (V. 1, *ahannā sapta hotṛn*,¹²) as the offering of Cyavāna was deceptive (V. 2, *sa id dānāya dābhyāya vanvan*.¹³). According to this opinion, then, deception by Cyavāna had no connection with the sacrifice of Tūrvayāṇa. These scholars are one, however, in believing that both Cyavāna and Tūrvayāṇa in this context are real names of persons. There is one more point on which they agree. They state in the same context that in this verse Tūrvayāṇa is the King of the Pakthas. This is because of the words "*paṣat pakthe*" occurring in the first verse in the hymn.

It may be remarked that Macdonell's (and Keith's) opinion as to Indra helping Tūrvayāṇa against Cyavāna and his protectors, the Maruts, cannot be supported from the hymn; for there is no reference to the Maruts in the hymn. The R̥g V. indicates, elsewhere, a clash between Indra and the Maruts (I. 170.2); but Cyavāna does not figure there at all. Probably in the place of the Maruts we have to read the Aśvinau. It is also worthy of note that these scholars, writing separately, do not connect Cyavāna and Tūrvayāṇa.

9. *Vedic Index*, under Cyavāna.

10. *Ibid.*, under, Tūrvayāṇa.

11. Potdar, *Op.cit.*, p. 184

12. *Ibid.*, Potdar, like Pischel, takes the word *ahan* as a verb from the root √han. But Pischel renders it as, "verhinderte". Both these renderings are not very happy with the root. See Geldner, noted further in the discussion.

13. Potdar, *Op.cit.*, p. 184. Cf. Pischel, *Op.cit.*, p. 74.

yāna. Though they mention Tūrvayāṇa as a protégé of Indra,¹⁴ they do not refer to this place from the Ṛg V. The reason is obvious. They do not suppose this place to be, doubtlessly, an evidence to denote the antagonism between Cyavāna and Tūrvayāṇa on the one hand, and the favour of Indra to the latter on the other. On their contention that Pischel's interpretation of (the first two verses in) this hymn gets support from the tale of Vidanvat in the Jaiminiya Br. III. 121-128,¹⁵ it is necessary to point out that the portions from the Jaim. Br. mentioned by them do not have reference to Vidanvat. The name and the episode of Vidanvat comes in the appendage of the portion mentioned above;¹⁶ and there again we have no reference to the so called Tūrvayāṇa. The indication of the wrath of Indra against Cyavāna as suggested by Vidanvat's request to the latter to support him against the former is clearly an offshoot of the famous Brāhmaṇic tale¹⁷ of the award of the soma-offering to the Aśvins and the cutting of the head of Dadhyan Ātharvaṇa by Indra, the cause of which was associated with Cyavāna. But it is too much to see all this in the verse under consideration, which has nothing else than the word "*dānāya dabhyāya*" spoken in relation to Cyavāna. The learned authors of the *Vedic Index* are clearly aware of this fact; for, though they are favourably considering the suggestion of Pischel, they admit the obscurity of the hymn and concede that the tale of Cyavāna here is entirely out of tune with his well-marked-out personality at other places. With this in mind it is possible to perfectly understand their attention to the fact that in the Aitareya Br. Cyavāna and Indra are perfectly on peace as Cyavāna performs the *Aindra Mahābhīṣeka*.¹⁸ This *abhīṣeka* is

14. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, under *Kutsa* (Hindi Tr. by Ramkumar Rai, p. 279); Keith, *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda and the Up.*, p. 129, where he is said to be the King of the non-Aryans; also p. 228.

15. *Vedic Index*, under Cyavāna. They refer to the *Jaim.Br.* portion (N.) as recorded by Hopkins (*JAOS*, 26, p. 43 ff.). Even this portion does not have Vidanvat. Vidanvat comes in the *Tāṇḍya M.Br.* XIII. 10.10; and Hopkins remarks— "The after-piece to this tale (i.e., of the *Jai.Br.* III. 120-128) in the *Jaim. Br.* is connected with the following story (told in the *Tāṇḍya M.Br.*)"

16. *Ibid.*, remark of Hopkins and the ref.

17. *Jai.Br.* III, 125 ff. Cf. *Śat.Br.* IV. 1.5.18; etc.

18. *At.Br.* VIII, 21.4; Pischel, *Op.cit.*, p. 75; *Vedic Index*, under Cyavāna.

performed for Śāryāta; and even here Tūrvayāṇa is not in the picture. Now if Tūrvayāṇa was in anyway connected with Cyavāna we have to explain how he does not figure in any of these accounts. The person that is connected with Cyavāna is Śāryāti or Śāryāta; and we have no proof to say that Tūrvayāṇa and Śāryāti are identified. This would show that the word *tūrvayāṇa* does not indicate in this verse the name of a real person; and Grassman seems right in taking it as an epithet of Cyavāna,¹⁹ meaning “*the triumphant or victorious pusher.*” The word occurs only four times in the R̥g V. and one more clear and doubtless case of its being an epithet is I. 174.3. where it is said of Agni (*rakṣo agnimasuṣam tūrvayāṇam*) as Roth²⁰ and Sāyaṇa rightly remark.

Now about Tūrvayāṇa being the Paktha King. We have seen how traditionally and textually Cyavāna cannot be connected with Tūrvayāṇa, the King as he is believed to be referred to in this place. There are two other references, however, which indicate a King of that name (R̥g V. I. 53.10; VI. 18.13), but having no connection with Cyavāna. Pischel, Macdonell and Keith feel that Tūrvayāṇa was the King of the Pakthas. Before commenting on the basis of their conjecture, it would be interesting to see what Macdonell and Keith have to say in this case. While commenting on Cyavāna (*Vedic Index*), they say that he was favoured by the Aśvins as against Tūrvayāṇa who was the devotee of Indra, thus including that Tūrvayāṇa was not devoted to the Aśvins. Here they follow Pischel who states that Tūrvayāṇa offered to Indra and not to the Aśvins who were honoured by Cyavāna through deception (*op.cit.*, p. 74). They maintain this stand while writing about Tūrvayāṇa (*Index*). But while commenting on the name *Paktha*, they mention three places from the R̥g V. including X., 61.1 (our present one) to show that the Paktha King “*probably*” called Tūrvayāṇa was favoured by the Aśvins (and not Indra!), and quote Pischel as the authority for the clash between Tūrvayāṇa and Cyavāna! This is obviously because there is the praise of the Aśvins in the hymn just after the first two verses which have the words “*parṣat pakthe...*” (V. 1) and Cyavāna and also

19. *R̥g Veda*, Anhang, p. 474; *Wörterbuch*, “*siegreich vordringend*”.

20. *St. Petersburg Dictionary*; *Vedic Index* under *Tūrvayāṇa*, N. 2.

Tūrvayāṇa (V. 2). There is no clash at all in the hymn with Indra. On the contrary there is the invocation of Indra to allow the seer (*Nābhānediṣṭha*?) to praise the Aśvins, which probably was mistaken as the point of a clash between the Aśvins and Indra; and could possibly be seen in the later tradition of the Brāhmaṇa-s. Here the Aśvins (i.e., Nāsatyā-s are said to be the sons of Rudra (V. 15-*uta tyā me raudrau -arcimantā Nāsatyau-Indra gūrtaye yajadhai*). Raudrau here refers to the Aśvins who are referred to as *Rudrau* at VIII. 22.14. and *rudra-vartanī* is whose exclusive epithet (VIII. 22.1; 14; I. 3.3). This may be compared with the expression *raudram brahma* which most probably, is the epithet of the performance recorded in and that of whole hymn (X. 61.) that became famous as the *Nābhānediṣṭha*.

Now it is difficult to believe that in one and the same context (X. 61. 1 & 2) Tūrvayāṇa — the Paktha King — is opposed to the Aśvins on account of the trick of Cyavāna, and is also favoured by the Aśvins, as Macdonell and Keith would have us believe. One Paktha was favoured by the Aśvins (Rg. V. VIII.22.10); and at another place a Paktha is said to have been favoured by Indra (Ib. 49.10). There we do not have any mention of Tūrvayāṇa. Where the word *paktha* and *tūrvayāṇa* occur together (X.61. 2 & 3) the difficulty of the point we have just noted arises. There is no other proof in the Rg. V. to connect *paktha* and *tūrvayāṇa*. As such the identity of Tūrvayāṇa and the Paktha cannot be supported by the doubtful passage from this hymn, in spite of the fact that both Tūrvayāṇa and the Pakthas are said to be the enemies of Divodasa Atithigva and his son, Sudās (VI.18.13; VII.18.7). The whole line in the present hymn in which the word *paktha* comes is:—

krāṇā yad asya pitarā māmhane-ṣṭhāḥ
parṣat pakthe ahannā sapta hotṛn//

Now there has been a doubt about the exact construction and meaning of the second hemistich. The word *ahan* has been taken to be the locative form of *ahan* (=day) with the termination dropped.²¹ It has also been taken as the verb,²² contrasting with

21. Sāyana; Geldner, *Op.cit.*, *Loc.cit.*

22. Pischel, *Op.cit.*; see note 12 above.

parṣat. Pischel, taking it as the verb (p. 76) separates *pakthe* and *ahan*. The meaning, then, is “*manhane-ṣṭhāḥ* (Indra, Cf. p. 75) vanquished the seven priests (of Cyavāna) and saved the elders (of the Paktha) etc.” (Pischel *op.cit.*, p. 75; cf. also p. 76—“...das Indra verhinderte *ahann ā...*”) Geldner takes *paktha* to indicate the King of the Pakthas; but he retains the locative, whereas Pischel sees the meaning of the dative in it.²³ Geldner does not take *ahan* as the verb but as a form in the locative; and as the two locatives viz. *pakthe* and *ahan* (i) come close to one another, he observes, “Zwei Lok. nebeneinander verschiedener Beziehung sind nicht selten” (*Der Rig Veda* III, p. 226), thus separating *ahan* from *paktha*. But the difficulty of construing the lone word *ahan* (meaning, day) he tries to overcome by rendering it (*op.cit. note*) as the “day of decision” (Entscheidungstag) in respect of *pārye ahan* (VI.26.1); but in the main rendering he has, “am Opfertage”, connecting the day with the offering. The difficulty is, obviously, due to taking the word *paktha* to indicate the King of the Pakthas. Sāyaṇa is more convincing, as he aptly connects the two words *pakthe* and *ahan* (i) indicating the day on which the offering is cooked (*pakthe paktavye ahan ahani*). Geldner, oscillating as he does between Pischel and Sāyaṇa, is as unconvincing as those who see here a reference to any Paktha King. This place, then, does not support the King of the Pakthas; and, obviously, ill-supports the identification (if any) of Tūrvayāna with the Paktha King. With this also is discarded the theory of a clash between Cyavāna and Tūrvayāna, which has no other support. Pischel is, however, quite convincing in associating the *retas* (*kṣodo na retah* at v. 2 d) with the flood of water that fructifies the land (*op.cit.*, p. 74, “ein Fluss seine befruchtenden wässer über das Land” and “*retah* bedeutet die befruchtenden kraft des wässers”). But, we may add, it is not due to the offering of

23. “Der loc. *pakthe* stehet in sinne des Dative” (p. 76). Both he and Geldner compare the case with *pakthe* at Rg V. VIII, 49.10. It seems we have to make a difference between the two cases. At VIII. 49.10, we have *pakthe...asanoh*; and the verb *asanoh* (fr. $\sqrt{\text{san}}$ =to win) has an object (*go-mat*, *hiranya-mat* wealth) which expects the Dative in *pakthe*. The case of *pakthe* at X. 61.1 is different. The verb *parṣat* does not expect the Dative; and it is intransitive.

Tūrvayāṇa (!); it is due to the prowess of Cyavāna who is himself tūrvayāṇa (cf. Grassman and Sāyana).

In the light of what has been said above it is clear that the expression *dānāya dabhyāya vanvan* does not indicate the deceit of Tūrvayāṇa by Cyavāna. As a matter of fact the whole activity is clearly centred round Cyavāna. To have a clear idea of what that activity is, it is necessary to view the whole hymn, which we shall presently do. But one thing seems to be pretty clear. The word *ājau* (cf. *śacyām antar ājau* at v. 1 b) does not indicate that there was a battle as such; for the probability of Tūrvayāṇa being extinguished, and Cyavāna being the sole master of the situation, the word *āji* must indicate the ritual he is acting for the accomplishment of something. The point will be clear in our discussion. Now the hymn abounds in sexual images. Briefly the contents are as follows:—

- (i) Some unique gift (*dabhya dāna*) is accomplished by Cyavāna, accompanied by some ritual in which *retah* is to be sprinkled as if it were a flood of water.
- (ii) Praise of the Aśvins to protect the ritual practised in dark hours of the dawn (v. 4 *Kṛṣṇā yad goṣv-arunīṣu sīdat ...vītam me yajñam...*)

Now starts a different strain, believed to denote the myth of Prajāpati's incest.²⁴

- (iii) The expiation of the *manly deed* (originally by some one fit for the procreation of sons²⁵) by a powerful person who again impels it in the daughter. As the "father" unites with the young "daughter", the semen gets sprinkled on the lofty plane which is the place of the virtuous deed (cf. *sukrtasya yonau*). As the "father" united with the Earth—the "daughter" that was his own—and sprinkled the *retas*. the gods, with righteous thoughts,

24. *Ai.Br.* III, 33.1; *Mait.Sam.* IV., 2.12; *Śat.Br.* I, 7.4.1; *Pañc.Br.* VIII, 2.10.

25. cf. *vīra-karmam*; Sāyana, "*yena retaso 'tpannā vīrā bhavanti tādrg retah*"; the *naryah* (powerful person) is not Rudra as supposed by Sāyana. He is clearly the Divine sacrificer. The point will be clear further on. The *Sukrtasya yoni* is the auspicious place of the ritual that represents the Divine plane on Earth, the sacrificial place with the Veda.

accomplished a *brahma* (which was), the creation of *Vāstoṣpati*, the protector of the austere vows. (v.s. 5-7). (cf. with this *brahma*, the *raudra brahma* at v.1).

- (iv) "Like the bull in the *āji* (?) he emitted the foam—he of an (emotionally) unsteady mind—forward, backward and sideward did he move. Avoidingly *ġid* (she) flee away like the Southern quarter(?) 'Him those my lovely (females) did not catch' ". (cf. *na tā nu me prśanyo jagṛbhre*).²⁶
- (v) "Soon, as the stud bull (*vahni*) tramples upon (ascends) his female progeny (he raised himself). He sat on her "*udder*" (?*ūdhas*) as does a naked one go to the fire.²⁷ The gainer of faggots, the winner of wealth was suddenly born" (v.s. 8 and 9).
- (vi) The next two verses describe the new and peculiar friendship of the sages Angirasas with the virgin girl (*kanā*) which is termed as the *ṛta-yukkti* due to which *retas* is said to be sprinkled as if it were the longed for wealth. This was nothing but the *Rta*... (v.s. 10 and 11).

This resulted in the gain of the cows that were lost and the destruction of the hidden place of *Śuṣṇa* that was well guarded. *Śusna* is said to be born again and again (*puru-prajāta*) (v.s. 12 and 13). Then follows the praise of the gods (v.s. 14-17). The purpose is the milking of the cow that was unfruitful.

26. I have accepted the rendering of Geldner here; Cf. "Nicht haben diese meine Lockungen verfangen." To his "Lockungen" I have added "females" for reasons which will be clear further.

27. Cf *makṣū na vahniḥ prajāyā upabdir agnim na naqna upa sīdadūdhaḥ*. The idea is that the "father" has coitus with the *kanā duhitṛ*. He is *nagna* like a *naqna* who (due to cold) approaches the fire. The *ūdhas* is the genital part of the *kanā*, as is clear from the *birth* spoken of in the next line (cf. *jaiṇe*); it relates to the birth of *Vāstoṣpati* (already referred to at V. 7). Cf. Rg V. VIII, 31.9 where we read, "*ūdho romaśam*" (the hairy *ūdhas*). which leaves no doubt. The act was the *brahma* which was created and accomplished by the gods. Cf. VII 33.10. 11, for *brahma* see *sāyaṇa*. See Dange "Birth of Vasiṣṭha", QJMS, Vol. LV., p. 83-91.

- (vii) Then comes the mention of Nābhānediṣṭha who is said to be invoking with a desire (for the milk of the cow); and the cow *sabar-dughā* milks the desired fruit (19, 20).

The rest of the hymn we shall come to a bit later.

The most important points in this portion of the hymn, then, appear to be (i) union with a virgin and (ii) fructification of the barren cow to make her *Sabardughā*. The result is the gain of cattle. The hymn does not speak as to *Prajāpati* being the "father", though the daughter is said to be the earth. (cf. *Kṣmayā sañjag-mānaḥ* at v.7).

The later versions²⁸ which allude to the myth are obviously not quite sure of the original participants in the myth; for though they say that the "father" is *Prajāpati*, there is divergence of opinion about the virgin young daughter (*kanā duhitṛ yuvati*, cf. v.s. 5-7), who is *Prajāpati*'s mate. She has been taken to be the Earth and also the Dawn. About the Earth there is clear evidence in the hymn. The Dawn is, most probably, suggested from the expression that obtains earlier in the hymn—"When the dark one (*kṛsnā* i.e., night) settled among the tawny cows (v. 4)." Long before the Rg Vedic account became obscure and *Prajāpati* came to be helplessly and fancifully identified with the sky etc. he seems to have a clear and prominent nature. We may examine the expression which compares the "father" with the bull²⁹ who unites with his *prajā* (v. 9). This clearly indicates that the bull is the 'nati' of his own *praja* (offspring). Thus he is the *Prajāpati*. Whatever explanation to the myth may have been given by the tradition, the underlying idea is that of the copulation between beasts. The couple is said to have transformed itself into the male and the female deer;³⁰ and the Rg V. presents the picture of the bull and its mate in speaking of the "foam of the Bull" (v. 8) and the fructification of the *Sabar-dughā* (v.s. 11, 17, 19). The Rg V.

28. See note 24.

29. The word is *Vahni*, and Geldner. "Zugtier". Sāyana, "*vahnivād dāhako rāksasādi*" is out of tune: for in the next line he has *Agni*. We may compare Rg V. X. 101.11, "*ubhe dhurau vahnir āpibdamānaḥ*", and Sāyana, there, "*vahnih...madhvān*"; and *ibid.* 10, "*ubhe dhurau prati vahnim nirvukta*". See Dange, "Field and the Plough-share", Nagpur Uni. J. April 1967.

30. *Ai.Br.* III, 33.; *Mait.Sam.* IV, 2.12.

connects in this way the concept of the sprinkling of the *retas* by Cyavāna with that of the Bull. It is to be noted that we have a male (said to be the god Prajāpati in the later tradition) and he is compared with the Bull (cf. *sa īm vṛṣā na fenam asyat* at v. 8) that approaches his progeny (v. 9). It has also to be noted that the later tale of Rudra shooting an arrow at the incestuous Prajāpati cannot be supported from this hymn of the Ṛg V. The hymn says that Vāstoṣpati was created by the gods; and from the context it appears that it was accomplished from the semen of the "father" (Prajāpati?) coming in contact with the "daughter" (Earth). From the identification of Vāstoṣpati and Rudra,³¹ it would mean that Rudra was actually produced from this union; and, naturally, he could not be taken to thwart it. The next verse, which speaks of the typical action of the person (said to be the Vāstoṣpati Rudra by Sāyaṇa) compared with the foaming Bull does not indicate any action against the erring "father". The expression "Him my lovely females did not catch" cannot be explained by the tale of the conflict of Rudra and Prajāpati on this account. The hymn does not, thus, support the later tale in full. The shooting Rudra was, probably, suggested from another passage in the Ṛg V. which has a close resemblance to the passage under discussion (i.e., with X. 61.8). It runs as follows:

"When he (the sacrificer) offered the liquid offering to the Father in the heaven, the knowing (Father) rushed to the "females". At him the archer (*astā*) shot the dart. The God (the same Father) planted his seed in his own daughter."—Ṛg. V. I. 71.5.

The archer in this passage is not Rudra according to the Ṛg V. The action of the planting of the seed comes even when the dart was shot. The archer, here, is the Agni according to Sāyaṇa. The "father" that rushes to the females (*prśānyaḥ*) here and He, who (being like the Bull) is not touched by the females (*prśānyaḥ*) at X.61.8, are clearly the same; and there should not remain any obscurity³² about it now. The sacrificer (at Ṛg. V. I. 71.5 above)

31. *Mait.Sam.* II, 9.7., cf. "*namo vāstavyāya vastūpāya ca*". *Tait Sam.* III, 4=10.3, *rudraḥ khalu vai Vāstoṣpatiḥ*. See Geldner, *O.cit.*, p. 228, N. 7d.

32. *Prśānyaḥ* is feminine Plural here and also at I. 71.5. Sāyaṇa has, "*abhisparśana-kuśalaḥ rudraḥ*" at X. 61.8, and "*sparsana-kuśalo rākṣasādīḥ*"

offering the liquid offering (*rasam*) and causing the "father" to rush to the females, at the same time bringing about the incest, is only another type of Cyavāna. The *sūda* by which Cyavāna measures or arranges the altar and the *retas* with which he sprinkles it are, then, related to one another and are also complimentary to the action of the "father" and the "daughter", as being conducive to the fructification of the *sabardughā* which is the Earth as well as the cloud, like the *Pṛśni*. The females to be touched by the "father" are cows that are to be fructified. The point becomes clear by the fact that the ritual of getting the cows touched by the Bull is indicated elsewhere in the *Rg V.* where Indra, as a Bull, is said to be symbolically planting the seed in them by touching them (X.102.8 cf. *gāḥ paspaśānas tavisīr adhatta*).³³ The Bull emitting the foam, thereby suggesting the "father" emitting his seed, has parallels in the Vedic tradition,³⁴ signifying the fructifying rain. The mention of the exploits of the *Āṅgirasas* in the hymn just after the 'father-daughter'-episode does seem to have a purpose. The ritual is because the 'cows' did not catch the "Bull" i.e. the "Father" did not fructify (*natā nu me'prṣanyo jagṛbhre*). Now the *Āṅgirasas* sprinkle the *retas* and gain the milk of the *Sabardughā*; and *Śuṣṇa* is defeated. This is clearly the gain of the rain, which itself is said to be the *retas*. The sprinkling of the *retas* (soma or ghee)³⁵ in the fire for rain obtains as belief and a well formed ritual in the Vedic period.³⁶ But the sexual imagery and the coitus between the "father" and the "daughter" needs consideration. Whether there was a practice in which the real father played the part of the "sprinkler" cannot be too definitely said.³⁷ But the constant mention of the *kanā* (virgin) and her "friendship" (with the "father") resulting

I. 71.5.; and for *jagṛbhre* (plural) goes with *prṣānyah*, at X. 61.8, he understands "*grhnāti*" (singular) suiting his rendering of *prṣānyah*! We may compare another word — "*prṣanī*" (X. 73.2.).

33. See Dange, "An Obscure Pastoral Ritual from the *Rg Veda*." *B.R. Chatterji Com. Vol.*

34. Ibid., Cf. X. 102.5 d. "*amehayan vṛṣabham madhya ājeḥ*," which results in the gains of hundred thousand cows for *Mudgala*.

35. *Rg V.* I, 164.34; 35. IX, 86.39; I, 71.8; VII, 33.7; etc.

36. Keith, *Op.cit.*, Vol. p. 169, 172.

37. See Dange, "Prajāpati and his Daughter" (*Purāṇa*, Vol. V-1, Jan. 1963), where he quotes a parallel tale from European Folk-belief.

in the gain of the rain and general weal, as is clear from what has been said above, cannot be set aside. It seems to have been well rooted and obtains even in later sacrificial context as a mystic expression for general weal and success (cf. also III. 31.1; I.71.8, 9, where *retas* and *sūdayat* occur; and further, *ibid*, v. 9, we have *goṣu priyam amṛtam*; cf. also I.164.33). The *kanā*, who forms friendship with the Aṅgirasas, is said to impel them to sprinkle the *retas* (X.61.11). While commenting on the word *Kanā*, Sāyaṇa rightly says that she is the *gharmadogdhrī* (*Pṛśni* according to some manuscripts); but by *kanā* he also understands the charming praise (*kamanīyā stutiḥ*) which seems unsuitable in the context of the sexual description. Now *gharma-dogdhrī* is also said to be the rain-giving cow of the Aṅgirasas and she is said to be the *Pṛśni*- (Taitt. Br. 2.1.1.1; also Sāyaṇa on the present passage). *Gharma-dogdhrī* is clearly the one who milks the *gharma*, which is the Sun and also the Parjanya.³⁸

Thus the first hand and unalloyed information that we get from the hymn is the gain of rain and the fructification of the cows by a peculiar practice, in which sexual belief played an important part. The *ṛta-yukti*³⁹ of the Aṅgirasas included the sexual freedom with a virgin; and, at least, at the time of the arrangement of the hymn (as distinct from that of composition of the various parts, if at all they were different), Cyavāna came to be believed on par with the ritual-“father”. The Ṛg V. mentions him as the old man who regained his youth; and we have noted this point already. Cyavāna who comes on par with the very “father” in sprinkling the seed (*retas*) only apparently presents a different case. It is interesting to note that *Cyavāna* is also an epithet of the Aśvins (Ṛg. V. VI.62.7) as they are also *vṛṣaṇā* in giving a son to *Wadhrimatī* and fructifying the sterile cow of Śayu. The Ṛg. V. also speaks elsewhere of Cyavāna as the one who offered the *havis* to the Aśvins (VII.68.6 *Cyavānāya pratītyam havir-de*). This is

38. Cf. Ṛg V. VII, 33.7; and Sāyaṇa who quotes the Śātyāyana; Cf. X. 114.1. For *gharma* cf. VII, 33.7 *trayo gharmāsa uṣasam sacante*.

39. The text is, “*maksū kanāyāḥ sakhyam navagvaḥ, ṛtam vadanta ṛta-yuktim agman*.” For a naked virgin in rain-charms even today, see Chaube in *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. VI (Jan.-Feb. 1945), p. 176 ff.

corroborated by the fact that in the passage under consideration Cyavāna actually offers the *havis* to the Aśvins (v. 2 ff.), which should indicate the same motif as that of the generative exploit of the Aśvins. With his equality with the "father" and the Aśvins, it is natural to expect his association with a Kanā (virgin) as also his power to be ever young and sexually fit. The Ṛg V. attests that he was made the lord of *kani*-s (Ṛg V. 1.116.10). The epithet "*patiṃ kanīnām*" is a unique one and is shared only by Agni (Ṛg V. 1.66.4—where he is called Yama i.e., having a two-fold nature, probably, indicating his other nature as the sun), and by the Sun (*āditya* according to Śaṅkara) who is said to be the lustrous abode of Mitra-and-Varuṇa (Ṛg V. 1.152.3). The sacrificial horse is said to control the fortune of the virgins (Ṛg V. 1.163.8, *anu twā...bhagaḥ kanīnām*). As the sacrificial horse is the emblem of the Sun (*ib.*, 1; 2) clearly the belief is that the fortune of the maidens-virgins depends upon the Sun. This shows that Cyavāna (the lord of the virgins) was not a historical person. From his nature in the Ṛg V. it appears that Cyavāna symbolized the Sun, in one of his aspects, as the releaser of the fructifying heavenly fluid (from *c̥yū* to flow or to cause to flow), an idea expressed also in the "father's seed". In ritual, as clearly stated in the expression "*amimīta vedim*", he was represented by some one who acted the fructifying "sun-father". This would mean that he was not the sun of a particular period of the day—say, setting and again coming to rise—; but in belief he represented the solar principle as such, as in ritual he would be the fructifier. It is not improbable that, in ritual, he was actually offered a virgin maid to impel general weal or rain. His association with the Aśvins in the Ṛg V. as also in the Brāhmaṇic legend of Cyavāna, probably, marks the next step due to the Aśvins being the centre of sexual power and personal beauty. Cyavāna, as an aspect of the Sun then stands on par with other Solar aspects in ritual; and the ritual by which he is said to sprinkle the *retas* appears to be only another aspect of the sprinkling of the divine Sun-flow, as we meet in the case of Vṛṣākapi and the Mahānagnī.⁴⁰

40. Dange, "A Virility Charm from the Rg Veda," Nagpur Univ. J. April, 1966; and "Mahānagnī and Apālā", Annual Number of the Vidarbha Samśodhana Maṇḍala, 1966; also "Field and the Plough-share" for a few Sun-rituals; also. Frazer *Golden Bough*.

Though the Ṛg V. does not precisely say anything about Cyavāna being united with any maiden, the hymn sufficiently indicates it. The Brāhmaṇic account is eloquent on the point of a maiden being actually offered to Cyavāna. According to the Śatapatha Br. (IV. 1.5.) Cyavāna had assumed a shrivelled form of *his own accord*. Then on one occasion the King Śaryāta, in his wanderings along with his people, camped near Cyavāna away from human habitation. The sons of the King pelted clods of earth at him. He became angry and created discord among the people of the King, whereby enmity arose between the sons and the father, and between brothers. The King, being helpless pacified Cyavāna by offering his own daughter. According to the Jaim.Br. (III. 120-128) Cyavāna asked his sons to desert him in a 'vāstu', for he knew the ritual of the 'vāstupa'. As he was old, he said that by deserting him in the 'vāstu' the sons would do no injury to him; but on the contrary, he would, then, have the hope of being young. This was done and the sons went away. Now the King Śaryāta encamped there. Some boys, cowherds and shepherds besmeared him with dirt, ashes and dung. Then he made subjects of Śaryāta devoid of sense, so that "the mother did not know her son, nor the son the mother" (cf. *tan na mātā putram ajānāt na putro mātaram*). Then Śaryāta approached the old Cyavāna to pacify him. Cyavāna asked for the daughter of the King.⁴¹

This seems to be the most original part of the tale, and comes very close to the Ṛg V. In the Ṛg V Cyavāna is said to be the *pati* of the virgins (cf. *patim kan'nām*) as we have already noted. Though there is slight variance between the accounts of the two Brāhmaṇas, according to one Cyavāna himself asking for the daughter and according to the other the King offering on his own, the point of the gift of the virgin daughter is the same. The daughter's name is Sukanyā, which is no definite name; it indicates only another way of suggesting maidenhood as such. The *pati* of the *kani*-s is here shown, by a different method, as the *pati* of *su-kan'yā*. Cyavāna's residence out of the human habitat and his knowledge of the rite called 'vāstupa' whereby he hoped to get young and have a maiden is to be particularly noted. This would

41. See also Hopkins in JAOS. 26, p. 43 ff.

suggest that the 'vāstu' refers to the virgin, barren or waste land⁴² which Cyavāna could protect (cf. *vāstu-pa*) if propitiated by the gift of a maiden.⁴³ Though the Brāhmaṇas mentioned above do not speak of any rain as such, it is of interest to remember that the Ai.Br. speaks of the *Aindra Mahābhīṣeka* about Śāryāta (VIII. 21.4; also Pischel *op.cit.*, p. 75), which indicates the advent of rain, and is closely similar to the defeat of the demon Śuṣṇa at Rg V. X. 61.13.

With what has been said above the expression *dabhyāya dānāya vanvan* has to be understood in the sexual setting of the hymn. The word *dabhyāya* cannot, possibly, be rendered as "betrügerisch" (Pischel, *op.cit.*, p. 74), as the form is passive; and moreover, the deceit of Indra by Cyavāna is not attested by the hymn. The offering of soma to the Aśvins by trickery is alluded to by later texts (Śat. Br. IV. 1.5; Jaim.Br. III. 120-128); but the Rg V. does not support it. Geldner already seems to have noticed the unsuitability of the rendering by Pischel; and he renders the word *dabhya* as "unsichere."⁴⁴ The expression would then mean "aspiring for the gift that is insecure or is yet to be secured." This is agreeable in this context and the "gift" that is insecure

42. *Ibid.*, p. 53. Hopkins compares it with the Latin word *vastus*. Cf. also German *wust*; Indo-European root $\sqrt{\text{wes}}$ to graze; Avestan *vāstra* meaning a pasture; cf. Avesta, Yasna 35.4, "*rāmā ca vāstram cā*"; 7, "*gaus cā vāstram*"; also Avestan *Xuastram* (Su + *vāstram*?) i.e., good pastures. Louis Renou compares the Vedic word *svasara* with *vāstra* and pasture (Eng.) J.V.I.R.I. (Hoshiarpur) Vol. I, March 1963, p. 37 ff.

The original idea in the *vāstu* appears to be the pasture-land, which gave place later to the 'dwelling in the pasture'; at a yet further stage the word meant only the 'dwelling'. The concept of the *Vāstospati*, thus, in original, seems to be the lord of the pastures and fields. Rudra (*as Vāstospati*) having the mouse as the *paśu* (Vāj. Sam. III, 57), indicates his lordship of the grain and field. The *vāstupa* could, thus, be believed to make the land barren or fertilise it, as he chose. Allied with it is the Concept of the *Kṣētra-pati* the lord of the fields (Rg V. IV, 57). He is to be satisfied. See "Field and the Plough-share." For sexual union in the field as a part of Ploughing-rituals and for rain see Frazer. *Op.cit.*, *Magic Art.* p. 98 ff.

43. The motif is fairly well known in folk-beliefs and tales. Cf. the Demon who controlled the whole land and would lay it waste if not propitiated with a virgin every year. Grimm's *Household tales*, Tr. by Margaret Hunt, Vol. I (London 1864), "Two Brothers". See also Day, *Folk-tales of Bengal* (and there the tale of Champaka), (London 1912), p. 70 ff.

44. *Der Rg Veda*, p. 227, The idea of the held-up gift.

is the rain which the Aṅgirasas are actually said to gain, as we have earlier noted. The point in the hymn, then, seems to be the propitiation of the Aśvins at a time when rain is insecure. And for the gain of rain a ritual in which sex played the main part, both in speech and act, was accomplished. Cyavāna is the person who, by the sympathetic act, gives the *fluid*. The clash of Cyavāna and Indra, as shown by much later texts (Mb. Vana, 122-124; Bhāgavata, P. IX, 3), only denotes the absence of regular rain. Sexual rituals for rain are known to the Vedic tradition, one of the most significant examples being the *Mahāvratā*.⁴⁵ The tale of Ṛṣya-Śrīga⁴⁶ recorded in later texts has the same motif. It is said that Indra did not shower rain in Lomapāda's kingdom. The point to be noted in the account of Ṛṣyaśrīga is that, as soon as he was placed in the chamber of the daughter of Lomapāda, the showers came and developed into torrents. The King and his subjects were satisfied. It is then that the King got his daughter married to the wonder-worker (Mb. Vana, 113). The name Ṛṣya-śrīga, like Cyavāna, is clearly a symbolic one; and denotes sexual potency. The Brāhmaṇic versions of the account of Cyavāna mark another interesting point. As Ṛṣyaśrīga stays out of the human habitat, so does Cyavāna. It is Śaryāta who is said to go out and has to give his daughter to him. The Rg V. is silent on this point. The Brāhmaṇic accounts suggest that the ritual-practice known to the Rg V. persisted; and even if it is granted that it underwent change later on, we may venture a surmise that it was a pastoral practice, in which sex-freedom played an important part. Cyavāna is said to have been besmeared with earth, dung and ashes. The boys were cowherds and shepherds. Such was the state of senselessness that the mother did not know the son and *vice-versa*.⁴⁷ Though the Śat.Br. does not speak in clear terms

45. Keith, *Op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 351-352.

46. *Mahābhārata* (Mb), Vana 110 ff; *Bhāgavata*, P. IX, 23.8 ff; *Rāmāyana*, I, 10 ff. See also W. Ruben, "Some remarks on Kota Tales", *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. X, 1949, p. 144. For the sex-symbolism in the Śrīga of Ṛṣya-Śrīga see Motichandra, "Nidhiśrīga", *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* No. 9 (1964-66), p. 1-33.

47. Cf. the practice of besmearing one another with ashes of the bon-fire, dung and mud at the Holi festival in India (North especially). It is marked by senselessness (!); but it has its own sense; for sexual abuses mark it, and it has a very ancient tradition. It is clearly a Sun-fire festival,

about the sexual senselessness, it notes the disfigurement of Cyavāna and also the confusion in the subjects of Śaryāta. The R̥g V. passage we are discussing does not speak about the disfigurement of Cyavāna, but tallies with the Br. passages and the later tradition in the fact of shower of *retas* indicating the 'union' with a maiden. Now the R̥g V. at another place speaks of a deformed person who is said to be the "hider of virgins" (II. 15.7). The point forms a part of the exploits of Indra; and in the very next verse we have the Aṅgirasas shattering Vala and releasing rain. It may be proposed that the "hider of virgins" is Vala himself and that the virgins are the 'cows' or the streams of rain-water. It is to be remembered, however, that the belief in a deformed person (*andha* and *śroṇa*) is well set in the R̥g V. (I. 112.7; II. 13.8; IV. 30.19; X. 25.11); and this person is well favoured by the Aśvins. When the *Śroṇa* comes in this exploit of Indra, and is said to be the "hider of virgins" (*ap-goham kanīnām*) the only legitimate consideration will be to see that the person is the same. Even here the *Śroṇa* is not an enemy of Indra: on the contrary he is said to be favoured by Indra. This deformed person who is connected with the virgins closely resembles Cyavāna as the latter appears in the Brāhmanic version. One noteworthy epithet of the *Śroṇa* is *Parāvr̥j*,⁴⁸ which shows that he was abandoned and was staying away from the human habitat; and was yet favoured. The sexual element in the case of Cyavāna and in the case of the *Śroṇa* is the same; and their original bodily form is similar. We would not be far from the truth in supposing, then, that in the reference to the *Śroṇa* and Cyavāna the R̥g V. records an ancient custom of sexually appeasing a deformed person with the belief that he embodied the power to bring the fructifying divine fluid.

and comes at the same time as the Mahāvrata and the Horse-sacrifice, roughly, in the summer season, prior to rainy season. In the Vraja (Māthura) and Bundelkhanda the Holi is marked by a sexual dance in which a man acts as a prostitute and another as a Bābāji, with a crooked staff (a symbol of the generative organ) and indulge into obscene language. Moti Chandra, *Op.cit.*, p. 8.

In Rajasthan the *Nathuram* (from *Nathu* = the male organ) is installed at the Holi. This practice is also current in Vidarbha where the Marawadi-Rajasthan influence reached.

48. R̥g V. I, 112.8; II, 13.12; 15.7. It is to be noted that the "father" is also said to be the *parāvr̥j* (X. 61.8); and we have no reason to understand this word in a different sense in this context.

The same belief is reflected in the account of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga who also bore a name that indicates deformity. The belief is two-fold. The out-of-the-locality habitat indicates the concept of the foreign seed. The unusual form (*śroṇa* means a dwarf) denotes potentiality. Both are common in folk-beliefs. Similar beliefs and customs are also known from various other sources.⁴⁹

It is, thus, clear that the R̥g V. presents Cyavāna in two aspects, viz., the decrepit and the powerful, which are complementary to each other. They present one whole personality and serve as basis for the later versions. In the later versions, where Cyavāna is described as gaining his youth back with the help of the Ásvins, there is one point which is only the reflection of the thought of the R̥g V. The Ásvins entering the pool⁵⁰ and coming out of it along with Cyavāna, with the result that all the three are of identical form, is already suggested in the R̥g V. which shows *Cyavāna* as an *epithet* of the Ásvins as we have already noted. The R̥g V. notes that Cyavāna was relieved of his old age, which is said to be the *vavri* (R̥g V. I, 116.10; V. 74.5). This *vavri* is also compared to an armour or something which covers the body. Now *vavri* is only a covering (or the skin) which could be separated as is clear from other places (cf. IX. 69.9, *hitvī vavrim*; and Ib. 71.2, *jahāti vavrim*, said of Soma). As this *vavri* is itself compared with the armour (*atka* at V. 74.5 and *drāpi* at I. 116.10) we doubt if we could stop only at the idea of old age. The motif, common in folk-lore in the case of the 'Swan-maiden' type of tales,⁵¹ indicates the power to camou-

49. See Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vismism* (Utrecht 1954), p. 145, where he notes a practice in ancient Greece according to which dwarfs and deformed men were used for ploughing, as an aid to good harvest and cattle breed. Ploughing by dwarfish Kurumba in the Nilgiris, Hastings, *Encl. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. V, p. 25; dwarfs in Ancient Egyptian Temples, *Ibid.*, p. 126; Cf. the Yaksas in Indian Lore For more instances See Sow. Sindhu S. Dange *Folk-element in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Thesis (Nagpur University) 1966, Chapter on the Kubjā.

50. For a detailed treatment of this motif see Hopkins, "The Fountain of Youth", *JAOS*, 26, p. 1 ff. His suggestion that Cyavāna may be a leper is rather unwarranted.

51. For Example the famous tale of a prince who became the cock in the night, the tale of Bheki, *Mb.* (Critical Ed.) III, 190; *Skanda, P.V.* (Part 2). 84; See Dange, *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Thesis, Nagpur Univ., 1960. "Frog-princess".

flage. This is also attested by the account in the Śat.Br. where Cyavāna is said to have assumed the ungainly form of *his own accord*. This shows the probability of the belief, in a person apparently deformed but having miraculous powers, being known to the Ṛg V. This belief seems to be prior to the favoured state of this person with the Aśvins. It is obvious that the belief is very old and later got mixed with the exploits of the Aśvins. At a yet later stage it slid into the serpent-lore⁵² as Cyavāna is said to have sent a serpent (*kṛṣṇa-sarpaḥ*) after the maiden Sukanyā who tried to disregard him by running away according to a pre-hatched plan.

We have seen the probability of the Śroṇa (dwarf) being identified with the Cyavāna (the flowing one). The Śroṇa is said to be the hider, suggesting that he has hide-out away from the locality. In the hymn we are studying, the Aṅgirasas are said to have gone to the hiding place of the “*dvi-barhas*” (cf. V. 10, *dvi-barhaso ya up gopam*⁵³ *ā aguḥ*), prior to the release of the ‘cows’ and the defeat of Śuṣṇa. The word *dvi-barhas* indicates two-fold power, and even elsewhere it is connected with power (cf. about Indra, VIII. 15.2, *yasya dvi-barhaso br̥hat sahaḥ*; cf. also 1.176.5). This person cannot be Paṇi⁵⁴ for the epithet *dvi-barhas* never qualifies the Paṇi in the Ṛg V. It comes with Indra; and at places denotes the gift (IX. 4.7; 40.6; VII. 8.6. etc.). It also comes for Agni where he is said to be “*sahasra-retah*” (IV. 5.3.). It should be noted that in the verse, which speaks of the hiding place of the *dvi-barhas*, we have also *ṛta-yukti* and the “*kanāyāḥ sakhyam*” (cf. a & b). As such it is quite clear that the resort (*gopa*) denotes the place of the potent person — like Cyavāna who is having the double power i.e., on the Earth as also on the divine plane;⁵⁵ and not the cow-pen. It is not improbable that this *gopa*

52. For motifs, Vogel, *The Indian Serpent Lore*; Oldham, *Sun and the Serpent*; *Kathāsaritsāgara* etc.

53. Geldner renders it as Hüter.

54. Geldner, *Op.cit.*, p. 228, N. 10, where he refers to Ludwig and agrees with him.

55. Sāyaṇa. He, however takes *dvi-barhasaḥ* as Nom. Pl. qualifying *ye* (Aṅgirasas); but we have no other example of that sort. The word occurs only thrice, and we have noticed all the places. He understands *gopam* as Nābhānediṣṭha. We expect *gopām* in that case. The case is solitary.

has in it the seeds of the later “vāstu” in which Cyavāna is said to reside. It is this two-fold power that renders Cyavāna in belief, capable of milking the rain-cow (*sabardughā*), whose other form comprises of the Earth-or the terrestrial cow, land and all that is associated with the Earth and its prosperity. Thus the *dvi-barhas* controls the *Prśni* (the Heavenly and the Earthly Cow), who is believed in another context, to have two heads denoting the two worlds. She is called *ubhayataḥ śrīṣṇī* and represents the Aditi in the Soma ritual (Vāj.Sam. IV. 19). With the belief in the *dvi-barhas*, who actually gets the “*sakhya*” of the maiden in ritual-practice, is connected the concept of the *Nābhānediṣṭha*.

The concept of *Nābhānediṣṭha* that we get from the R̥g V. is as follows:

- (i) He is the “double-kin” (*dvi-bandhu*), the son of Vitarāṇa (*Vaitarāṇaḥ*). He is the sacrificer to cause the sterile cow to milk (cf., *yaṣṭā sabardhum dhenum asvam duhadhyai*) (v. 17).
- (ii) He is the kin of Him that is in the Heaven; he mentally concentrates there (on the heavenly kin of his) with a desire. He is, (indeed) *Nābhānediṣṭha*. Proclaims he—“That is our navel—the highest one. Being the very next of Him how much can I be! (v. 18).
- (iii) This (the Earthly ritual-place) is my navel. Here are my gods. (Here) I am all. I am a twice-born (*dvi-jāḥ*); (but) the first-born of the *R̥ta*. This cow, being here, has milked. (v. 19)”

The *dvi-bandhu* exactly corresponds to the *dvi-barhas*. The whole idea is clearly that of establishing close kinship with the Heavenly One. *Nābhānediṣṭha* is the son of Vitarāṇa in the heaven, indicating the sun,⁵⁶ where is the navel of us all. As the terrestrial sacrificer he is the nearest to the *Vedi* which is the *nābhi* (the central part) of the sacrifice. Hence, again he is *Nābhā-nediṣṭha*. He is the wonder-worker and being the controller attempts to milk the cow. He is the navel-kin (cf. *sa-nābhi*) of the Heavenly one. It is the Heavenly one that is really born here the second time

56. Geldner's suggestion that Vaitarāṇa is the King (V. 16) is not happy. For other views see *Vedic Index*. See Sāyaṇa for the Sun-concept.

(*dwi-jāh*). He is the foremost for this ritual; for he represents the Heavenly. Though he is here on the earth, he is the nearest (*nediṣṭha*) to the Heavenly one. How? Through the navel-kinship! Hence he is, rightly, *Nābhānediṣṭha*. As such he performs the ritual. And the cow milks. This description gets connected with the sex-ritual at a next step, where the virgin becomes the measure for the 'Cows' for some one (v. 21).

There are various opinions about the real nature of *Nābhānediṣṭha*. According to the Ai.Br. he was the son of Manu who divided his property, in the absence of the former, among his other sons. To *Nābhānediṣṭha*, who remained without any share Manu told of a remedy. According to it he was to chant the hymns (X. 61 & 62) to save the *Aṅgiras*es from swooning on every sixth day of the sacrifice they were performing for the gain of heaven. *Nābhānediṣṭha* did as he was advised; and obtained from the *Aṅgiras*es a thousand cows as a bribe (*utkoca*). As he was collecting them for himself, Rudra came along and forbade him, saying that the cows belonged to him and that he should get it confirmed from Manu himself. Now *Nābhānediṣṭha* got it confirmed; and made the gift of the cows over to Rudra. The latter was pleased and gave back the gift to *Nābhānediṣṭha* (Ai.Br. V. 14). The account is supported by the expression in the next hymn — "*tebhyo bhadram Aṅgirasō vo astu*" (v. 1 c), and also by the expression — "*dīrghāyutwam Aṅgirasō vo astu*" (v. 2 c). The expression "*gr̥bh̥ṇīta mānavam sumedhasaḥ*", which forms the refrain for the first four verses of the hymn (X. 62) may be supposed to indicate a reference to *Nābhānediṣṭha* who was the son of Manu (hence *Mānava*). But beyond this there is nothing in the hymn which can support this account from the Ai.Br. The account seems to be the off-shoot of the combination of the gain of the cows being associated, in the earlier hymn, with the *Aṅgiras*es on the one hand, and the birth of *Vāstoṣpati* — who is traditionally Rudra on the other. It does not take into account the sexual nature of the earlier hymn; and as such is not quite useful. Other sources only hint at the association of *Nābhānediṣṭha*, and do not provide any important information as to the nature of *Nābhānediṣṭha*. They only repeat the account from the Ai.Br. Thus the Taitt.Sam. (3.1.9.4.6) simply says that the *Aṅgiras*es sat to perform the sacrifice (*satra*); they did not know the divine world (*su-vargam lokam*); *Nābhānediṣṭha* told this rite (*brāh-*

mana) to them and they reached heaven. Then follows the advent of Rudra; and the account is connected with the offering of the *manthin* cup to say that Rudra is pleased thereby (cf. also Kau.Br. 28.4; Pañc.Br. 20.9.4.). The concept of the Nābhānediṣṭha hymn clearly centres round the fructification of the earth and the gain of rain, an activity very well associated with the Aṅgirasas in the Vedic literature. Though the later tradition may not be taken as the authentic support for the original concept of the hymn, it has one important point. The hymn is associated with the sprinkling of *retas*, the motif in which the hymn excels. At the Brāhmaṇic ritual this hymn was employed to be recited on the sixth day, which is associated with the actual generation of life.⁵⁷ This means that the recitation of the hymn symbolised sexual union in the later rite, which was necessary for the gain of new life; and consecration is for new life.⁵⁸ But though the hymn, thus, came to be recited for the gain of new life in the case of the sacrificer, the original idea behind it cannot be only this much in view of the fact of the defeat of the demon Śuṣṇa and the gain of the Cows. Looking to the general tone of the hymn, then, Nābhānediṣṭha and Cyavāna are only two aspects of the same belief, viz. the Earthly representation of the Heavenly as we have already seen. As such it is futile to see in Nābhānediṣṭha, as in Cyavāna, a real person. It is this person (who is the kin of the Heaven and Earth, being the nearest to the *nābhi*) that is powerful and is alluded to as *Rājā* (v. 16). In the Avesta this symbolism is maintained. He is the angel as is clear from—“*nabāna jdiṣtanām phravaśinām*” (yāsna 3 22; 1-18; etc.). The Rg V. says about him:

“This illustrious (*rājā*)⁵⁹ performer (of the ritual) (vedhāḥ)⁶⁰ and the chanter (*viprah*), who crosses (being

57. *Śat.Br.*, V, 6.6.4; cf., the practice of the sixth day after birth in India, when the goddess Saṣṭhi (*lit.* of the sixth day) is believed to import life in the child.

58. *Mait.Sam.*, III, 6.7; *Sat.Br.*, IV, 2.1.7.3; *Gopatha, Br.* III, 19, etc. See also Dange “Death and Re-birth in Initiation Ceremonies”, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, April 1964.

59. Sāyana takes it to refer to Soma; Ludwig to Sūrya. See Geldner, *Op.cit.*, p. 230; note 56 above.

60. Cf., *vedhā rtasya* said of Indrānī in the hymn of Vṛṣākapi (Rg V. X), 86. 10, and interpretation at “A Virility Charm”

the master of his own) 'bridge', is being praised. He (indeed) impelled Kakṣīvat and also Agni, as do the horses the wheel that is actively rolling."

The hymn, in its later portion, clearly sings the praise of this person who is said to be Nābhānediṣṭha. Nābhānediṣṭha is prior to Kakṣīvat whom he impels; and, obviously, he is handed down in tradition that became hoary even at the time of the composition of the hymn. This person cannot be the composer of the hymn. The composer of the hymn remains a problem as in the case of many of the hymns! It is pertinent to note that Kakṣīvat is mostly associated with the Aśvins in his association with the gods.⁶¹ The Ṛg V. says that he enjoyed full human life (IX. 74.8); and he is also said to have been on par with Indra who is himself said to have become Kakṣīvat (IV.26.1), thus establishing his antiquity and also his importance in the Vedic tradition. But we know one important detail about him from the Ṛg V. Indra is said to have favoured him with a very young girl (cf. *arbhām*) named Vṛcayā, pretty old though he was (I.51.13).⁶² At another place he is said to have been offered a woman by the Aśvins. This woman is indicated by the name *purandhi* (I.116.7), which is connected by the *Index* with Vṛcayā.⁶³ Purandhī, however, appears to indicate, at that place, a married and issue-less woman; and Sāyaṇa seems to be right in identifying her with *Wadhrimatī* (a woman having an impotent husband) (Ṛg V. 1.116.13).⁶⁴ This would show that

61. He comes fourteen times in the Ṛg V. With the Aśvins six times; Indra-three; Soma-two; Independent-two.

62. The *Vedic Index* says that Vṛcayā was given to Kakṣīvat by the Aśvins (see under Vṛcayā). This is not correct. She was given by Indra. It is an Indra-hymn. Vṛcayā comes nowhere else. She is not mentioned to be given as a wife (*index*); we only have "*arbhām Vṛcayām*", which indicates only a virgin, and is the same as the *kanā*.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Cf. *Sapta-wadhri*, Ṛg. V. V. 78.5; VIII. 73.9; X. 39.9; at X. 102.12. *Vadhri* indicates the castrated bullock. See "An Obscure Pastoral Ritual." The word *puramdhi*, at some places at least, indicates the Earth and a woman; cf. I.116.13; at I.116.7 she is said to be tilled (*aradata*); see also I.180.6; 181.9; at 134.3, she is to be aroused like a sleeping woman (cf. *pra bodhayā puramdhim jāra iva sasatīm*) by Vāyu. Vāyu is one of the three *seed-layers* (cf. Ṛg. V. VII. 33.7 and *Śātyāyanaka*). The *seed-taker* is obviously, the Earth. cf. *pumān vāyus ca sarvagah* quoted by Sāyaṇa at com. Ṛg. V. I. 88.1. cf. later belief of Vāyu giving birth to Hanumat. For other views on *Purandhi* see Macdonall *Vedic Mythology*, 43.

Kakṣīvat is associated with the gift of a maiden as also that of a woman for some specific purpose. This motif is supported by yet another passage from the *Rg. V.*, which occurs in a hymn said to be composed by *Kakṣīvat* himself; and forms part of the *dāna-stuti*, being the speech of *Romaśā*. She is said to be the wife of the King *Bhāvayavya*;⁶⁵ but the word and the 'sexual language in the verses (I.126.6 & 7) show that it is not a name: It is an epithet.⁶⁶ The verses are taken to indicate the dialogue between the King *Bhāvayavya* and his wife *Romaśā*, who are also said to be the 'seers' of the verses, simply because their names occur there (*Sāyana* quotes the tradition)! but this seems improbable. This *Romaśā*, who is said to be the *brahma-vādinī*, may be compared with *Apālā*,⁶⁷ who craves to be "*romaśā* which indicates sexual fitness. The very words, are "touch me closely; think not mine to be undeveloped. I am fully *romaśā*, i.e. endowed with hair, as a sheep of the *Gandhāris*" (see *Sāyana* for rendering: I desist from giving it). The description shows that we have here a case of a maiden, just stepping into youth, being offered as the culminating gift to *Kakṣīvat*. The *romaśā* here is only another name for the *kanī* we have already noted. It is not quite clear from these references what actual purpose behind the sexual gift to *Kakṣīvat* was. But we may compare one more reference where *Kakṣīvat* is associated with the favours of the *Aśvins* which indicate rain, (I.112.11—cf. *madhu kośo akṣarat*). The semi-divine nature of *Kakṣīvat* rightly connects him in our hymn with *Nābhānediṣṭha*; and the former's mention in this hymn (X. 61) obviously has the same motif. His association with sexual gifts brings him on par with *Cyavāna*, who is the first to appear in the hymn. As the *Nābhānediṣṭha* hymn is rightly associated with *retas* in the *Brāhmaṇic* tradition and is also itself full of sexual images, it will not be far from the truth if we suppose that, in the belief of the Vedic People, *Nābhānediṣṭha* symbolised the semi-divine person who, by his peculiar relation to the Divine (*Sun!*) could bring prosperity on the earth by sexual appeasement. He represented the Divine as the *kanā* represented the Earth, in the ritual of sprinkling the *retas*. There is, thus, strong ground to believe that the *Rg. V.*

65. *Vedic Index*, under *Romaśa*; *Sāyana*; *Bṛhaddevatā*, III. 156 fl.

66. *Vedic Index*. loc. cit.

67. *Rg. V.* VIII. 91.6; See "*Mahānagnī* and *Apālā*".

reflects a stage of sexual rituals in which an actual human coitus for general prosperity once figured, howsoever remote the period may be.

The stage of sexual practices in social life, with the belief of imbibing the divine seed, appears clear in the gift of a maiden or a woman. The same practice appears further in a modified form in the concept and practice of the “act of *Dadhi Krāvan*”, the symbolic coitus at the Horse-sacrifice. The same motif is visible in the case of *Vṛṣākapi* and the belief about the *āhanasyāḥ*, which refer to the *Mahānagnī*. The ritual-lord, the ‘seed-giver’, in all such practices imbibes the concept of the *Nābhānediṣṭha*, who in the most original stage must have been the Human. It is improbable that such practices were carried on yearly, as is shown by the *Mahāvratā*, when the *Sun* came near the Earth. Prior to the developed sacrificial stage they appear to have formed part of the pastoral life; and entered, symbolically, even the full fledged sacrificial system, where no such definite purpose was apparently linked with them. Thus in the section of the *Pātnāvata*, which forms a part of the soma sacrifice, the wife of the sacrificer is asked to look at the *udgātr* and the following is said (on her behalf) —“Thou art the *prajāpati*, the layer of the seed (*reto-dhah*); plant thy seed in me. May I obtain the seed of thee, who act *Prajāpati*—the virile seed-layer” (*Vāj. Sam. VIII.10*). This may be compared with the praise of the Horse in the Horse-sacrifice, —“May the virile Horse plant the seed,—He who is the seed-layer”—who is said to be the “*garbhadhah*”, and “*prāṇānam prāṇa-pati*” (*Vāj. Sam. XXIII.19*). The practice of asking the wife of the sacrificer to look at the *udgātr*, while the said mantra is being recited clearly shows that the *udgātr* stands for the “seed-layer”; and it indicates an earlier stage of an actual act (as in the case of the Horse) of which this ritual is a modified form. On the analogy of the Horse, he stands as an emblem of the Sun. He is the virtual *Prajā-pati* (the lord of procreation in belief) and closely corresponds to the Earthly representative of the Divine, who is the ‘nearest to the *nabhi*’—the *Nābhānediṣṭha*. The utterance that immediately precedes confirms this. It says: “I am above; I am below; that firmament, indeed, is my father. I saw the Sun both ways. I am that which is the very secret of the gods.” (*Ib. 9*). With this is mixed the (soma) in the *pātnāvata* with the *ājya*. Though these two *mantra-s* are said by two different priests, the latter (9th) appears

to describe the *Prajā-pati* (*reto-dhāḥ*) whose *retas* the wife solicits. The *reto-dhāḥ*, who sees the sun both ways and knows the very secret of the gods, is clearly an aspect of the *Nābhānediṣṭha* who proclaims that, he is the “*ṛtasya prathama-jāḥ*” and affirms, “*ayam asmi sarvaḥ*” (Rg. V. X.61.19).

The last seven verses of the present hymn (20-27) are extremely complex. But, on the analogy of the ritual of the *pātnīvata graha* to the ritual of the Horse-sacrifice, we can be sure that they indicate the origin of the next phase of the concept of *Nābhānediṣṭha*. They speak of the gain of the cows and the *go-iṣṭi*. The main points are:—

- (i) The cows of some rich (or old) (sacrificer) have gone away following the “measurer (?) of the *kanā*.” Hear us, O you endowed with riches! You are the sacrificing priest, grown by the right presents of the *āśva-ghna*.
- (ii) Praise of Indra to protect the donor-sacrificers.
- (iii) O you two Kings! As the speedy singer approaches, for the weal of the Cows (*gaviṣṭa*) being the most beloved priest (*vipraḥ*) of them all, may he lead them to completion and help them through.
- (iv) May we solicit, singing gaily (*vrthā*), for the accomplishment of this victorious one. The speedy Horse is his son; you are the priest for the gain of prosperity.
- (v) For the friendship of you two (and) for our prowess (or well being (*śardhāya*), when I fondly desire to offer praise being worshipful, where (i.e., in the ritual) the praise simultaneously (rise) all over, may it (i.e., the ritual) fructify (*dāśat*) for our offering (*sunṛtāyai*) as the profuse (or ancient, cf. *pūrvī*) path.
- (vi) Being praised by the waters (*abhiḥ*), may he (excel) by the chants (with) worship — he the ‘good kin’ (*subandhuḥ*), and the one who has the god (*deva-vān*)! Growing by the chants and the songs he, verily, attains the path of the Cow’s Milk (*nūnam vy’adhwaiti payasa usriyāyāḥ*).

- (vii) Rejoicing, O you Gods! — you O worshipful ones! — be for our great protection, O You! who, being ever active, render prosperity (to us) and are alert and wise!!

The central idea seems to be the gain of the cows that are lost (to the sacrificer). The “measurer” (*up-māti*) of the *kanā* appears to be the one who is intimate with her in ritual, and can be compared with the one who sits at the ‘udder’ of the *pra-jā*⁶⁸ (v. 9), and is her close friend. The two Kings (v. 23) whose friendship is solicited (v. 25) appear to be the *Ásvins*, and are rightly invoked after *Indra*, himself a King (v. 22). This is most probable in view of the fact that in this very hymn we have *Indra* invoked to support the solicitation of the *Ásvins* (v. 15). They may also be *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* in view of v. 17.

The “*deva-vān(iti) subandhuḥ*” can be compared with the “*dvi-bandhu*”. He is the same as *Nābhānediṣṭha* in belief and the acting priest in practice. He attains the path of the Cow’s Milk, i.e., attains the rain, and prosperity therefore including cattle, an idea already suggested by the expression “*sabardughāyāḥ paya usriyāyāḥ*” (v. 11); for it is he (the ritual-*Nābhānediṣṭha*) who was the sacrificer to milk the barren Cow (v. 17-cf, *yaṣṭā sabardhum dhenum aswam duhadhyai*). This is exactly the exploit of the “*dvi-barhas*”, to whose “*gopa*” (hide-out) the *Āṅgirasas* resort for the gain of the Milk of the Cow (v. s. 10 & 11) and who corresponds to the *Cyavāna* of this very hymn and also of the later legend. The ritual priest, being thus well settled in belief as the ‘nearest to the Divine’ and as the gainer of the Cow’s Milk, is naturally associated with water (v. 26). The epithet “*deva-vān*” also indicates the same thing; for *deva* also indicates rain. The *deva-vān subandhu*, who is praised by the rain-waters, is the same as the *vipra* who is much beloved (*preṣṭha*) by them whom *Sāyaṇa*, rightly understands as the *Āṅgirasas* (com. on v. 23). He is the same as the *kanāyāḥ upamāti* (the copulative counterpart of the maiden in ritual). He is the Divine Sacrificer (*yāt*, v. 21). He is the Divine seed-layer, and the *kanā* is the Earth (cow). Thus he is the same as the “father,” Who fructifies the Earth, that is said to be the *Kanā duhitṛ* (v.s. 5-9), and is settled as the Cow in

tradition. The whole ritual constitutes the *gaviṣṭi* (go-iṣṭi- which includes Earth and cattle).

It is interesting to note that the priest is said to be *saranyu* and also *aśvaḥ* (v. 24) and is the son of Him (the Sun). We also have reference to the gift of the *aśvaghna* (v. 21). Looking to the divine status of the priest in the ritual hinted at by the hymn and to the status of the Horse in the Horse-sacrifice, we can safely say that here we have a reference to the Horse-sacrificer, the earliest one in the Vedic tradition. Both the divine priest and the divine Horse at the Horse-sacrifice, then, are the aspects of the divine seed-layer—the Sun (cf. Sāyaṇa).

The hymn, thus, imbibes the belief and ritual of the gain of divine fluid for the fructification of the Earth-Cow, in which the divinities symbolically acted on the terrestrial plane. The humans who participate in the ritual are no longer earthly on the lines of a well marked belief.⁶⁹ The whole ritual is the *go-iṣṭi* (*gaviṣṭi*) i.e., the gain and the well being of the cattle and whatever prosperity is associated with the earthly sphere. The word *āji* (v. 1, 8) does not indicate an actual war or competition as such. It is symbolic for the gain we have just noted; and is well supported by the R̥g Vedic style of expression.⁷⁰ The divine “father” (represented as Cyavāna, Nābhānediṣṭha, Kakṣivat or the Horse) and the *kanā* (virgin) form the couple, and the *Krāṇā* (acting) *pitarā*⁷¹ (parents) (v. 1) of the person on whose behalf the ritual is performed. The whole ritual is the *raudra brahma*, not because of the birth of Vāstoṣpati who is Rudra; but because of the prominence of the Aśvins who are themselves *Rudrau*. The ritual, as it appears in the R̥g V., seems to have become elaborate as is indicated by the mention of the seven *hotṛs* (v. 1); but in the origin it must have been a simpler ritual. The time of the ritual appears to be

69. *Vāj. Sam.* “viṣnor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām” etc. Bergaigne, *Religion Védique* (1878-1883) p. vii; viii. Griswold, *Religion of the Rig Veda* (1923), p. 102.

70. See “An Obscure Pastoral Ritual”; the ‘battle’ of Mudgola (X. 102); also the ‘boat’ at X. 101; “Field and the Plough-share”.

71. Remarks Pischel, “Die Rolle, welche die Eltern (*pitarā*!) des Pakther in der legende gespielt haben, is nicht meher auzuklären” *op. cit.* P. 75, Geldner, “mitwirkende Väter” in Tr. and in N. 1, “die Eltern des Sängers”. Geldner’s suggestion of the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa* and Adoption is not agreeable (*op. cit.*).

the early dawn.⁷² The ritual is also the *mamhana*.⁷³ It is obvious the hymn was later used in the Brāhmaṇic rituals to indicate the birth of the sacrificer, the belief being the same. Though it is difficult to say positively whether in the period of the *samhitā* an actual sexual act of *humans* took place, it is clear that the chant of the hymn symbolised the 'union' of the "*pitarā*" and the sprinkling of the *retas*, which is also borne out by the later tradition (cf. *reto vai nābhānediṣṭhaḥ*). In this the hymn falls in line with other hymns i.e., of Mudgala and the *āhanasyāḥ* (khila). By the *Brāhmaṇa* texts it was linked with the Vālakhilya, Vṛṣākapa and the Marutvatīya chants (Ai.Br. VI. 27.6 etc.). The recitation of all these was enjoined on the sixth day, probably, because it was suggested from the 'ripening day' (cf. *pakthe ahan*, and *Sāyaṇa*) indicated in our hymn, on which day in the dark and dim past the virgin (*Kanā*) 'united' with the divine Seed-Layer (*Nābhānediṣṭha*).

ABBREVIATIONS

Rg. V.	= Rg Veda.
Ai. Br.	= Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Jai. (Jaim.) Br.	= Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa.
Pañc	= Pañcavimsa.
Śat. Br.	= Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
Mait. Sam	= Maitrāyaṇī Samhita.
Vāj. Sam	= Vājasaneyī Samhita.

72. cf. *Kṛṣṇā yad goṣṭh'araṇisu sīdat* (v. 4); cf. the time of the *Niyoga*.

73. The word occurs only here. *Mamhanā* occurs at various places; but the meaning appears to be symbolic rather than clear. Can we compare it with *mehanā* (Rg. V. V. 38.3;—39.1; VIII. 4.21, etc.)? The latter word indicates "spraying" (from √ *mih*), the concept being that of fluid or semen or rain.

The Divine Right of Persian Kings

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In October, 1967, the Shah of Iran will be crowned at a brilliant ceremony which will be one of the glittering international affairs of this generation. The Shah would have waited exactly twenty-six years from the time he succeeded his father, the late Reza Shah, to mount the Peacock Throne. Twenty-six years is a long time to wait for a coronation. But the Shah of Iran is no ordinary ruler. He is the Shah-in-Shah, the King of Kings, and of the three great imperial rulers of the ancient world to enter the twentieth century—the Emperors of China, the Pharaohs of Egypt, and the Kings of Persia—only the Persian still reigns.

This article is intended to provide an explanation in political theory for this unusual political phenomenon.

The explanation—to state it briefly—seems to the writer to lie in the ancient, and now almost forgotten concept of the divinity of Kings. The concept is not new to the West. The English once listened to a speech given by their King before Parliament in which the theory was quite clearly stated:¹

“Kings are justly called Gods; for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth. For if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings”.

1. James I in 1609. Quoted in McIlwain, C. H., *The Political Works of James I*, Cambridge: 1918, pp. 307-308. For the best account, old but still enduring, of the divinity of kings in the West, see Figgis, N., *The Divine Right of Kings*, Cambridge: 1914.

In Iran, or Persia as it was once known, the theory of kingly divinity has been enormously important. In many ways it has been obscured. The long years under Arab rule were years of silence and evasion and yet the theory did not die. The modern age of rising democratic expectations has caused a change in language much as the older western concept of natural law became the "reasonable man" and even "due process of law".² Consequently, the consideration of the Persian Constitution with which this paper begins, does not use the language of the Sasanian Kings, but neither is the language that of the western democratic state. Yet one has only to travel in Iran, and to find in obscure places pictures of the Shah framed with all the splendour of a deity to realize that this is not a Twentieth Century "Big Brother" nor is it merely a personality cult. It is something deep and timeless and gaunt with age.

This paper, then, is concerned with tracing the thread of an idea. It is not a short history of Persian political thought. Many great political thinkers—Nizam-al-Mulk is an example—are not mentioned or are mentioned in only a cursory way. They have not been concerned with the nature or theory of kingly authority in its divine aspects.

Article 35 of the Supplementary Fundamental Law of Persia states:³ "The sovereignty is a trust, as a Divine gift, confided by the people to the person of the Shah". Article 39 provides that the Shah undertake on oath to "preserve the independence of Persia, safeguard and protect the frontiers of my kingdom and the rights of the people, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Persian Constitution, rule in accordance with the established laws of sovereignty, endeavour to promote the Ja'fari doctrine of the sect of the twelve Imams, and shall in all deeds and actions consider God (may his state be glorified) from whom is aid derived, and seek help from the holy spirits of the Saints of Islam to serve the progress of Persia". It should be noted that the twin aspects of power—the military (protection of the frontiers) and the religious (to promote the Ja'fari doctrine of the sect of the twelve Imams)

2. Inlow, Burke, "Natural Law, A Functional Interpretation", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. XLI, No 5, (October, 1947), pp 921-930

3. Assented to by the Shah, October 7, 1907.

are particularly cited. The importance of this is historic as will be seen throughout this paper.

While one of the aims of the framers of these laws was to deprive the monarch of his arbitrary powers and to ensure the functioning of the government along more modern lines, it must not be assumed that the Persian Constitutionalists were in any sense seeking to remove their autocratic ruler. The establishment of the Persian Constitution must be regarded as a nationalist (i.e., patriotic) rather than a democratic movement.⁴ It was rather the threat of political force from without than the tyranny of an autocrat within that drove the Constitutionalists to devise, in such a comparatively short time, the Persian Constitution of 1906.⁵ One of the first acts passed by the Majlis when the Assembly met for the first time on October 7, 1906, was to veto a proposed loan of £400,000 which Great Britain and Russia were to make to Persia in equal proportions, in order to provide the Shah with funds for fresh extravagances. The action served to underscore the known fact that for years, the western nations had poured enormous amounts of money into the ancient kingdom for the purpose of corrupting its rulers and driving a wedge between the people and the national interest. In a very real sense, therefore, the purpose of promulgating a new constitutional regime in Persia was a patriotic one; one intended to restore the ancient integrity as between ruler and subject; one intended to preserve the heritage of a once-great Empire.

In this sense, the move for constitutional government in Persia is to be distinguished from similar moves in the Middle East, where very often, foreign advisers were instrumental in devising constitutional instruments.⁶ The Persian action should also be distinguished from many of the constitutional developments in Western Europe where so often monarchs were deposed as not representing the best interests of the people. To the Persian Constitutionalists, the Shah was still the key to government; more than the key, he was the cornerstone. It was inconceivable to

4. Browne, E. G., "The Persian Constitutional Movement", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, London, 1917-1918, VIII, pp. 323-324.

5. See Art. CVI of the Supplementary Fundamental Law of Persia.

6. The case of the Iraqi constitution is an example.

the Persians that there could be government without the Shah. For unlike the more democratic Arabs, the Persians had been firm believers in the divine right of kings. The man who sat on the Peacock Throne was the descendant of Cyrus, who thought he was more than human by birth, but was not surprised or annoyed when Croesus suggested that he was only human.⁷

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the theory of divinity as it applies to political authority in Persia. For this purpose, the paper will be divided into five parts: (1) Indo-Iranian origins down to and including the Achaemenid dynasty; (2) The Sasanian Period; (3) The *Imamate*; (4) Medieval Persian Thought with particular emphasis on the *Mirrors for Princes* and as an epilogue; (5) The Coming of the English.

I

Indo-Iranian Origins

The Aryan invasions which pressed South in successive waves on a broad front extending from the Mesopotamian cultural area to that of the Indus basin form a basic and integral part of theories of Persian kingship. It is described at least thrice—by the Jews, by the Greeks, and by the Aryans themselves.

The Jews

As early as the eighth century B.C., in the reign of Sargon II, hordes of wandering Iranians began to appear within the outer limits of the Assyrian Empire. The movement seems to have been connected with events taking place on the northern coast of the Black Sea⁸ and comprehended the activities of various Indo-European tribes—the Scythians, the Medes, and the Mannai, the Iranians, as well as those who for some time had been pressing steadily into India. They were a vigorous people, these Aryans, and soon began infiltrating through the defences of Assyria into various parts of Asia Minor. Much of their activity was warlike. But they were wildly welcomed by the subjugated peoples of

7. Citations in Hopkins, E. W., "The Divinity of Kings", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 51, No. 4, (December, 1931), p. 315.

8. Rostovtzeff, M., *A History of the Ancient World*, Oxford: 1945, p. 121.

Sargon and his son, Sennacherib as representing the best, great hope of liberation:⁹

"Behold, a people shall come from the north", the prophet Jeremiah warned, "and a great nation, and many kings shall be raised up from the coasts of the earth. They shall hold the bow and the lance; they are cruel and they will not shew mercy. And they will ride upon horses, everyone put in array, like a man to the battle . . . and the land shall tremble and sorrow: for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed".

This theme of the Aryans, and more particularly the Persians, as being the hammer of God smashing before it the wicked power of Assyria and Babylon occurs and re-occurs in the recounting of the Old Testament prophets. Ezra, Nehemiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel, all join Jeremiah in hailing these masterful invaders as representing Yahweh's pledge of the Jewish deliverance.

So it must certainly have seemed to the poor and oppressed people of the exile. For the Aryan power was gathering rapidly. On the death of the Assyrian King, Ashur-bani-pal, the various Aryan tribal groups united their command under the Median King, Cyaxares. They formed an alliance with Babylon which itself had been periodically under the heel of Assyria since the Kassite rule fell about 1180 B.C. Together, the combined armies moved against Nineveh and destroyed it in 612 B.C. Nahum, the Elkoshite, could not withhold his jubilation. "Behold upon the mountain the feet of him that bringeth good tidings", he sang to the exiled peoples. "O, Judah, keep thy solemn feasts; perform thy vows; for the wicked shall no more pass through thee, he is utterly cut off".¹⁰

In quick succession, once the Assyrian monarchy had been brought down, the subject nations moved to break free. Egypt revolted. Babylon forfeited its alliance and sought to establish an independent position. All of Asia Minor was in ferment. At this point the Aryan drive toward hegemony of the East now received a powerful impulse by a transfer of power from the Median to the Persian Kings.

The Persian Kings belonged to the southern branch of the Iranian stock which had settled in the province of Fars and spread

9. Jeremiah 50:41-42; 51:29.

10. Nahum 1:15. Also, see Zephaniah 3.

out over the plains of Elam, a very ancient country North of the Persian Gulf and East of the Tigris. The heads of the Achaemenid clan became the overlords of this area which was known both as Anshan and as Persis (hence the name Persia). Between 553-550 B.C., Cyrus, commonly known as the "Great",¹¹ the fifth King of the Persian tribe and sub-King of Persia, moved against the Median kingdom, overthrew its ruler and established himself as sovereign. In point of fact, there was little conflict here as there was a kinship between the two people, and they spoke nearly the same language.¹² When the transfer of authority was complete, Cyrus drove on into Asia Minor. Almost immediately he found himself opposed by a coalition consisting of Croesus of Lydia, the most powerful prince of Asia Minor, and the rulers of Babylon and Egypt. He moved on to the West, attacked Croesus and eventually captured Sardis and the King himself in 546 B.C. This was a quick and unexpected victory and as a result, the whole of Asia Minor fell to his rule, including the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast. Cyrus then reversed himself, returned to Ecbatana, the commercial centre of the new Achaemenid Empire, and from thence led an army East to conquer Parthia, Chorasmia, and Bactria, thus extending his rule over the vast area now known as Afghanistan. In 539 B.C. he took Babylon by the strategem of diverting the Euphrates River. The next year Cyrus issued a decree granting "a return of all lands to the Jews".¹³

The Jewish decree was a significant one. It marks a new era in political authority in the Middle and Near East. Up to this time subject peoples had been subjected to the most systematic terrorization of their adversaries. The accounts of Assyrian campaigns is a monotony of men flayed alive, impaled, extremities cut off, mutilated generals shut up in cages, whole towns massacred. This kind of treatment prepared men only for the worst when a new political star flashed across the horizon. Small wonder then, that the Jews, most vocal of the people of this period, saw Cyrus as God's appointed agent and the Persian Kings that followed him as models of political power.¹⁴ Interestingly enough, the characteri-

11. This area is now known as Khuzestan.

12. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

13. Ezra 1.

14. Twelve of them are specifically mentioned in Ezra-Nehemiah.

sation of Cyrus moves to a very personal plane. His wonderful human qualities are much remarked upon. Like Saul of old, he wins the ultimate accolade of the Jews, "the Lord's anointed".¹⁵ Deutero-Isaiah, so concerned with the transcendence of God, actually includes Cyrus in its central theme of the "Servant"—a religious signification that moves him close to Messiah,¹⁶ and Yahweh himself reportedly says of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd and shall perform my pleasure".¹⁷

Cyrus died in 529 B.C., a legendary and historic figure. He was not only a world conqueror and effective organizer, but the first to display that spirit of tolerance which is typical of the Iranian character.¹⁸ His son, Cambysis, following in his father's footsteps, carried through the conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C., and the first Indo-European Empire to be created in the Middle Eastern world stood like a colossus from the Indus to the Mediterranean.

The Greeks

The Greeks believed the Persian Kings to be gods in Persia.¹⁹ Classical antiquity seems to have been unanimous in attributing divinity to the "great king". "Basileus" they called him with marvellous simplicity. There is a passage in Aeschylus' *Persae* which summarized what Aeschylus and his audience thought about the Achaemenid Kings: "O, Queen (Atossa), most exalted in Persia's deep-girdled dames, venerable mother of Xerxes, spouse of Darius, hail! Consort wast thou of the Persian's God and mother art thou likewise of a god." The divine spirit (*daimon*) of Darius is invoked and told that "so long as thou didst gaze on the beams of the sun, thou didst pass a life of felicity, envied of all, in Persian eyes a god".²⁰

The Greeks, of course, were fascinated by the Persians. Consequently much was written in ancient Greece about Persia

15. Isaiah 45:1.

16. Isaiah 42:1-4; 45:1-8; 49:1-6.

17. Isaiah 44:28.

18. Wilbur, D. N., *Iran, Past and Present*, Princeton: 1958, p. 21.

19. McEwan, C. W., "The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship", *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: No. 13, 1934, p. 19.

20. Aeschylus, *Persae*, pp. 155, 710. Quoted in McEwan, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

and the Persians. Herodotus and Xenophon, particularly, devote much of their talent to exploring and recounting matters relating to Persian might and authority. They understood very well the twin sources of kingly power that made the Persian monarchs true Priest-Kings—the military and the religious. In the Seventh Book of his famous history, Herodotus gives a wonderful accounting of the most famous war of the ancient world. It begins with Darius receiving the message concerning the fight at Marathon and ends with the death and defilement of Leonidas.

“Xerxes was more angry with Leonidas, while he was still in life, than with any other mortal. Otherwise he would not have used his body so shamefully. For the Persians are wont to honour those who show themselves valiant in fight more highly than any national that I know”.²¹

Throughout, the vast array of the Persian forces—and the personal power of Xerxes—clearly illustrate the military might of the great King.

Likewise the priestly functions of the King are noted. Herodotus remarks that the Persians have no images of the gods but rather sacrifice “to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds” (brothers of the king).²² The King himself wore splendid dress on the occasions of ceremonial functions—purple trousers, saffron shoes, and a robe girt in by a golden girdle from which hung his sword, adorned with precious stones. The offerings of the sacrifice consisted of holy meat placed on consecrated cakes. There was also holy water and *haoma*, a fermented fruit juice deemed acceptable to the gods.

Xenophon reports that the priestly sacrifice was conducted in this wise. On the eve of the battle,²³ the servants brought to the staff officers the holy offerings. The Shah stood separate, dressed in his vestments. As priest, he took the meat and cakes and first

21. Herodotus, *History of the Greek and Persian War*, VII 15 (ed. Forrest, W. G.), pp. 250 ff. See How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, II, Oxford: 1957, p. 132.

22. The concept of the priestly king is too well-known to require repetition here. See Frazer, Sir J., *The Golden Bough*, New York: 1945 (1 vol.), Ch. II.

23. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VII, i, Loeb Classical Library (trans. W. Miller), II, p. 203.

presented them to the gods. He, himself, ate, then breaking and giving to his officers. Next he took wine, mixed it with the water, poured a libation, prayed and drank. His officers then followed his example. It is not surprising that Strabo, who was quite a gossip, and something of a Puritan, interprets this ceremony as meaning that the Persian staff never undertook serious discussion when sober.²⁴

The *Cyropaedia* is a detailed accounting of the excellence of the training, discipline and diligence of kingship. The young Cyrus is taught how to be a soldier and how to command so that his men might become what they ought to be, worthy of all admiration.²⁵ He is told by his father that "there is no shorter road than really to be wise in those things in which you wish to seem to be wise".²⁶ He is seen as no ordinary man, but one who counsels his officers as a father. Xenophon also remarks upon the priestly role of the Persian Kings. He believes it began with Cyrus and that "the institutions established by him at that time have continued with each successive King even to this day".²⁷

Cyrus shares with Alexander in Greek literature a significant place in the theory of kingly divinity. The Cyrus legend, of course, is famous. Briefly it runs as follows. King Ishtumegu, or Astyages as he is better known, gave his daughter in marriage to a Persian. When the child Cyrus was born of the union, Astyages had a dream that the infant would replace him on the throne, whereupon—reminiscent of Herod—he ordered the baby killed. Instead, the child was given to a shepherd whose wife had suffered the loss of a still-born infant. The switch of infants was made and the King was satisfied that what he saw was the dead baby of his daughter.

Thus Cyrus escaped death and was saved for future immortality. Interestingly enough in this story, the shepherd's wife was named Spako, which Herodotus says was the Median word for dog. This is obviously an early prototype of the Romulus-Remus story in which a child is suckled by a wolf.

24. Strabo, *Geography*, XV, iii, 20 (Loeb Classical Library (trans. H. L. Jones), VII, p. 183).

25. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I, vi, 7, (I, p. 91).

26. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 22 (I. p. 109).

27. *Ibid.*, VIII, i, 24 (I. p. 317).

At about age ten, the legend notes, Cyrus was returned to his true parents, apparently after new dreams had rendered him dead or harmless or both. When he reached manhood, of course, he did rise in revolt against his grand-father, Astyages, defeated him in battle and became the founder of a dynasty.

The Cyrus legend has many parallels, some of them Christian. But as Professor Frye points out,²⁸ the important parallel is with the story of the birth and youth of Ardashir, first of the Sasanian rulers. This motif of the founder of a dynasty being raised by shepherds or poor people who do not know or who conceal the true descent of the child becomes a part of the Persian Epic and can be seen as suggesting divine birth much in the same way as Greek gods were known to come down and mate with mortal women.

Alexander's story has been embellished almost as much as that of Cyrus. In all probability the stories of his divinity came back to Greece from Persian sources.²⁹ Arrian relates with great charm the visit of Alexander to the oracle at Ammon (in Egypt) to find out more about his own divinity.³⁰ "Divine influence", "divine power", "divine guidance", and "divine help" are much in evidence along the way. Once when the army got off course, two snakes appeared to act as guides along the route. This, of course, has reference to the old legend that Alexander was the son of Zeus, who had come into his mother in the form of a snake.

When Alexander reached the oracle, he made inquiry of the God and "received the answer his soul desired". He then turned back. The entire recounting is one conveying the very presence of supernatural power.

Alexander, again, is identified with Cyrus in the thinking of some Greeks and perhaps of himself. Arrian relates the visit of

28. Frye, R. N., *The Heritage of Persia*, New York: 1963, p 76. Ctesias gives a different story, but in Dr. Frye's opinion, he was deliberately de-emphasizing the royal blood of Cyrus. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77. The legend is recounted in Herodotus, I, pp. 107-117. *Op.cit.*, pp. 38-44.

29. Conversation with Professor A. D. Winspear, 16 November, 1966.

30. Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, III, IV, Loeb Classical Library (trans E. I. Robson), I, pp. 229-235.

Alexander to Cyrus' tomb and strongly hints at the invocation of Cyrus' *daimon*.³¹

This worship of the Persian King's *daimon* is noted by several Greeks. Socrates speaks of posthumous cults of Persian Kings, notably Cyrus, and the Persian worship of the King's *daimon*.³² Isocrates, certainly no apologist for Persian power and authority, sees that power as derived from Cyrus, so that in a sense, the "Great Kings" are worshipped as the King's *daimon*.³³ He notes that Persian subjects approaching their King fall to their knees and address him as divinity.³⁴

There are other Greek references to the divinity of Persian Kings. They can perhaps best be summarized in the words of the great King himself, Xerxes, known as the Zeus of the Persians. When he granted Themistocles an audience, he said this:³⁵

"Laws, O Stranger, are naturally different among different men; there may be legitimate differences of opinion, but all men are agreed that it is a noble endeavour to respect and keep the laws Among us, who have noble laws, this is pre-eminently binding: to honour the king and worship him as the image of God who saves all".

The Aryans

The scanty corpus of early Iranian texts makes a positive reconstruction of Persian kingship difficult. However, it is possible to contemplate an hypothetical, undivided Indo-Iranian kingship in the initial instance and from that position draw certain tentative conclusions. It must be recognized, however, that ancient Indian literature holds contradictory opinions about the origin and nature of kingly divinity.³⁶

31. *Ibid.*, VI, 29 (II, p. 197).

32. *Ibid.*

33. *To Philip*, 132 in Isocrates, Loeb Classical Library (trans. G. Norlin, I, p. 325).

34. *Panegyricus*, 151-152, in Isocrates, *Ibid.*, I, p. 217.

35. *Themistocles*, 27 in Plutarch's *Lives*, Loeb Classical Library (trans. B. Perrin), II, p. 73.

36. Spellman, J. W., *Political Theory in Ancient India*, Oxford: 1964, pp. 26 ff.

The division of society into social classes with distinctive functions may be traced back to the ancient hymns of the *Rigveda* and continues forward to the Sasanian era. Here the doctrine of creation of these classes is found and explained in terms of divine ordination. In the *Artharvaveda* society is described as having been formed of the respective limbs of primitive man when he was sacrificed by the Gods. The signification of this is that society is a divine institution owing its origin, not to any human, but to a divine agency.³⁷ The King himself is referred to in the *Rigveda* as a demi-god "like Indra"³⁸ and the election hymns contain many analogies with the gods.³⁹ In an *Atharvaveda* text,⁴⁰ a whole Rigvedic verse addressed to the god Indra is boldly transferred to the human King, while in another text the King is twice greeted as "Indra's companion".⁴¹ King Parikshit is acclaimed in *Atharvaveda* as "one who succeeds mortals like a God".⁴²

The King, we are told in *Satapatha Brahmana*⁴³ "is Indra for two reasons, namely because he is noble, and because he is a sacrificer". For, on the one hand the sacrifice passes from the men to the gods. The King in other words, is especially connected with Indra even though subsequently his consecration puts other gods with him.

Hocart argues that the Vedas are not a treatise on manners and customs and could not be expected to furnish accurate information on the nature of early Indian kingship.⁴⁴ But he does quote Manu, from a later date, in support of his contention that divine kingship was clearly a feature of early Indian thought. The two quotations are from the *Law Treatises*.⁴⁵

37. Ghoshal, U. N., *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Oxford: 1959, p. 20.

38. *Rigveda* IV, 42.8-9. All quotations from the *Rigveda* are as cited in Ghoshal, *ibid.*, pp. 20 ff.

39. *Ibid.*, X, 173.

40. *Ibid.*, IV, 8.3.

41. *Ibid.*, IV, 22.6-7.

42. *Ibid.*, XX, 127-7.

43. *Satapatha Brahmana*, V. 4.3.7. Quoted in Spellman, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

44. See various references in Hocart, A. M., *Kingship*, Oxford: 1924, pp. 10-11.

45. Book VII, Verse 3, and Book V, Verse 96, quoted in *Ibid.*

- (1) The Lord created the King for the protection of this world, having taken immortal particle from Indra, the Wind, Yama, the Sun, and Fire, and Varuna, the Moon, and the Lord of Wealth. Insomuch as the King is formed of these particles of these chiefs of the gods, he surpasses all beings in brightness. Like the sun, he burns the eyes and minds, nor can any so-ever on earth behold him. He is Fire, and Wind, he is the Sun, the King of Law.
- (2) The sovereign has a body composed of Soma (the Moon), Fire, the Sun, the Wind and Indra, of the two Lords of Wealth (Kubera) and Water (Varuna) and Yama, the eight guardians of the world.

Widengren strongly supports Hocart.⁴⁶ He grants the secular nature of much of the King's authority and admits that his power is not unrestricted. He accepts the fact of the King's election and the presence of an assembly which elects the King.⁴⁷ On the other hand, he makes the following points.

(1) The King's own person was holy and inviolable. In support of this, he cites cases where the King, even though defeated in battle was not killed. True, Kings were killed, but the action was regarded as sacrilege.

(2) The King was holy because of his descent from the Gods. His person was of a divine character. He was the brother of the sun and moon and his real home was among the stars. His real nature was fire and this fire-nature was always symbolized by the nimbus of fire surrounding his head.

(3) The King's divine nature was reflected in court ceremonial and in insignia of royalty. It is significant that as Manu's Law VIII 9 states that the radiance of the King turns the eye like the sun, so the custom developed early in Iran of the King always having his face veiled when ascending the throne.

(4) The King's divine origin was reflected in the birth legend. Examples are Faridun, Cyrus, Mithradates Eupator, and Zarathustra. As we know, there were many prophecies circulating

46. Widengren, G., "The Sacred Kingship of Iran", *Numen*, Supp. 4, 1959, pp. 442 ff.

47. He points out, however, that the King is elected by means of an omen, given by the sun-god through his special animal, the horse. This is the basis for Herodotus' story of the election of Darius.

during the centuries preceding the Christian era which speak of the birth of the "Great King". This great King is Mithra whose human reincarnation the Iranians believed would bring salvation. Thus a Savior-King was as much a part of the early Iranian mystique as it was of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

(5) Royal ideology: The King was the cosmic ruler, the Lord of the Seven Climes. Cyrus, who was not certain whether he was human or not,⁴⁸ left the following inscription in a cylinder which lies in the British Museum. "I am Cyrus, King of the World, the great King, the powerful King, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of the four quarters of the world".

Frye supports Hocart and George Widengren.⁴⁹ He states that in ancient Iran, as among other Indo-European people, a King was elected from a certain family, which has the charisma of kingship. The King was first among warriors. The term Shah itself means warrior and is derived from the ancient *Kshatriya* or warrior caste. It was a capital offence to sit on the Shah's throne. His person was sacred. On the day of his coronation, he was "re-born" and assumed a new throne name and put on a garment symbolizing his position as a cosmic ruler. At his death his "personal fire" was extinguished and mourning on the part of his family sometimes took extreme forms of suicide or mutilation.

Frye recognizes an apparent contradiction between the position of the King of Kings as one among many and the sacred divine nature of early Persian Kingship. But he argues that in Iran the King became more important than in India and the idea of legitimacy becomes paramount and was bound up with the "kingly glory".⁵⁰ Only seven chiefs of the Medes and Persians could view the face of the King.⁵¹ By the time of Darius these seven great families of Iran became a tradition which were carried through Parthian and Sasanian times. They were the top aristocratic families and acted as helpers of the King and supported his divinity and legitimacy.

Under Darius I—and this is relevant in further support of the concept of royal splendour—Zoroastrianism became the

48. See above, p. 3.

49. Frye, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

51. *Esther* 1:14.

spiritual expression of a nation at the height of its powers. Upon his ascent to the throne, Darius tells his people: "By the grace of Ahura-Mazda, I am King. Ahura-Mazda gave me the kingdom".⁵² When the last Cyrus died, Achaemenid art, a large proportion of which was destined for religious purposes, had constructed what are still some of the most impressive monuments on the face of the earth.⁵³ In three languages, Old Persian (the dialect of Fars), Elamite, and Babylonian, the Achaemenid rulers carved into rock or baked into clay, the wonderful recountings of this divine grace. At Behistun, on the great road which leads from Babylon to Ecbatana, there is a bas-relief placed high upon a rock in which Darius tells how he defeated Gaumata, the Magian Pretender who had seized the kingdom after mad Cambyses' death.⁵⁴ The King is depicted, followed by two assistants who carry his bow and spear, making a gesture of adoration towards the holy symbol of Ahura-Mazda. The trampled figure of Gaumata lies under his feet. A row of rebellious satraps, all strung on one rope are led towards the King as a sacrifice to Ahura-Mazda—Ahura-Mazda, "who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created welfare for man, who gave this kingdom to his house and defends his empire from evil".⁵⁵

To summarize, then, the best sources indicate that Persian kingship was a divine institution and the divinity of the King was accepted in early Iranian texts. Kingly authority rested on two fundamental sources of power—the military and religious. He was a Priest-King as that concept was understood in the Middle East and as the sacrificer partook of the Divine Nature.

(2)

The Sasanian Period

The pre-Islamic era of Persian history may be said to have begun with the Achaemenid dynasty, founded by Cyrus the Great

52. Gray, G. B. and Mr. Cary, "The Reign of Darius", *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, Cambridge University Press, 1953, p. 176. Hereafter cited as C.A.H.

53. Grousset, Rene, *The Civilizations of the East*, New York: 1941, I, pp. 120-138.

54. C.A.H., IV, p. 178.

55. C.A.H., IV, p. 176.

in 546 B.C. The Arabs invaded Persia in 636 A.D. This period, which extended over eleven centuries, can, for convenience, be subdivided into the Achaemenid period, the Parthian period, and the Sasanian period. The first ended with the invasion of Alexander the Great who routed the Achaemenids and brought an end to the dynasty. The last Achaemenid King was killed in 336 B.C.

The second period, the Parthian, was a dark and somewhat confusing period. It was marked by the rule of Greek Seleucids as well as local chieftains. It ended with the defeat of Ardawan by the great Ardashir in 226 A.D.

The third period, sometimes known as the Pahlavi period, was marked by the founding of the Sasanian dynasty by the aforementioned Ardashir and continued until the Arab invasion and the break-up of the Persian Empire at the death of Yazdigird III in 651 A.D.

The foundation of a positive theory of Persian kingship had its origins, as indicated above, in ancient Indo-Iranian traditions. Much of this, however, is necessarily provisional, and even the Cyrus legend⁵⁶ develops a saga of its own. When the assignment of the divine source of the kingship of Cyrus to Yahweh takes place, as recounted in Isaiah,⁵⁷ the heroic aspects of Cyrus tend to become confused with the Jesus saga and at least one Orientalist has argued that the recounting of the Persian epic is really a commentary on the Gospels.⁵⁸

Very early, as already suggested, the court of the Persian Kings became inaccessible. The testimonies of Herodotus⁵⁹ and Xenophon⁶⁰ both remark on the invisibility of the King. Even at dinner, while most guests dine outside the royal apartments, those who dine within, do not sit at the same table with him. He is so situated that he can see the guests through a curtain while they

56. See above, p. 11.

57. Isaiah 41.

58. Buckler, F. W., "Firdausi's *Shanamah* and the *Genealogia Regis Dei*", Supplement to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, No. 1, (Sept. 1936), p. 11.

59. Herodotus, *op.cit.*, I, 99.

60. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VII, v. 41, *Ibid.*, II, p. 279.

cannot see him. Only on rare and great occasions do guests share a table with the King.⁶¹

There is a tradition that Arsak, founder of the Parthian dynasty, was the first King to be counted as a divine person. Ammianus Marcellinus relates:⁶²

"And nobles and commons rivalling each other in agreement, he was placed among the stars.....and—as they believe—he was the first of all to be so honoured. Hence to this very day the over-boastful kings of that race suffer themselves to be called brothers of the Sun and Moon.....Hence they venerate and worship Arsak as a god".

The reference to the Sun and Moon also appears in the title used by the Sasanian Kings. In a letter sent by Shapur II to the Emperor Constantius, the address is: "I, Shapur, King of Kings, partner with the stars, brother of the Sun and Moon....".⁶³

The Sasanian Kings—for it is in the Sasanian dynasty that the divine theory of Persian kingship emerges as a stable and enduring concept—called themselves Gods or "divine beings" (Pahlawi bagh).⁶⁴ They regarded themselves as the descendents of the ancient Keyani dynasty and inheritors of the "Royal Splendour" by virtue of which they alone could wear the Persian Crown. Thus in Pahlawi literature, the King is lord of the world. He is the Cosmic ruler. He is lord of the Seven Climes. He is primarily a ritual person. No longer does he lead, like Indra, in battle. Rather he functions as a priest. Like the Achaemenid Kings he makes the sacrifice,⁶⁵ carrying out the great horse-sacrifice of Aryan origin, tending the many fire temples, and later sacrificing the white bulls and bucks brought to the God of Fire. At the New Year's festival, he functioned as the dragon killer, slaying the mythical monster Azi Dahaka and thereby creating fertility for the world. At his coronation he assumes his throne name and ever after, this is his birthday. He wears a garment

61. Widengren, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

62. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 146.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Browne, E. G., *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge: 1928, (4 vols), I. p. 128. All citations from Browne following are from this source.

65. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, v. 26. *Ibid.*, II, p. 407.

symbolizing his position as a Cosmic ruler. At his death and burial, his personal fire is extinguished. Sometimes human victims are sacrificed and Widengren declares that no Zoroastrian regulations of mourning and death are observed at the royal burial.⁶⁶

Professor Browne, around whose charming presence a distinguished group of scholars gathered at Pembroke College shortly after the turn of the century instances as evidence of this "Royal Splendour" two incidents related from early recountings:⁶⁷

"Now Kisra (Chosroes) used to sit in his audience hall where was his crown, like unto a mighty cask.....set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, with gold and silver, suspended by a chain of gold from the top of an arch in this, his audience-hall; and his neck could not support the Crown, but he was veiled by draperies till he had taken his seat in this, his audience-hall, and had introduced his head within the Crown, and had settled himself in his place, whereupon the draperies were withdrawn. And no one who had not previously seen him looked upon him without kneeling in reverence before him".

The second instance relates to an anecdote told of the flight of Bahram Chubin after his defeat by Khursaw Parwiz:

"And Bahram fled headlong, and on his way he passed by a hamlet, where he halted, and he and Mardan-Sina and Yazdan-Gushnasp alighted at the dwelling of an old woman. Then they produced some food which they had with them, and supped, and gave what was left over to the old woman. Then they produced wine; and Bahram said to the old woman 'Hast thou nothing wherewith we can drink?' 'I have a little gourd', replied she; and she brought it to them, and they cut off the top and began to drink from it. Then they produced dessert; and they said to the old woman, 'Hast thou nothing wherein we can put the dessert?' So she brought them a winnowing-shovel, into which they poured the dessert. So Bahram ordered that wine should be given to the old woman, and then he said to her, 'What news hast thou, old lady?' 'The news with us', answered she, 'is that Kisra hath advanced with an army of Greeks, and fought Bahram, and overcome him, and recovered from him his kingdom'. 'And what say'st thou'.

66. Widengren, *op.cit.*, p. 254

67. Browne, *op.cit.*, pp. 128-219.

asked Bahram, 'concerning Bahram?' 'A silly fool', replied she, 'who claims the kingdom, not being a member of the Royal House'. Said Bahram, 'Therefore, it is that he drinks out of gourds and eats his dessert out of winnowing-fans'. And this became a saying amongst the Persians, which they are wont to cite as a proverb".

It is the *Shah-Nama* of Firdausi, however, that develops most artistically the divine theory of kingship held during the Sasanian reign. Firdausi, who lived in Tus toward the end of the tenth century wrote this masterpiece in dedication to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1010. It is a long poem of some 60,000 couplets and purports to tell the history of Persia from legendary times to the beginning of the Arab conquest. It is cast in the heroic mould and does, in fact, recreate an heroic period. In a sense, Firdausi is the precursor of all the heroic Persian poets that follow him—Anwari, Omar Khayyam, Sa'di of Shiraz, Hafiz and Jami. These men were not historians. Hence, as history, none of them, beginning with the *Shah-Nama*, is to be taken with accuracy. Yet their value to Persian tradition, is, if anything, more important, because of the heroic conception of the Kings of Persia that emerges. The *Shah-Nama* is important in Persian history because it declares that Persian kingship derives its authority from immemorial antiquity and not from recent conquest. It attempts to deliver from the thralldom of Islam, the theory of Persian kingship, in order to demonstrate to the world that the kingly authority, the "Royal Splendour" cannot be seized, that the line of legitimist right to the throne of Persia is by lineal descent. So this continues to modern times. It resides in the hidden succession from the Kayans to the Sasanids, the succession inherent in the imams and the Sayyids, and finally in the "hidden *imam*" and the doctrine of the Mahdi. This is the reason why Persians have clung with such tenacity to the doctrine of the Shi'a or Sect of Ali. To them the idea of electing a Caliph was distasteful in the extreme. No doubt there was a certain amount of personal hatred present toward the Arabs as the result of the strenuous efforts of Umar, the second orthodox Caliph, to destroy the Persian Empire. On the other hand, the Persians firmly believed that Hussein, the younger son of the Prophet's daughter Fatima and his cousin Ali had married the daughter of the last Sasanian King. Consequently the remaining *imams* of the Shi'a sect represent "not only the Prophetic, but

the kingly right and virtue, being at the same time descended from the Prophet Muhammed and from the House of Sasan".⁶⁸

The Sasanians, at the height of their power, were a formidable force indeed. Shapur I (A.D. 241-271), the son of Ardashir, had captured the Roman Emperor Velerian in battle and held him prisoner until his death. Although the Tigris River came to represent the boundary between the Empires of the East and the West, three separate wars were waged by Shapur III (A.D. 310-379) against Rome. It was under Kursraw I (A.D. 531-579), however, the greatest of the Sasanian Emperors, that the full power of the monarchy was brought into being. An heroic literature, later drawn upon by Firdausi for the *Shah-Nama* developed.⁶⁹ Christianity was not only tolerated, but indeed, became a serious threat to the old Zoroastrian faith. The administration of Empire was stabilized upon the basis of a comprehensive survey of its land and people. There were nevertheless, two internal aspects of the imperial power that were preparing the way for its undoing. The first was the increasing rigidity of the interior imperial structure.

The majesty of the Sasanian rulers has already been noted.⁷⁰ Flowing directly from Ahura-Mazda, it was seen as divine, as encompassing the four corners of the earth. Nevertheless the separation of the Shah from contact with his people prompted the rise of rigid social arrangements that began to rival its Aryan counterpart in India. The people were divided into four groups with sub-divisions. At the top was the *shahrdar* or the provincial governors, members of the Sasanian family. The nobility were divided between the clergy, the warrior class, and the secretaries or lesser administrators. Below were the commoners—the farmers, the merchants, the artisans. At the bottom were, of course, the labouring population.

The second aspect of imperial power that was threatening was the continuing struggle against Byzantium. Kursraw II (A.D.

68. Browne, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

69. The language of the period continued to be Middle Persian. But it was becoming less complex and moving toward the New Persian (Parsi). Some of the writings were the *Book of Great Deeds*; the *Book of Rank*; the *Book of Kings*; and fables such as *Kalila* and *Dimna*. The *Avesta* was also written down.

70. See above, p. 19.

589-628) continued to carry the war to Byzantium. At first victorious, in the end the Emperor Heraclius inflicted such a decisive defeat upon the Battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627) that the Sasanian Empire, already weakened by its internal problems, was thrown into anarchy. The story of Vazdigird III, the last of the Shahs, is a tragic accounting of a hunted man.

The determinant force in the decline of the royal power of Persia was an outside force, however, not an internal one, and it was this that was ultimately to determine the future of the Persian Kings—the rise of Islam. About the time that the Emperor Heraclius was in Jerusalem re-installing the true Cross⁷¹ recovered from the Persians after the Battle of Nineveh, his troops beyond the Jordan reported an attack by an Arab band which was repelled with little difficulty.⁷² While only thus briefly noted, it marked the beginning of a great struggle that was not to cease until 1453 when the name of Muhammed would be substituted for that of Christ on the walls of the magnificent basilica of St. Sophia in the capital of the Byzantine Empire. But this was yet some 800 years away. What was more immediate was the conquest of Persia, not by Byzantium, but by the Arabs.

As long as Muhammed lived, he exercised all the functions of authority. With his death came the question of succession. It was assumed that there could be no spiritual successor. For one who had delivered the final dispensation to mankind, how could there be a later? The matter of succession, therefore, at the point of his death, centred around that of the Khalifah (Caliph), or his successor.

The Prophet left no male children. Only one daughter, Fatima, survived him. She was the wife of Ali and they had two sons, Sasan and Hussein. Even had the Prophet's sons not predeceased him, however, this would not necessarily have eased the succession. The Arabian sheikhdом was not traditionally hereditary. It was almost electoral, roughly following the lines of tribal seniority. Consequently, with the Prophet's death, several conflicting contenders for power arose. Eventually those basing their claim on

71. The Lebanese still celebrate the occasion on September 14, 629, with bonfires.

72. Hitti, Philip, *History of the Arabs*, London: 1961, p. 147.

having belonged to the tribe of the Prophet won and the first four Caliphs thus named were Abu-Bakr (632-34); Umar (634-44); Uthman (644-56); Ali (656-61). Despite contentions among the followers of these Caliphs, Islam pressed forward on a reasonably united front to carry the wars of conquest to Syria, Iraq, Persia, and the lands beyond. Eight years after the Persian defeat at Nineveh, with Yazdigird III, the last of the Persian Kings, still on the run, the Arab forces came to the Tigris River on a dark and wind-blown day. The leader of the Arabs was Sa'd, one of those Companions promised Paradise by Muhammed himself and now serving under the Caliph Umar. Facing him across the river was the mighty Rustam, administrator of the Persian Empire, holding together the last effective fighting forces of the Sasanid Army.

The legendary exploits of Rustam are one with Persian history.⁷³ He was the Hercules of Persia, to which even Kings played but secondary party. He was the son of Zal, a chief of Seistan, himself a mighty warrior, who when hunting in the wilds of what is now Afghanistan, came to a castle where he saw the beauteous Rudabah, daughter of the King of Kabul. It was love at first sight for them both and the ardent lover scaled his mistress's tower by using her long tresses as a rope. From this union came Rustam. Rustam, himself, as man, followed his father's pattern and fell in love with a woman with sense enough to steal his horse. She bore him a son, Sohrab. The account of the famous and tragic single combat between Rustam and his Sohrab is as much a part of English literature as of Persian.⁷⁴ It was, as Firdausi declares, an episode "full of the water of the eye". This and so much else, had passed; in Rustam's life.

So now, on this day in June, 637, the aging Rustam faced again his destiny. It was hot, and the dust was like the shadow of locusts. And Rustam was killed and he lay on the battle-field with his army fleeing in panic. And Sa'd rode forward to claim the fertile lowland West of the Tigris.⁷⁵ Fourteen years later, Yazdigird III, carrying his crown and a few treasures, with only

73. Renniger, E. C., *The Story of Rustam from Firdausi*, New York: 1917.

74. Arnold, Matthew, *Matthew Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum and Other Poems*, London: Macmillan & Sons, 1945.

75. Hitti, *op.cit.*, p. 155.

a handful of followers, was killed by his own people near Merv. With his death, there came to an end an Empire that had flourished for twelve centuries, an Empire that would not rise again for 800 more. Subsequently, the Arabs made separate treaties across Persia with the many feudal overlords and princes, and whatever loyalty had once clung to the Shah began to be gradually transferred to the new Caliphate.⁷⁶

The concept of the divine kingship was of course foreign to the more democratic Arabs. An example of their fierce egalitarian tradition is to be found in a story told of Umar. He once received several lengths of cloth as a gift from a neighbouring ruler. He divided it equally among the Moslems, retaining one length as his share. He tailored it, donned it, and ascended the pulpit to preach. A Moslem came up to him and said, "We neither listen nor obey".

"Why so?" he replied.

"Because you have preferred yourself to us", the man answered, "when you divided the lengths of cloth, each Moslem received one, and so you too. But one length would not make you a whole shirt because you are a tall man".

Umar turned to his son and said, "Reply".

The son stood up and said, "When the Commander of the Faithful (Umar) wished to tailor his length of cloth, it was insufficient and I gave him enough of my length to complete it".

Upon hearing this, the Moslem said, "Now we listen and obey."⁷⁷

The Persians, on the other hand, were an intelligent and resourceful people and though the Arab rule was imposed upon

76. Frye, *op.cit.*, p. 231.

77. Al-Fakhari, on the Systems of Government and the Moslem Dynasties composed by Muhammed, son of Ali, son of Tabataba, known as the rapid talker, may God have mercy on him (trans. C. E. J. Whiting), London: 1947, p. 25. This is an interesting compilation of sayings and anecdotes such as: "One of the things disliked in a ruler is excessive inclination to women, addiction to love of them, and spending time in private with them. To consult them in affairs is to induce inefficiency, an invitation to disorder and an indication of weakness of judgment. As God says, "Consult them and do the opposite", p. 36.

them, Persian belief and thought moved over the next several centuries to seek some kind of accommodation between their own traditional concepts of authority and those of their Arab masters. Generally speaking, this was to take the shape of an heroic literature, of which the *Shah-Nama* of Firdausi is the best example; of the concept of the *imam* as the ideal ruler of an ideal state; and of certain writings known as the *Mirrors for Princes* which were built upon Sasanian tradition. The first example has been remarked. It is now necessary to turn to the other two.

(3)

The Imamate

With the death of Uthman and the naming of Ali as fourth Caliph on June 24, 656, it was hoped by many that a true succession to the Prophet was now possible. None of the first three Caliphs had founded a dynasty. Ali, first cousin of Muhammed, husband to his only daughter, and father of two sons still living, was clearly in a position to do so. But the blood-letting was not to stop.

Uthman, third Caliph and representative of the Umayyad cause had been murdered by a Persian slave. Consequently, even though Ali put down his closest rivals, Talhah and al-Zubayr, in honourable combat and gave them decent burial, the Umayyads, under Musiyah, governor of Syria, rallied for a new test of strength. What happened at the confrontation along the Euphrates is not clear.⁷⁸ But in January 661, Ali was killed by a poisoned sabre and he was succeeded by Mu'awiyah the Umayyad who did found a dynasty, thus introducing the hereditary principle into the Caliphate.

Ali's death was mourned deeply by his followers, most of whom were Persian Moslems known as Shi'ite. To them, Ali was a canonized martyr. He became the paragon of Moslem nobility and chivalry. The lonely spot near al-Kufah where he is buried (near the Persian city of Mashad) is one of the great centres of pilgrimage in Islam. His martyred son, Hussein, buried

78. See the account in Hitti, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-182.

at nearby Karbala is similarly honoured in death by hosts of pilgrims. Every year throughout the Shi'a world, a passion play is enacted on the tenth of Muharram testifying to the messianic nature of the Shi'a belief.

Inevitably the veneration afforded Ali split Islam into two hostile camps. During the Umayyad period it took final form.

The issue ostensibly was the Caliphate, but in fact it was the imamship. After the first four Caliphs, the office became a secular post, the highest in Islam to be sure, but with none of the religious authority enjoyed by Muhammed. On the other hand, the *imam* or religious leader of the community could be the Caliph or it could be any other devout man. As religious speculation continued after the death of Muhammed on the nature of the Caliphate, several interpretative books were written similar in nature to the western canon law dealing with this problem. The most authoritative to these was by Persian, al-Bukhari, which stands next to the Koran itself in importance. An oath taken on it is valid. Six of these books, known as the Shari'a, recognized but one supreme authority, the *imam*. He, in turn could delegate all or part of his authority to his appointed ministers, governors and generals. It was generally assumed that the Caliphate and the *imam* therefore must be one, as no doctrine of the two swords — so well known in the West⁷⁹ — ever existed in Islam. But the assumption was subjected to a different emphasis by the Shi'a, the followers of Ali.

The meaning of the word *imam* in the Arabic tongue, refers to one whom one follows. The institution of the *imama* is an act of God's grace. The *imam* is "the shadow of God on earth." His duties include the defence of the *din* (religion), the warding-off offenders, granting compensation to those wronged and establishing right. Authority, irrespective of how well their duties are carried out, is preferable to anarchy. Forty years of tyranny are better than one hour of abandonment by the ruler.⁸⁰ Even though

79. Carlyle, A. J. & R. W., *A History of Medieval Political Thought in the West*, Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1909, I, pp. 184 ff.

80. Quoted in Rosenthal, E. I. J., *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, Cambridge: 1958, p. 44. The writer wishes to acknowledge the helpful conversations with Dr. Rosenthal at Cambridge, Spring Term, 1965.

the influence of the Greek philosophers was very strong during the Abbasid Caliphate, it is clear that the *imama* "is not required by reason, but by the divine law (Shar)." Politics, is the foremost of the sciences aimed at "man's welfare in this world and bliss in the next, attainable only if government is rooted in the legal and completed by the political sciences."⁸¹

The Shi'a believed that Ali and Ali's sons were true *imams* just as Roman Catholic dogma accepts the peculiar position of Peter and his successors. The *imam* stood as an intermediary between God and man. The doctrine represented, of course, theological opposition to the conception of might contained in the office of the conquering Caliphate. The Persians were ever the most subtle of eastern philosophers, and beginning with their position as supporters of Ali whose losing cause they had espoused, they proceeded to develop by the tenth century a conception of the *imamate* completely at variance with the Sunni Arabs. The *imam* became the sole legitimate head of the Moslem community. It was a divinely designated office. The *imam* is a lineal descendant of Muhammed through Fatima and Ali. He is a spiritual and religious leader and rightly a secular one. He enjoys a transcendent force which places him far above any other human being. Among the Ahulah, a Shi'ite group, this was interpreted as representing the incarnation of God himself.⁸² Unlike the Sunni Caliph, the Shi'ite *imam* had inherited not only his temporal authority, but the prerogative of interpreting the law. He was an infallible teacher to which was added the divine gift of impeccability⁸³ The Shi'ites saw Ali as the first *imam*, followed in succession by his son Hasan and then Hussein. The last nine of the twelve *imams* to whom the Shi'a swore allegiance were all descendants of Hussein. Of the nine, four met death by poison, the others at the hands of Caliphs or executioners. The twelfth *imam* disappeared in 878 A.D. in the cave of the great mosque of Samarra without leaving offspring. He is considered immune from death and sleeps like Barbarossa, ready to rise again. In due time, he will appear as the Mahdi or divinely guided one who will

81. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 39.

82. Hitti, *op.cit.*, p. 248.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 440.

restore true Islam, conquer the world, and usher in the millennium. Though hidden, this *imam* is "the master of time." In 1502, the Safawids, who claimed descent from the seventh *imam*, established this belief as doctrine and ever since, the Shah has been seen as the *locum tenens* of this hidden *imam*.⁸⁴

(4)

Medieval Persian Thought

The Abbasid dynasty held power in Islam from 750 to 1258. It was a period in which Persian influence so completely captured the Empire that in only two fields was Arabian influence preserved. Islam remained the religion of the state and Arabic continued to be the official language of the state registers. But in all else "Persian title, Persian wines and wives, Persian mistresses, Persian songs, as well as Persian thoughts, won the day."⁸⁵

The Caliphate, in particular, became a reflection of the earlier splendour of the Persian kingship and the government itself emerged as a model of the Sasanids. The autocratic nature of kingly authority was reasserted over the easier Arabian democracy. For the first time in the history of Islam, the leathern spread beside the Caliph's seat, which served as a carpet for the use of the executioner, became a necessary adjunct of the imperial throne.⁸⁶

The office of Caliph also ceased to be a purely secular one as it had been under the preceding Umayyads and assumed many of the characteristics of the religious office of the Shah. The Caliph now donned the mantle once worn by the Prophet on great ceremonial occasions and displayed himself no more as a man among his equals. The ancient Persian head-dress became officially adopted by the Caliphs.

Next to the Caliph stood the vizier, an office created for Persia and held traditionally by a Persian. The Vizier acted as the

84. *Ibid*, p. 441.

85. *Ibid*, p. 294.

86. An early Persian story tells of a corrupt judge who was flayed alive by order of the Shah and whose skin was used to re-cover the seat upon which the judge traditionally sat. Thereupon the Shah appointed the judge's son to the office with the grim reminder that he was not to forget the seat upon which he sat.

Caliph's "alter ego" and grew enormously in power as the Caliph became more and more of a figurehead. Professor Hitti sees this office as giving "a perfect expression to the theory of the divine right of kingship by proxy":⁸⁷

Muhammed ibn-Barz al Quumi is our representative throughout the land and among our subjects. Therefore he who obeys him obeys us and he who obeys us obeys God and God shall cause him who obeys him to enter Paradise. As one who, on the other hand, disobeys our vizier, he disobeys, us; and he who disobeys us disobeys God and God shall cause him who disobeys Him to enter hell fire.

It was in this setting that the *Mirrors of Princes* which enjoyed so much popularity in medieval Islam, appeared in the form of political literature. They were introduced with Arabic literature by Ibn Al-Muguffa, a Persian convert to Islam in the eighth century C.E., who was first in the service of Umayyad governors and generals and later switched his allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphs.⁸⁸

The *Mirrors* were written over a period of centuries by men of affairs and were much less concerned with principles than with the art of government. In this respect, they remind the western reader of Machiavelli's *Prince*. Nevertheless, the best *Mirrors* — the *Nasihah Ul-Muluk* of al Ghazali is an example — did throw a good deal of light on the development of the Persian theory of kingship. If this seems strange to the reader, it should be pointed out that the Sasanian Kings of Persia, and not the Caliphate, were set up in the *Mirrors* as model rulers; that the courts and administration of the Persian Kings served as the norm in various political topics considered; and finally, most of the *Mirrors* were by Persian converts. It is true that the King's absolutism is mitigated by being built into the structure of Islam and that the various commandments of Islam are always present. Nevertheless, they are, in essence, Persian works.

The three *Mirrors* best known to the West are the *Book of Crown* written in the ninth century, possibly by al Jahiz, a man of brilliant parts who exercised great influence over Arabian

87. Hitti, *op.cit.*, p. 318.

88. A full account of his works is contained in Rosenthal, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-74.

zoology but who was so ugly that the Caliph refused to appoint him tutor to his sons; the *Quabus-Nama* of Kai Ka'us, a prince of the southern Caspian, and the *Nasihāt ul-Muluk* by the famous al Ghazali. Both of the latter *Mirrors* were written towards the end of the eleventh century.

The *Book of Crown* is the most difficult to assess. While it abounds in stories and anecdotes of Sasanian rule and court life, the author superimposes so many Muslim concepts and takes so many other examples from Arab history that the Book is equally a reflection of the Abbasid court and Sasanian. However, the author makes it clear that the King is absolute sovereign. Even if the Shari'a were to demand it, the King's son would have no right to shed blood without his father's permission. To do so would be to weaken the kingly authority — it must remain indivisible. The King himself combines the roles of pastor, master, and *imam*. While at the same time serving as the shepherd to his flock — a concept going back to Cyrus — he must maintain a vast network of spies to cover the court and the realm.

The *Quabus-Nama* — a Mirror for Princes — was written by Kai Ka'us Ibn Iskander, Prince of Gurgan.⁸⁹ He belonged to a princely family who held sway in the southern Caspian area (Mazandaran). He was the grandson of the great Quabus who ruled over this area as governor and who, when he died, was placed in a crystal coffin which was suspended by chains midway between roof and floor of the tomb. Apparently the grandson adored his grandsire and studied his life carefully. This book is for the most part a practical handbook of politics. It may not be devoid of significance that the India Office Library's manuscript copy bears the autograph signature of Warren Hastings. The Book contains forty-four chapters running from a knowledge of God, then — youth, wine-drinking, love to war, wealth to kingship. Chapter Forty, Rules for the Vizierate, Chapter Forty-One, the Art of Controlling an Armed Force; Chapter Forty-Two, the Conduct of Kingship, are perhaps the most important.

89. Translated from the Persian by Reuben Levy, London: 1941. The writer wishes to acknowledge the helpful conversations with Professor Levy at Cambridge, Spring Term, 1965.

The Vizier is told that the King will either be a wise man or a fool. "If he is wise, he will not reconcile himself to dishonesty on your part and will remove you from office in the most agreeable manner possible. If he is foolish and ignorant, he will dismiss you in the most ignominious way he knows. You may escape with your life from the wise man, but by no contriving is there any escape from the boor."⁹⁰ The officer, or chief administrative officer as pointed out above, was set up first by the Abbasids and was intended to be a Persian post as a reflection of Persian influence at court.

The admonition to the future ruler in the case of controlling the armed forces reminds one of a great deal of the *Cyropaedia*. The example is cited of a great King who never went in pursuit of a defeated enemy. It is mindful of Aristotle's admonition to his pupil Alexander upon hearing of Alexander's vicious massacre on a particular occasion of a defeated enemy. Aristotle could understand a King killing his enemies, but not his future subjects. In any case, it is made clear in this chapter that as of old, kingly authority rests on military might.

There is no general theory of kingship expressed in the chapter on kingship as it is a handbook beginning: "If you become King, someday, my son. . . ." On the other hand, many of the old Sasanian characteristics are present. He is to expose himself to the gaze of the people very rarely. He is to speak seldom. He is not to be dependent upon counsel—"let us consider the matter, after which will issue appropriate commands."⁹¹ Commands are never to be treated with indifference. "The King's solace and pleasure lie in giving commands."⁹² Even so the image of Cyrus is still invoked. "The Chieftain is like the shepherd, with the lesser men as his flock."⁹³ The term "lesser" men or "ordinary run of men" is used more than once. "The King is greater than other men."⁹⁴ It is mindful of Cyrus who thought he might be less than God, but was more than man. And finally, "awesome-

90. *Ibid*, p. 214.

91. *Ibid*, p. 223.

92. *Ibid*, p. 226.

93. *Ibid*, p. 225, p. 226.

94. *Ibid*, p. 231.

ness" is named one of the six qualities of kingship and is listed first.⁹⁵

The *Nasihāt ul-Muluk* was written by the eminent theologian mystic al-Ghazali for the Great Sultan Seljuk Sultan Muhammed b. Malikshah who ruled from 498 to 511 (1105 to 1118). It was a period which saw the political situation in the Islamic world being completely transformed by the rise of the Seljuks to power. At the time of their first appearance as a political force in Persia the Caliphate was at its lowest ebb. His temporal power had been reduced in Persia and elsewhere. Shi'a tendencies were growing stronger. Even in Baghdad, political power was a mixed bag.

With the establishment of a Sunni Sultanate at Baghdad by the Seljuks as a result of the Seljuk subjugation of Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor, a new forceful political force was introduced. The Seljuks were like most converts, zealous Sunnis, and their rise to power meant a victory of the Sunni creed over Shi'a tendencies. All power was now held solidly by the Sultan with the Caliph being pretty much a figurehead. It was al-Ghazali's fate that his brilliance led him into many contradictory systems of thought. While he at one time was quite orthodox in expostulating the nature and purpose of the *imama*, after the Seljuk take-over the term *imam* began to be replaced more and more in his writings by the term Sultan.⁹⁶ In other words, a stress on power moves the Caliphate upto where he is confined to religious duties in the strictest sense of the word. But the function of government is in the hands of those who are backed by the military force. Hence the Sultan is the power in fact. So the Caliph becomes merely he to whom the wielder of power gives allegiance. The use of "merely" points up the figurehead role of Caliph. As pointed out above, before the Seljuks, there was no fully functioning Caliph in the role of *imam*. When al-Ghazali gave to the Caliph, the figurehead role of religious leader, he not only gave the power to the Sultan, but he imbued him with much of the *imam's* power as well. The Sultan in Ghazali's words is 'the

95. *Ibid*, p. 231.

96. Rosenthal, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

shadow of God upon earth.⁹⁷ This brings him very close to the position beginning to be propounded regarding the divine origin of the office of Caliph.⁹⁸ The weaker the Caliph became, the more shadowy and God-like he became in the same sense that the Japanese Emperor was similarly isolated about the same time.⁹⁹ So the Sultan, as the shadow of God, was in effect coming to the office of *imam* as well. This of course could be used by the Persians who had always supported the imamate as against the Caliph. Thus in Persian literature, the Sultan becomes the focus of all power and might. Professor Lambton quite clearly points out that Al-Ghazali draws his main inspiration from the Sasanian tradition rather than from Islam. "He attaches to the conception of divine right", Lambton says, "an emphasis hardly warranted by Islamic tradition".¹⁰⁰

Throughout, al-Chazali utilizes imagery close to those traditionally Persian. He invokes the well-known theme of the shepherd and his flock. His conception of the ruler is clearly not that of a patriarch, however, but that of a despotic monarch. He considers the ruler to be responsible only to God. Obedience, therefore, to the Sultan (His Shadow), as the Chosen of God, is incumbent upon the people. Opposition to Kings is not seemly. "It must be understood", he writes, "that God gave him the kingship and the divine right".¹⁰¹

Attendant to the *Mirrors for Princes* is the important work of Nasirral-Din Tusi, a Persian medievalist who was also a man of action. As Professor Wickens says,¹⁰² "Tusi, at the side of the Mongol Prince Hulagu, was to cross the greatest psychological watershed in Islamic civilization, playing a leading part in the

97. Lambton, A. K. S., "The Theory of Kingship in the *Nasihāt ul-Muluk* of Ghazali," in the *Islamic Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1954), p. 50.

98. See footnotes in Rosenthal regarding Tyan and others, *op.cit.*, pp. 238-239.

99. An imperial rescript addressed to the Court in 749 A.D. begins, "Hearken ye all the world, of the Sovereign Prince of Yamato that is manifest God, saying...", in Samson, Sir G. B., *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1943, p. 177.

100. Lambton, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

101. Quoted in Lambton, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

102. Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, (trans. G. M. Wickens), London, George Allen & Unwin, 1964, p. 9.

capture of Baghdad and the extinction of the generally acknowledged Caliphate there".

Tusi had much to say regarding the divinity of Kings. It is true that divinity, as such, is not listed in the Third Discourse (on Politics) as the Persians hesitated to claim this quality for the Caliphate. But the fourth quality "The Royal Resolve" which manifests itself in the Caliph is a compounding of certain virtues that clearly indicate his superiority to ordinary men.¹⁰³ The King is also described as the world's physician¹⁰⁴ in a sense ascribed by Christians to Christ. The King is further described as the "Religious Legislator", by which is meant that the ruler is the regulator of the world; he has "control of the enactments of the laws and the most expedient measures in daily life".¹⁰⁵

Tusi sees this as "the reason for the interdependence of faith and kingship, as expressed by the Emperor of the Iranians, the Philosopher of the Persians, Ardashir Babak". "Religion and kingship are twins", he says, "neither being complete without the other".¹⁰⁶

Other elements are present, to wit, the perennial problem of justice and defence. Tusi says the "Absolute King" strives to unite four things. "Wisdom, which is the end of all ends; complete intellection, which leads to ends: powers of persuasion and imagination which are among the conditions for bringing others to perfection and the power to conduct the good fight, which is one of the conditions of defence and protection".¹⁰⁷ The King, however, should not conduct wars in person as defeat would mar "the awe and glory of kingship".¹⁰⁸

Justice is seen as the supreme virtue and depends upon divine commandment, and is, therefore the "first concern of the King".¹⁰⁹

Finally, Tusi ties the divine right of Kings into the imamate. In an important statement, he observes:¹¹⁰ "Now in determining

103. *Ibid.* p. 227.

104. *Ibid.* p. 228.

105. *Ibid.* p. 215.

106. *Ibid.* p. 215.

107. *Ibid.* p. 216.

108. *Ibid.* p. 235.

109. *Ibid.* p. 230.

110. *Ibid.* p. 192.

judgments, there is need (also) for a person who is distinguished from others by divine support, so that he may be able to accomplish their perfection. Such a person, in the terminology of the ancients, was called an Absolute King and his judgments, the Craft of Kingship; the Moderns refer to him as the Imam".¹¹¹

To summarize, Professor Browne supports the theory of divinity as developed above. He says of the followers of Ali:¹¹²

"From a very early time, there was a tendency to magnify Ali's nature until it assumed a divine character and even at the present day¹¹³ the *Ali-Ilahis* who, as their name implies, regard Ali as neither more nor less than an Incarnation or "Manifestation" of God, are a numerous sect in Persia. From the earliest times, the idea of Divine Right, has strongly possessed the Persians, while the idea of popular and democratic election, natural to the Arabs, has always been extremely distasteful to them. It was natural, therefore, that from the first, the Persians should have formed the backbone of the Shi'its party; and their allegiance to the fourth *imam*, Ali Zaynu'l-l-'Abidin, and his descendants was undoubtedly strengthened by the belief that his mother was a princess of the Old Royal House of Sasan". In 1500, Sha Isma'il was crowned at Tabriz and thereby established the first truly Persian dynasty in eight centuries—the Safavid. By 1510 he had taken over Pars, Kerman, Hamadan, and Khorasan and had proclaimed the Shi'a sect as the state religion. Thereafter, for several years, there was constant warfare between the Ottoman rulers and the Persian Shahs and it was not until the rise of the Great Shah Abbas, who moved the capital to Isfahan in 1598, that the Persian dynasty became secure.

(5)

The Coming of the English

The rise of the Safavids coincided with the entrance of the English into Persia. In fact it was the Sherley brothers who provided the cannon foundry which was of such great help in holding off the Ottoman Army.

111. *Ibid*, p. 192.

112. Browne, *op.cit.*, p. 194.

113. Written at the turn of this century.

Consequently, for almost three hundred years, the English stood in a special position with regard to Persia, a relationship which only began to alter with the rise of the constitutional movement at the opening of the twentieth Century.¹¹⁴

It is too much to recount in any detail the English presence in Persia, nor would such a recounting be pertinent to this paper. But as an epilogue it is not without interest that the English, who had themselves once accepted the theory of divine kingship, should now, as observers, be in a position to comment on the thread of divinity in Persia which has been the subject of this paper.

Although by no means the first of the merchant adventurers to write back from Persia—the great names of the Sherley brothers, Anthony Jenkinson and Sir Thomas Roe had all preceded him—John Fryer was one of the first to leave Company affairs momentarily behind him to speculate on the nature of Persian kingship:¹¹⁵

“They esteem their Emperour not only as Lords Paramount, but reverence them as sons of the Prophets For as of old, the Persians adored the Sun as a Deity and celebrated his rising with Morning Hymns and were daily employed in sacred Anthems to its Fraise. They still espouse the Divine Right as well as Lineage of their sovereigns. They obey him in everything, no less than an immortal God”.

Captain John Stevens in 1715 similarly notes the special position of the Shah.¹¹⁶ “It is an established principle among these people”, he writes, “they ought to obey the King as they would God, whom he represents”. Again, in Book II, he observes that “when a person swears by the King’s head that he will do anything, he infallibly performs it and that out of hand”.

Jonas Hanway, of all the merchants, gives the most detailed description of the court hierarchy.^{116a} He recounts the duties of

114. See above, pp. 400-401.

115. John Fryer’s *East India and Persia*, III, in Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. 39, London: 1915, p. 41. For an interesting earlier account, see *Don Juan in Persia* (ed. G. Le Strange), London: 1926.

116. This is a part of the *Broadway Travellers* edited by Sir E. Denison Ross. Don Juan was a Shi’a Persian who later became a Catholic, 1560-1604.

116a. Antonio Teixeira, *History of Persia*, (ed. Captain John Stevens), London; 1715, p. 353.

the various civil, military and ecclesiastical offices. He is impressed by the despotic nature of authority in Persia. The Begler-Begs (Lord of Lords—the highest rank of office), for example, he cites as having the power of life and death, all of them as cruel as they were powerful.¹¹⁷ Not being a political theorist he does not speculate on the nature of this power. But he does, in his account of Nadir Shah, point out that the great King ranked himself apart from both the Shi'a and Sunni sects;¹¹⁸ and that like the Persian Kings of old, he prostrated himself and prayed before each battle.¹¹⁹ But once in answer to a note shot into his quarters, tied to an arrow, asking if he was devil or God, a tyrant, King or Prophet, he distributed the following reply throughout the camp:

“I am neither God nor devil, tyrant nor Prophet; but I am one sent from God, to punish an iniquitous generation of men”¹²⁰ It will be noted that he lacked John Baptist's humility. He was not a “man sent from God”. Like Cyrus he was “one”—more than man.

In the nineteenth century, the accounts of travellers continued much in the same vein. Edward Scott noted that the Shah's rule “is as arbitrary as it is possible for it to be” and comments on the fact that the Shah might confiscate the property of his nobles or depopulate whole districts “in safety and applause”.¹²¹

John Pinkerton pursues the explanation a little more fully. Writing shortly after the death of Nadir Shah, he had this to say:¹²²

“The Shah of Persia is an absolute monarch and has the lives and estates of his subjects entirely at his disposal. There is no prince in the world more implicitly obeyed: let his orders be ever so unjust, or given at a time when he is so little

117. Johnas Hanway (merchant), *An Historical Account of the British Trade Over the Caspian Sea with a Journal of Travels* (4 vols.), London: 1753, I, p. 336.

118. *Ibid*, IV, p. 276.

119. *Ibid*, IV, p. 280.

120. *Ibid*, IV, p. 275.

121. Edward Scott, *A Tour of Sheeraz*, London: 1807, pp. 90-91.

122. John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, London: 1811. Also see Colonel Sir John Malcolm, *The History of Persia* (2 vols.), London: 1815, p. 213.

master of his reason that he knows not what he says or does, nothing can save the greatest subject if he determines to deprive him of his life or estate....If he be in a humour to ruin them it is done by a word of his mouth or by a sign, and executed in an instant, without any form of law or evidence of facts. The common people, who are at a distance from the court, have much the better of the quality in this respect; there are very seldom any instances of any oppression or severe judgments executed upon these, but they seem to enjoy as much security as in any country of the world....".

Of the nature of this great power, Pinkerton perhaps suffers, as do the other English observers from an inability, or perhaps a simple failure to understand the historic origins of Persian kingship. For example, he does not make reference to any theory of kingly power while recounting its extent and yet he notes that "the Persians, *out of conscience*,¹²³ obey all commands of their Prince without reserve." So great is this will to submission that "(they) believe that his orders ought to be obeyed against the very laws of nature".¹²⁴

Lord Curzon, despite the lateness of his coming to Persia, made important observations on Persian kingship.¹²⁵ He sees the Shah as "perhaps the best existing specimen of a modern despot." He is 'omnipotent', and "irresponsible". As the sovereign he is the sole executive and all officials are his deputies.

Lord Curzon goes back to his Shakespeare to describe "the divinity that doth hedge a Throne in Persia." The Shah, as in Sasanian times, never, according to Curzon, attends at state dinners or eats with his subject at table except once a year at No Ruz (New Year) when he dines with his male relatives. The language and attitude employed at court is, according to Lord Curzon, "those of servile obeisance and adulation."

"May I be your sacrifice, Asylum of the Universe" is the common mode of address even by the highest officials. The ministers disavow all initiative in the presence of the Shah and tremble at

123. Italics mine.

124. Pinkerton, *op.cit.*, p. 213.

125. Curzon, Hon. George N., *Persia and the Persian Question*, London; 1892, I, p. 401.

executive responsibility. Hence all policy emanates from the Shah and "the Shah is in one person the sole arbiter of Persia's fortunes".

Lord Curzon also speaks of his audience with the Shah. The latter received him in the Palace standing alone before the Peacock Throne.¹²⁶ There was no other article of furniture in the room. He wore black trousers and a black coat, edged with astrakhan, thick with gold cording in front, and equipped with voluminous skirts. Upon the face of his *kolah* (hat) was a small Lion and Sun in diamonds. The conversation was mostly of Lord Curzon's route of travel to the capital.

Perhaps the first account of the coronation of a Persian King to receive publicity in the western world through a published account and the last recounting to be considered here, is by Eustache de Lorey and Douglas Fladen.¹²⁷ This was the coronation of Muhamed Ali Shah. The presence of the diplomatic corps accounted for the eye-witness account. The coronation, as is the custom, took place before the Peacock Throne,¹²⁸ in the Gulistan Palace. The etiquette of the coronation and its details are recounted at great length.

Once the Shah was reclining on the throne, the Clergy spoke. The Senior Clergy recited a passage from the Koran: "Oh, David, we have chosen thee to be the Sovereign of the Earth....".

The Grand Vizier then crowned the Shah. Immediately a court poet then began reciting in both Arabic and Persian. References are made throughout the recitation to the "divine throne", the "imperial crown of Cyrus", "the Sovereign whose refuge is in Muhammed and in Ali". "He is the Sultan, son of the Sultan, son of the Sultan....", etc.

When the recitation is finished, the Viziers of Ceremony with their golden wands, go through an intricate display of adoration

126. The writer has been in this room in the Gulistan Palace. It is, however, now a museum and the Shah lives in his own palace.

127. de Lorey, Eustache and Fladen, Douglas, *The Moon of the Fourteenth Night*, London: 1910.

128. The name does not come from the two birds (which are not peacocks) perched on the back of the Throne, but from a concubine known as the lady peacock. It is, in fact, not a throne, but a bed.

(bowing to the ground, returning, bowing). A Persian verse summarizes this divine worship thus:¹²⁹

“In the name of Allah, may his glorious state be exulted. What gladness there is in the joyful solemnity of Imruz. Allah has given his support to the World Imruz. The good news goes down from heaven and then Muhammed Ali is King from the East to the West.....”.

The coronation in 1967 will find the same verses recited; the same intricate pattern of authority displayed. In a rapidly changing world—and Iran itself is rapidly changing—it is no small achievement for a nation and a culture to invoke, in actual presence, authority of such great duration.

129. *Ibid*, p. 59.

The Modernization of British Indian Finance, 1859-62

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Between 1765 (the year the East India Company received the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Emperor of Delhi) and 1856-57 (the year before the Mutiny and two years before the extinction of the Company's rule in India) the income and expenditure of the Company's Government multiplied seventeen times. Nevertheless neither the sources of the income nor the pattern of the expenditure changed significantly. Thus in 1856-57 the Government's income, which was about £ 32 millions, depended in fact on land revenue and a monopoly of the salt and opium trade (gains from such other sources as excise, customs and stamps, being insignificant); and its expenditure, which was slightly more than the income in 1856-57, was almost entirely devoted to the security services of defence, law and order. The Governor General in Council had acquired full control of finance in all the presidencies by the Act of 1833; but not before 1856-57 did the Government decide to publish annual statements of the financial situation of the several presidencies in India. Till the end of the Company's rule the Government did not have a proper budget system. As regards currency, nearly one thousand different kinds of gold and silver coins were current in India in the eighteenth century.¹ By an act of 1835 the Government established silver monometallism, with a rupee of 180 grains troy as the standard coin and legal tender, which had an exchange rate of about ten to one pound sterling in the middle of the nineteenth century. But that powerful innovation in modern currency, Government paper money, was not introduced into India till 1862.

1. See B. E. Dadachanji, *History of Indian Currency and Exchange*, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1931), p. 3.

With the financial reorganization in the last three years of Lord Canning's administration, we at once enter the modern age of British Indian finance. The Government modernized its financial administration with a budget system and improved audit and accounts on the English model; it introduced a paper currency on the principle of absolute security; it sought new income through direct, assessed taxation, like an income tax, the most potent weapon of finance in the modern world; it recognized the importance of spending money on development services like cotton-roads, inland communication, and irrigation canals, services proper for a modern government; and finally it initiated a policy of free trade which was to last for thirty years and which brought Indian tariffs in line with contemporary English economic liberalism.

In describing the financial reorganization under Canning, we must first note the problem of huge deficits on account of the Mutiny of 1857. We shall then relate the fiscal proposals and reforms connected with the names of James Wilson and Samuel Laing, two economic experts sent to India in 1859 and 1861 as Financial Members of the Governor General's Council. In this connection we shall also note the public reaction to Wilson's taxation proposals, and the Madras Government's opposition, which finally led to the recall of Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras. And we shall see how by 1861-62 bold reduction of military expenditure and other improvements finally balanced the budget and removed the fears in England about Indian finances.

I

The normal condition of Indian finance under the Company was one of deficit and borrowing, as the normal condition of Indian political history in the Company period was one of war.² Most of these years were spent either in actual wars or in recovering from them, wars which expanded British dominion all over the Indian peninsula and even sent Company troops to Afghanistan, Nepal and Burma and Company ships to various parts of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. The Mutiny of 1857 proved

2. For about forty of the sixty-six years from 1792 to 1858, the revenue of the Company's Government showed a deficit. See K. T. Shah, *Sixty Years of Federal Finance in India* (London, 1939), p. 1.

the last of the Company's wars, and the most costly. Thanks to two or three rather conflicting statements of Indian finances published in London and in Calcutta during 1858-59, there rose a cry in financial circles in England that the Government of India was facing a second, and more humiliating, crisis: it was going bankrupt. In India, the European mercantile community at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras pressed the Government to publish a statement of its financial policies; and there were serious fluctuations in the stock market. The Government found it necessary to issue a Notification on 21 February 1859, announcing its financial policy for 1859-60, in which, besides raising a few crores of rupees in loans necessary to meet acute shortage, the Government decided to meet the financial crisis by all practicable reduction of military expenditure, and by measures "for the permanent increase of Indian revenues as largely as may be consistent with sound policy."³

How big was this crisis, and how did it develop? There was a small deficit of about £ 300,000 in the first year of Canning's administration, 1856-57. Next year, 1857-58, on account of the Mutiny wars the deficit amounted to about £ 8 millions; in 1858-59, it rose to over £ 14 millions. Revenue collections from western Bihar to the eastern borders of the Punjab failed during 1857-58: land revenue was lost to the extent of about £ 3 millions. It took more than a year to reconquer and pacify Oudh. The general dislocation of trade throughout north India dulled trade in the rest of the country, brought down prices and affected the volume of exports and imports considerably. But what really created the financial crisis for the Government was the greatly increased military expenditure since 1857.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny, military transport charges instantly went up, and the Governor General ordered fair payment for all requisition of carts, bullocks, elephants, services and supplies by the army during operations. Purchase of stores and depot charges in England, and transport charges of European troops to India were doubled, and at the close of operations, the Government had to pay mutiny compensations, pensions, bounties and rewards

3. See Financial Despatch from India, 22 Feb 1859. No. 28, in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1859 (187. Sess. 1); XIX, 11.

to numerous persons. The Government had a huge standing army on its hands, an army which was clearly beyond the revenues of India to maintain permanently without oppressing the people. Yet this army could not be reduced to pre-1857 strength at once and without regard to the new military policy of maintaining an overwhelming force of European troops to overawe the native army in India. One European soldier cost the Government as much as four, or nearly five, sepoy; and in 1858 there were as many as 110,320 European soldiers in India, while in 1857 there were no more than 45,522 of them. The old Bengal army had been scattered and destroyed in the whirlwind of the Mutiny, but a new Bengal army had been raised in the Panjab and elsewhere; also the Government had recruited many thousands of irregular troops and military police during 1857 and 1858. As a result, military expenditure rose from £ 12 millions in 1856-57 to £ 25 millions in 1858-59. As the total income of the Government in that year, 1858-59, was only £ 36 millions, the proportion of military expenditure was indeed alarming.

The rise in the Company's public debt followed the Company's wars. By experience the East India Company had found borrowing a politically wise, and financially not very inconvenient, way of meeting deficits, and of meeting the acute financial pressure from its periodic wars. Therefore the first, and wholly normal measure, which Canning and his Council adopted to bridge the yawning gulfs of deficits created by the Mutiny wars was to borrow. Between 1857-58 and 1861-62 the Government borrowed every year, somewhat more than it actually needed during 1859-60 to 1861-62. As a result, the public debt of India stood at £ 107 millions in 1861-62, compared to £ 98 millions in 1859-60, and £ 59 millions in 1856-57.

While borrowing eased its cash shortage, Canning's administration began its difficult search for additional income with a new tariff revision in 1858. It doubled the duty on Malwa opium, the opium from the Native States in western Malwa passing mostly through Bombay, and increased the duty on the other morally controversial source of Indian revenue, salt, which was then mostly imported from England or produced under Government monopoly, and which accounted for as much as ten per cent of the total re-

venue of India. Next year, in 1859, evidently in desperation, the Government imposed a five per cent *ad valorem* import duty on all unenumerated articles including Manchester cotton-piece goods; and raised to about twenty per cent import duties on such articles as tea, coffee, provisions, wines and spirits, usually consumed by Europeans in India. As a result of these customs duties, and the gradual revival of trade from 1859, income from customs, which was about one and a-half million pounds in 1856-57 and 1857-58, rose to nearly £ 2 millions in 1858-59 and £ 3 million in 1859-60. In spite of the extra duty imposed in 1858, income from salt in 1859-60 was the same as in 1856-57, that is about three and a half million pounds. And opium revenue remained as erratic as ever, being £ 5 millions in 1856-57, £ 7 millions in 1857-58, and about £ 6 millions in 1858-59 and 1859-60.

As announced in its financial Notification of February 1859, the Government found it necessary to seek a permanent increase in income through new taxation. In the spring of 1859 it sounded the provincial governments on two tax proposals: a cultivation tax on tobacco, and a further increase in the salt duty. The Madras Government opposed fresh taxation as unjust and suggested that the Government of India, in its efforts to meet deficits arising from the Mutiny (which did not occur in the Madras Presidency), should "in justice to the rest of India" look into the "northern expenditure."⁴ When asked by the Government of India to explain more fully their suggestions for meeting deficits, the Madras Government replied that their remedy was simple: drastic reduction of military expenditure, which was the root of trouble, and bold decentralization of financial power to allow the provincial governments to develop their resources by civil public works and other methods suitable to local needs and local ideas.

Despairing of specific tax proposals from the provinces to meet deficits, the Government of India introduced in August 1859 a bill in the Legislative Council for a licence tax on trades and professions, which became popularly known as Harrington's bill, after

4. See quotation from Trevelyan's minute of 10 June 1859 in P. J. Thomas, *The Growth of Federal Finance in India* (Bombay, 1939), p. 75.

H. B. Harrington, the member for the North Western Provinces in the Legislative Council, who introduced the bill. Such a tax would be a direct tax, though since the 1830's the Government of India had found it a convenient and healthy administrative policy to abandon direct taxation in most parts of India. But a tax on trades and professions was no novelty in the country and was, in attenuated form, still levied in parts of the Madras Presidency, though the Madras Government had been trying to remove such taxes altogether on the ground that they were primitive ways of vexing the people with a swarm of ill-paid underlings without adequate profit to the Government. Naturally, the Madras Government opposed Harrington's bill, and in this opposition Madras was supported by the Bombay Government. The European commercial community, already incensed by the tariff revision of 1859, severely attacked Harrington's bill, as it proposed to put a direct tax on them for the first time in British India, and also as the bill in its original form was in fact an income tax on them which did not touch other Europeans and natives who were Government servants. In its amended form the bill included all Government servants but spared fund-holders and zemindars. Europeans in India thought it unfair that they should be taxed to meet a financial crisis caused by a Mutiny of the natives, in which Europeans had suffered in lives and property and had, moreover, volunteered to fight for the preservation of British rule.⁵

By the end of 1859 public opinion against fresh taxation was clear from the reaction to Harrington's bill: Madras and Bombay thought it unfair that they should be made to pay for the sins of the Bengal sepoys and of the people in Hindustan; and Europeans in India that they should pay for the sins of the natives during 1857. But the Government of India regarded it impolitic to impose fresh taxation on the rebellious provinces only. Harrington's bill was still before the Legislative Council, when Wilson arrived from England in November 1859, as Financial Member of the Governor General's Council, the first such member ever appointed. He advised the Government that the licence tax in the form of Harrington's bill be set aside, for Wilson had his own ideas for a licence tax.

5. See the *Calcutta Review*, LIV (1872), 94.

II

James Wilson, the founder of the London journal, the *Economist*, had been a member of Parliament from 1847 to 1859 and Financial Secretary to the Treasury from 1853 to 1858. He was fifty-four years old in 1859 when he was appointed Financial Member of the Governor General's Council, a post created to accommodate him suitably in India, for he was an eminent economist in England. Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State, hoped that an expert like Wilson would be especially useful to the Government of India in reorganizing its finances and in reducing criticism in England. The Home Government had been blamed for allowing the financial crisis in India to grow and it was said that the Government of India did not possess the necessary talent to solve its problems. There was a wide impression in England that Canning's administration would be no more vigorous in meeting deficits on account of the Mutiny than it had been in dealing with the mutineers, and business circles in England, especially cloth manufacturers, were never happy with the Indian tariff. In India, European commercial houses and planters welcomed Wilson's appointment.⁶ Canning, who received Wilson in the Governor General's camp in north India in December 1859, admired the lucidity of Wilson's minutes and readily extended his full support to Wilson's proposals for fresh taxation and other schemes. The Governor General was then in the midst of a royal progress through north India; the country looked completely pacified; and Wilson seemed to have arrived as a financial plenipotentiary of the Home Government to India.

Wilson delivered his financial statement, which was really a budget speech, the first budget speech in India, before the Legislative Council at Calcutta on 18 February 1860⁷ The occasion was preceded by some excitement in the Calcutta bazar, and an unprecedented crowd of visitors from the European, missionary, military and native community filled the Council hall on the day

6. The Calcutta *Hindoo Patriot* of 10 March 1860 quoted a notification of the Bengal Indigo Planters' Association describing Wilson's arrival in India "as an epoch in its history."

7. For Wilson's Financial Statement of 18 Feb. 1860, see *PP*, 1860 (339); *XLIX*, 315-340.

of Wilson's statement to hear the Government's taxation proposals and Wilson's true House of Commons oratory:

Sir, shall it ever be said, that the prowess and heroism of English soldiers, and of English civilians, I may even add of English ladies, were sufficient, even in their disproportionate numbers, to quell the fiercest mutiny that is recorded in history, and that English administrative capacity failed in governing a country so kept, I had almost said, so reclaimed?

Wilson explained that his task was no less than curing Indian finance of its chronic deficits, of the evils of past mismanagement, and also to balance the budget of a Government which had suffered an estimated deficit of £ 10 millions in 1859-60, and a cumulative deficit of about £ 30 millions since 1857-58. He showed that the financial crisis with which India was faced in 1860 was "infinitely worse" than any similar crisis recorded in India, and indeed worse than the crisis Sir Robert Peel had to face in 1842, which he thought the most severe crisis in recent English history. But English economic statesmanship could be depended upon to meet the challenge of financial crisis in India, and India, as Wilson himself had been fascinated to see during his recent quick journey from Calcutta to Lahore and back, had vast potential resources for economic development.

Wilson denied that reduction in military expenditure consistent with safety (already taken in hand by a Military Finance Commission since 1859), and economy in civil administration, for which there was not much scope, could meet the problem of deficits adequately and permanently. Fresh taxation was unavoidable, concluded Wilson; and as regards the capacity of the country to pay, he observed that the burden of taxation per head in India was only five shillings, while in England it was two pounds three shillings; that hitherto the rich and trading classes in India had borne little of the burden of the state. He announced three principles that would guide the Government of India in adopting new taxation measures: equality and justice to all classes and communities, "conformity with sound financial and commercial policy," and avoidance of anything offensive to the religious views and rites of the natives. In accordance with these the Government now proposed a tax on homegrown tobacco; a licence tax on artisans, retail shopkeepers, manufacturers, traders, bankers and pro-

fessions; and an income tax for five years at the rate of two per cent on incomes from 200 to 500 rupees and three per cent on incomes above 500 rupees.

Wilson's income tax was a comprehensive kind of tax on the rich, dividing incomes into four schedules: incomes derived from public salaries, from trade and professions, from public funds, and from real property. The last two schedules had been spared under Harrington's licence tax bill of 1859, but Wilson thought them as taxable as others. Referring to the claim of the Bengal zemindars that they could not be legally made to pay income tax on their income from land, Wilson observed that Lord Cornwallis in making permanent settlement in Bengal did not intend to exempt the zemindars from all future taxes "for State purposes." Wilson asked: "Are we to base a future policy upon the exemption from taxation of the richest and only privileged classes in India?" "Sir, our fellow-subjects in Madras and Bombay claim exemption from increased taxation," because the Mutiny did not take place in Madras or Bombay. Wilson affirmed that the Government of India was as much the Government of Madras as the Government of Bengal, and that: "We want greater combination and unity, not greater severance."

The part of the budget to which Wilson attached the greatest importance, and which in fact preceded the direct taxation proposals in his speech, announced the abandonment of the Anglo-Indian tariff policy of the Company days. He removed all export duties on wool, hides and hemp, jute, flax and tea, arguing that duty on such Indian raw materials competing with the products of other countries in European market, in the last analysis, fell not on the Indian export traders, which were mainly European commercial houses, or purchasers in Europe, but "upon the producer who cultivates the article" in India. The cultivators of such raw products and others were gaining by the recent rise in prices in India, and Wilson argued that they would gain more if the export trade was freed. Wilson raised at least seven-fold the export duty on saltpetre, arguing that India had practically a world monopoly in this article. On indigo, another produce in which India had near world monopoly, Wilson did not agree to increase the existing small export duty; he said that indigo cultivation in Mexico had greatly increased recently and that like

tea, indigo was "one of the few cultivations in India which attract British capital and skill to direct native labour, and also that, in view of the recent Mutiny, the "value of the influence of European gentlemen (Indigo planters) settled in our country districts" could not be overestimated. Wilson also reduced to ten per cent customs duties on a variety of consumer goods for Europeans, which were taxed twenty per cent in 1859.

III

The Calcutta *Englishman* thus welcomed Wilson's budget speech:

in three hours (Wilson's speech) reversed the whole policy rather demolished the whole impolicy of a stupid aristocracy and an arrogant oligarchy .. In.. three hours Mr. Wilson, by mere force of commonsense, and determined assertion of scientific and economic principles, has revolutionized British India. It is no less.⁸

Neither the law nor the custom of the Government of India in 1860 provided for a statement of such fullness and explanation in defence of policy and measures as Wilson's budget speech. Wilson had also struck a note foreign to Anglo-Indian Civilian administration when he said: "it is true we have no representative assembly to satisfy ... but, sir, we have a public opinion, an enlightened public opinion, both native and European, and above all we have a free press and free discussion." Wilson's tariff, his attack on the past tariff policy of the Company days, his appeal for support to public opinion, satisfied and flattered the European mercantile community. In a manner rarely done by the Company's Government in the past, Wilson had proclaimed recognition of the value and importance of European planters and merchants in India, and this at a time when Governor Grant's administration in Bengal appeared determined to take the side of the indigo ryots or peasants in the "Blue Mutiny" against indigo planters, which disturbed Bengal from this period to the end of the year 1860. Though the income tax on Europeans in India was bad, yet the European merchants could draw some consolation from

8. See the *Englishman*, 22 Feb. 1860.

finding in the same net of taxation with them the Civilians and zemindars, who had been favoured in Harrington's bill in 1859.

The leading Bengali daily newspaper, the *Sambad Prabhakar* probably reflected the true opinion of the *babus* when it said that Wilson's income tax was worse than Harrington's bill. The paper quoted for Wilson's benefit a couplet from the *Raghuvamsam*, the famed Sanskrit *kavya* of Kalidasa: King Dilipa took taxes from his subjects, not in order to fill his treasury, but only to return them thousandfold as even the sun draws vapours from the earth to restore them in rains.⁹ The *Calcutta Hindoo Patriot*, the most powerful weekly newspaper in English, observed that the income tax was being "viewed as a desperate expedient of impoverished tyranny," and that: "A direct and universal tax upon incomes cannot but be viewed by a community so perversely ignorant and jealous as veritably the most 'vulgar expedient,' that could be adopted to raise a revenue."¹⁰ But everybody in Calcutta seemed to have accepted Wilson's taxes as inevitable, and Wilson was congratulating himself as a most lucky tax-gatherer in view of the generally favourable comments of the Anglo-Indian press on his budget, when suddenly in April 1860 Wilson discovered to his distress that his income tax did not make him any more popular with Europeans in India than Harrington had been in the recent past with his licensing bill.

IV

Early in April 1860 the *Madras Daily Times and Spectator* published in full a minute dated 20 March 1860 on Wilson's budget speech by Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras.¹¹ In

9. See the *Sambad Prabhakar* (Calcutta), 11 Falgun, 1266 B.S. (22 Feb. 1860).

10. See the *Hindoo Patriot*, 25 Feb. 1860.

11. For Trevelyan's minute of Mar. 1860, see *PP*, 1860 (339); XLIX, 354-363. Charles Trevelyan was an authority on Indian finance, having served as the Secretary to the Board of Revenue during 1836-38. Further, he could claim almost as much practical experience in English finance as Wilson, for Trevelyan was Assistant Secretary to the Treasury during two decades, from 1840 to 1859. Wilson was a colleague of Trevelyan in his capacity as Financial Secretary to the Treasury from 1853 to 1858. See C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London, 1906), pp. 428, 456.

it the Madras Governor opposed in strongest terms the new taxes, especially the income tax, as direct taxes contrary to the past taxation policy of the Government, and under the circumstances of 1860 justified by nothing but an exaggerated picture of the financial crisis and dangerous to the real interests of British rule in India:

All people are, of course, averse to taxes; but the native feeling in reference to the imposition of new taxes is different in kind from this, and is not so destitute of reason as may at first sight appear. The natives of this country have always lived under despotic governments, and in the absence of any better means of placing a limit upon the exactions of their rulers, they have been accustomed to take their stand upon long-established practice, which they regard as we do our ancient hereditary privileges. Hence it has always been observed that while they are extremely patient under established grievances, they are always disposed to meet new impositions by active or passive resistance. They would take the restoration of the transit and town duties as a matter of course; but the introduction into India of direct taxation is calculated to arouse all their latent feelings of opposition.

Trevelyan again warned the Government of India, as he had been doing since 1859, that millions of hitherto contented people in the south of India would hate the Government for imposing new taxation, especially vexatious, inquisitorial direct taxes of the type Wilson had proposed, as unfair, punitive Mutiny taxes for a Mutiny in which they had not joined. Arguing that the current financial crisis would be amenable, as previous ones had been, to "reduction of expenditure only, combined with some obvious administrative improvements," Trevelyan wrote:

The object is, not to reproduce in this country, at one stroke, a financial reformation more complete in all the most approved principles of political economy than that which was introduced into England by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, but to make the most of the circumstances in which we are placed, and above all, not to risk all our hopes of progress by prematurely taking up the most advanced position.

Within two weeks after Trevelyan's minute was published in the *Madras Daily Times*, it was reproduced in the Calcutta and Bombay press. The European community at Calcutta, using the

Mutiny vocabulary, began to say: "Madras had gone."¹² A member of the Governor General's Council wrote in a minute: "They (the Madras Government) have in fact asserted, and apparently mean practically to exercise, entire independence of the Government of India."¹³ Soon everybody who was to be subject to the new taxes knew of the opposition of the Lord Sahib of Madras to them.

It was about the middle of April when the Governor General was at Simla in the Himalayas that he learnt of the publication of Trevelyan's minute. He sent a letter to Madras condemning the Governor's action in publishing his minute as "dangerous insubordination."¹⁴ In a letter to Charles Wood written a day later, Canning expressed his belief that with care it would be possible to introduce the new taxes without serious repercussions, for reports from the Punjab and Oudh, where income tax assessments had already started, were favourable. Referring to a demonstration at Peshawar, earlier in the month, against the income tax, Canning wrote:

It will be seen that, whilst the demonstration was based entirely upon a misapprehension, or misrepresentation, according to which it was assumed that a tax was about to be levied upon priests, women, children, and even corpses, the disturbance was speedily quieted, and the error of the malcontents corrected, mainly by the co-operation and good will of the more respectable classes in the city, upon whom practically the tax will fall. This is a strong example of the temper in which the really influential portions of the community are prepared to accept the tax.¹⁵

Next month, in view of the situation created by the attitude of the Madras Government towards the imposition of the new taxes in their presidency, Canning hurried to Calcutta. On the way he heard much from Civilians and important natives in the

12. See Iltudus Thomas Prichard, *The Administration of India, from 1859 to 1868* (London), I, 56-57.

13. See Minute by H. B. Frere, 12 April. 1860, in *PP*, 1860 (339); XLIX 404.

14. See Letter from the Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Gov. Genl. to the Secretary to the Govt, Fort St. George, 18 Apr. 1860, in *PP*, 1860 (339); XLIX, 416.

15. See Letter, 19 Apr. 1860, in *PP*, 1860 (339); XLIX, 413.

up-country about the political risks of introducing direct taxation.¹⁶ At the capital Canning found public opinion, European and native, had turned for the worse; as the Secretary of State was informed in a letter in the middle of May: "A portion of the English press at Bombay and Madras, and especially that which is believed, rightly or wrongly to represent the respective Governments, has become as violently opposed as it was before cordial in its support of the Government measures."¹⁷

Moreover, Lord Elphinstone, the retiring Bombay Governor, supported the Madras Governor in the view that the new taxes were neither wise nor really necessary:

Upon various subjects of public interest I have, of course, found considerable diversity of opinion; but if there was any one point upon which, up to the present time, I believed that almost complete unanimity prevailed, it was that we ought sedulously to avoid fiscal innovations, and to rely for the improvement of our finances upon a judicious economy, upon the gradual development of the resources of the country, and upon the consequent greater productiveness of the existing sources of revenue. I still hold to this opinion, seeing that in the last quarter of a century the revenue has nearly doubled itself, and that its increase within the last three or four years is considerably greater than at any former period.¹⁸

Before the Government of India could send a reply to Elphinstone's minute and inform the Bombay Government how financial situations should be analysed by scientific economic principles, Sir George Clerk, the successor to Elphinstone, in a private letter to Sir Bartle Frere, member of the Governor General's Council, asked: "Why on earth could not Mr. Wilson have left India bide still awhile?"¹⁹

In June 1860 the Secretary of State's order removing Sir Charles Trevelyan from the governorship of Madras arrived, and he left Madras amidst the regret of everybody there. The pres-

16. See Richard Temple, *Men and Events of My Time in India* (London, 1882), pp. 194-195.

17. See Letter from India, Home Dept. Revenue (No. 19 of 1860), 19 May 1860, in PP. 1860 (481); XLIX, 476.

18. See Minute by Elphinstone, 19 Apr. 1860, in PP. 1860 (481); XLIX, 439.

19. See Letter from Clerk, 17 May 1860, in John Martineau, *Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere* (London, 1859), I, 310.

tige of the Government of India, and it was felt of Wilson personally, was upheld. But Trevelyan and the Madras Council, which had unanimously supported Trevelyan in his stand, had created a situation where the views they had publicly asserted could not be ignored altogether without humiliating the Government of the Madras Presidency in the eyes of the people throughout south India.

Obliged to review the whole tax situation afresh, Canning decided that under the circumstances Wilson's proposals could not go into operation unabridged. The tobacco tax and the license tax were of minor importance financially, but touched many thousands of people of low income, and the Madras Government had consistently protested against these taxes ever since they were mooted in the spring of 1859. The Governor General decided to suspend proceedings on these bills, with the understanding that the tobacco tax would be finally dropped and the licence tax would be considered later.²⁰ As the income tax was the chief taxation proposal in the budget, and as it would fall on rich natives and Europeans alike, including the Governor General himself, and as the tax had already been put into operation in the Non-Regulation provinces, the Governor General rightly decided that the income tax bill should be passed by the Legislative Council, that the Government must adopt all care to make assessments voluntary, easy, and as little vexatious as possible, as intended in the bill. Wilson cheerfully accepted this arrangement: suspension of proceedings on the tobacco and licence tax bills in the Legislative Council did not require any explanatory statement on Wilson's part.

V

About the same time as his antagonist, Trevelyan, left Madras, in June 1860, Wilson's robust health began to decline. At the end of July, we find Lady Canning writing from Calcutta to a friend in England that Wilson was:

20. On account of extensive failure of the rains in 1859, a famine broke out in the North Western Provinces in 1860. We may imagine that this natural calamity was also taken into consideration by the Governor General in suspending the tobacco and license taxes.

a good deal plagued by all the abuse he gets. It is the oddest theory, why he is supposed to be alone the culprit and inventor of the whole question of the taxes! Every one assumes this, and does not understand that every item of the Bill was considered and sanctioned before he could bring it forward Every one must put on a rhinoceros hide to feel comfortable in India. I think C (Canning), has that faculty, and it is at last quite understood, and people poke at him much less, and always describe him as utterly hardened and incorrigible.²¹

At the end of July, Wilson was attacked with dysentery; and in the second week of August 1860, only nine months after his coming to India, he died.

Among the several financial experts who were sent from England to improve Indian finances in the second half of the nineteenth century James Wilson was the first and best known. His brief career in India was shadowed with tragedy; he aroused controversy and bitterness, and died of a tropical disease and frustration. Of the three chief taxes he proposed in 1860, two were not applied because of public controversy, which in a sense Wilson himself invited by his appeal to public opinion, and by the rather impolitic reference to the views of the Madras and Bombay presidencies on the issue of introducing new taxes, in his budget speech. Wilson assumed a tone of lofty indictment against Anglo-Indian Civilian finance in his eloquent speeches before the Legislative Council, which partly explains the fury of old Civilians like Trevelyan against Wilson's budget. The chief novel and modern tax of Wilson's budget, the income tax, expired in 1865, and was not renewed by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who returned to India as Financial Member in 1863. And even during the period of its existence, the income tax of 1860 was necessarily so softly applied that Wilson's successor in office, Samuel Laing, admitted in his budget speech of 1861 that financially speaking the tax was a failure. All the three taxes Wilson proposed in his budget were before the Government since early 1859, and two, in the shape of Harrington's licence bill, were before the Legislative Council when Wilson arrived.

21. See Letter to Viscount Sidney, 27 July 1860, in Augustus J. C. Hare, *The Story of Two Noble Lives* (London, 1893), II, 117.

Wilson never recovered from the blunder of getting Harrington's bill withdrawn, at a stage when people had resigned themselves to it after five months of discussion, and when the Government had allowed amendments to the bill to suit public opinion, and had actually started imposition in a Non-Regulation province. Wilson reintroduced Harrington's bill in theoretically modernized, more comprehensive form as two separate items, one the licence tax, the other with a new and ominous name: income tax. Neither, Wilson, nor historians of Indian finance in general, had been fair to Harrington: the bill associated with his name was not a neat, cut and dried, modern-looking financial measure. But, in the circumstances of the post-Mutiny period, the very virtue of Harrington's bill was that it did not have a modern look. A camouflaged income tax combined with a licence tax could have gone into operation with little outcry in 1860, if Wilson had not succumbed to the temptation of Anglicizing measures more than an Anglo-Indian world would bear, in order to introduce the first modern income tax in India. By his insistence he produced, unnecessarily, public and official controversy twice as loud as Harrington's bill.

Yet Wilson's Financial Membership was not a failure. The idea of an English type income tax in India did not die in 1865, though it needed two decades to overcome the opposition to income tax of the rich and vocal European mercantile community and the Bengal zemindars. Wilson's successors learnt from his career the risks of being too English in Indian administration. On the positive side, Wilson's budget speech of 1860 is a landmark, because it envisaged a new kind of statesmanship, statesmanship in Indian economics. To develop the economic resources of India, for the benefit of India and England, according to free trade principles was the faith of Finance Members for a generation after Wilson introduced the principle in 1860. The *Hindoo Patriot* saw an "Interloper" in Wilson, while the Bengal Indigo Planters' Association found in him a champion of British capital and commerce in India.²² But, however free trade might appear, in the eyes of the *Patriot* and many older Anglo-Indians of the Company period, as an unnecessary subsidy and uncalled for sacrifice on

22. See the *Hindoo Patriot*, 21 Apr. 1860.

the part of the Government, free trade was the modern thing in political economy in Wilson's time, and Wilson believed in it as a faith. He was an idealist free trader, one of those who believed that free trade would produce in the human situation a logic of economics which would in turn ensure prosperity and peace among all nations of the world. The epoch of free trade in Indian tariff which Wilson inaugurated reached its climax after two decades, in the tariff revision of 1882-83 when British India became an absolutely free trade country, more so even than England.²³

VI

Wilson did not live to see all the important changes he envisaged and suggested the renovation of the machinery of the Indian finance department on an up-to-date English model. Here Wilson's contribution was considerable. Most important of all such improvements, the budget system, introduced by a resolution of the Government on 7th April, 1860, took several years to develop completely, but its advantages in implementing financial policies and economy, and in making available to all a picture of the current financial situation, were evident from the first.²⁴ Wilson

23. Only opium salt, arms and ammunition, liquors and spirits were subject to import duty in 1882. Export duties on paddy and rice were retained purely for revenue purposes. From 1882 to 1894 India was a free trade country. See I. Durga Prasad, *Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Trade 1757-1893* (London 1932), p. 186.

24. In July 1859, several months before Wilson's arrival in India, Trevelyan had urged the Government of India to adopt the budget system: "The beautiful system of finance which has grown out of the control exercised by parliament over the Executive Government of England, is well adapted with proper modifications, to remedy the defects both in the internal machinery, and in the external relations of the Anglo-Indian Governments." This suggestion, like the other financial measures recommended by Trevelyan had been supported by Lord Elphinstone, who condemned, in a minute of January 1860 the centralizing process in Anglo-Indian finance since 1834 "on one occasion this Government was censured for simply forwarding to the Resident at Baroda, without comment, a petition relating to some Baroda business which appeared to have been addressed to us by mistake — and upon another . . . a long correspondence took place upon the subject of a Letter Box which had been affixed to the door of the Government Office for the reception of petitions. Minute interference of this kind must impair the authority of Governments charged with the administration of

secured the appointment of a committee in May 1860 to draw up a classified set of budget estimate forms, and other details regarding estimates, accounts and audit. The system of Indian accounts of the Company days was always the despair of British Treasury-men, and Indian estimates were proverbially unreliable. Wilson recognized it as a first necessity to remove all confusions of inter-departmental, inter-presidential payments and credits, obsolete entries and transfer of entries from one fiscal year to another, and other inefficiencies. Two officers of the British Treasury were brought to India in 1861 to help in devising an improved method of accounts, but it took five years to bring into operation a fairly clear and accurate system of accounts in accord with Wilson's budget system.

Wilson's honest labour to improve the finances by all possible reductions and economy in expenditure was also unfortunately lost on the public on account of the controversy over his taxes. Wilson put a stop to public speculations as to the possibility of reducing the salary of the Governor-General and the emoluments of the Civil Service, and entrusted to a Civil Finance Commission appointed in July 1860 the task of enforcing economy in the civil expenditure of the Government of India and of the local Governments. As Wilson had expected, the Commission did not find any scope for large reductions, but the urgency for economy was instilled into the departments, and small savings in many directions justified the enquiry. Wilson put vigour into the Military

territories which in point of extent and population at least are equal to any but the greatest monarchies in Europe." In reply to this Government of India wrote in September 1860: "the system inaugurated in the Resolution passed in the Financial Department under date the 7th April, prescribing a plan of Budget, estimates, and audit, will not only tend to render effective a control which had previously been very imperfect, but will also relieve the several Governments concerned from much of the constant and minute interference which has hitherto been so much complained of, but which has been unavoidable as long as there was no fixed limit to expenditure by any one Government, or in any one Department." And: "The two special instances which are cited in Lord Elphinstone's Minute will be found, on examination, both of very considerable importance." See the following in the Nat. Arch.: Trevelyan's minute dated 13 July 1859, Home Dept. Public. 12 Aug. 1859. No. 12; Elphinstone's minute dated 5 Jan. 1860, Home Dept. Public. 8 Sept. 1860. No. 13; Letter to Bombay, No. 1832, 1 Sept. 1860, Home Dept Public. 8 Sept. 1860. No. 17.

Finance Commission, which had been set up in 1859 shortly before his arrival; he secured an enlargement of the powers of the Commission, giving it the authority of a supervisory audit board, outside and above the departments of the army. Working in close communication with Wilson and Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander in Chief, the Military Finance Commission within two years supervised reductions amounting to £ 8 millions, which went a long way to balance the budget in 1861-62.

Wilson's name is also associated with the introduction of paper money in India. Canning and his Council, in April 1859, disapproved of a paper currency scheme submitted by C. H. Lushington, Financial Secretary, because: "it would be unwise to introduce this measure at a time when there is reason to suspect that the security of the Indian Government is regarded with mistrust by the sensitive community with which we have to deal."²⁵ But by December 1859, public credit had improved and trade had revived throughout Hindustan, and the Governor-General accepted Wilson's scheme for a paper currency, which was bolder than Lushington's scheme and more fully elaborated on scientific principles of paper currency.²⁶ Wilson intended to use the paper currency as a source of income on large scale. *An Oordoo or Hindostanee Exposition of the New Indian Paper Currency for the information of the Natives of India*, published by the Government of India in 1860, said: "The effect of such a currency will indeed be the same as if a silver mine or a gold mine had been discovered in the plains of Hindoostan, or in the valley of the Ganges."²⁷ Wilson did not advise the creation of a Government currency-issuing bank in India like the Bank of England, but adopted the banking principle in issuing paper money, whereby, following the

25. See Financial Despatch from India, 27 Apr. 1859, No. 61, in *PP.* 1860 (183); XLIV, 105.

26. It may be of interest to note here the following statement of Sir Charles Wood made in the House of Commons on 11 May 1860: "Before Mr. Wilson left this country, a plan was discussed and substantially arranged for introducing a paper currency; Mr. Wilson, the Governor of the Bank, and myself were the principal parties to that discussion, and it was agreed not only that a plan for establishing such a currency should be carried out, but the details were pretty well arranged before Mr. Wilson's departure." See *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series Vol. CLVIII, 1130-1161.

27. See Home Dept. Public. 20 Apr. 1860. No. 8 in Nat. Arch.

then practice in the Bank of England, two-thirds of the notes in circulation were to be against Government securities. Wilson hoped in a few years that notes in circulation would amount to between £15 and £30 millions. With the rate of interest at five per cent and (under his scheme) two-thirds of the paper currency reserve being in Government securities, the Government would then have an annual income of between half a million and one million pounds.²⁸ This time Charles Wood, the Secretary of State, abridged Wilson's plans:

The sound principle for regulating the issue of a paper circulation is that which was enforced on the Bank of England by the Act of 1844, *i.e.*, that the amount of notes issued on Government securities should be maintained at a fixed sum, within the limit of the smallest amount which experience has proved to be necessary for the monetary transactions of the country; and that any further amount of notes should be issued on coin or bullion, and should vary with the amount of the reserve of specie in the Bank, according to the wants and demands of the public.

The important condition is thus realised, that the mixed currency of notes and coin should vary in quantity exactly as if it were wholly of coin.²⁹

Wilson's successor, Laing, who made the final arrangement for paper currency by the Act of 1861, accepted the above rule laid down by Charles Wood, and fixed the fiduciary issue at £4 millions, that being the extent of note circulation under the existing demi-official system through the three Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.³⁰ On account of this altered policy of absolute security, the introduction of paper money in 1862 brought a negligible increase in the annual income of the Government by way of savings in interest on public loans. The principle of absolute convertibility at the expense of elasticity, the chief feature

28. See Temple, *Men and Events*, pp. 197-198.

29. See Financial Despatch to India, No. 47, 26 Mar. 1860, in *PP.* 1860 (183); XLIX, 129.

30. The Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, known as "Chartered Banks" and controlled by the Government, were given authority to issue notes by the Acts of 1839, 1840 and 1843. These bank notes were not legal tender. They were withdrawn in 1862, and a Government monopoly of note issue was established.

of the Paper Currency Act of 1861, remained unaltered till the World War of 1914-18. Note circulation in India increased rather slowly till in 1891 a five-rupee note was introduced to help in payment of small sums. Indian villagers rarely used paper money in the nineteenth century. Paper money was easy to carry, yet for the common man it had its inconveniences: unlike metallic coins paper money got soaked in the monsoon rains, burnt in fire, was eaten by white ants, and could not be buried under floors, a common method of hiding treasure in the past.

VII

Samuel Laing, Wilson's successor as Financial Member, arrived from England in January 1861. At the time of his appointment to India he was Financial Secretary to the Treasury and forty-eight years old; he had experience in Parliament and also in managing big business enterprises, like railways, in England. Laing was determined to avoid quarrel with Anglo-Indians, and unlike Wilson, took a modest view of his opportunities in India. He believed that economy in expenditure would cure the current financial difficulties of the Government; and, as to future financial security, he believed that India was financially strong, because the revenues were really buoyant and elastic.

Laing's most significant achievements in India were carrying on the project of technical improvements in the finance department initiated by his predecessor; making the final arrangements for the introduction of a Government paper currency in 1862 as we have noticed earlier; and reducing, with a view to eventual abolition, Wilson's income tax. In his first budget speech of April 1861, Laing conceded that assessment by percentage system on trading and professional incomes caused hardship, and in his second, and last, budget of April 1862, he abolished the two per cent tax on incomes in the lower schedule of 200 to 500 rupees, and said: "we must keep faith with the people of India" by not prolonging the income tax of 1860 when it expired in a few years. Laing's successor, Trevelyan, lowered the rate on the upper income schedule of over 500 rupees from four to three per cent in 1863, and did not renew the tax when it expired in 1865.

In his budget of 1861 Laing formally announced the withdrawal of Wilson's licence tax bill, saying: "To raise even £600,000

by the Licence Tax, we must send the tax gatherer to 4,000,000 doors, or, in other words, must affect 20,000,000 of our population. That is a serious matter.”³¹ Laing announced one new imposition, in 1861: an increased salt duty, and introduction of the duty in Sindh and Nagpore, two areas formerly free. Another important announcement by Laing in 1861 budget was the Government’s decision to introduce a system of local budgets under which local governments would be allowed, with the sanction of the proposed local legislative councils and presently of the Governor General in Council only, to raise money by local taxes, for example on tobacco, for local civil public works, like cotton-roads and irrigation, in conformity with local needs and opinion; and thus to remove: “a standing complaint with other presidencies and provinces, that they were deprived of their share of self-government, and kept in a state of galling and humiliating dependence on the bureaux of Calcutta.” This announcement in 1861, evidently made with the recent Trevelyan affair in mind, pointed to future decentralization of financial power and development of federal finance in India. A decade later, in 1870, the Government took the first big step in this direction, by transferring to the provinces responsibility for the finances of certain services like jails, police, education and roads; by giving the provinces opportunity to develop local resources through local budgets.

Swollen military expenditure was the crux of the post-Mutiny financial crisis. By 1861-62 thanks to the work of the Military Finance Commission and Canning’s determination to retrench the standing army as much as he could rather than impose new taxation on the country, military expenditure dropped from the peak point of over £25 millions in 1858-59 to £21 millions in 1859-60, to £16 millions in 1860-61, to £13 millions in 1861-62 and £12 millions in 1862-63, an amount about £3 millions lower than the military expenditure in 1856-57. The strength of the native army was reduced from 284,000 men in 1859 to 140,000 men in 1860; and 50,000 men of hybrid corps like military police were also disbanded by that year, 1860. The Government continued such reductions in 1861-62, in which year Laing also an-

31. See *Corrected and Revised*, April 27th, *Legislative Council, Calcutta, Financial Statement by Honourable Samuel Laing* (Calcutta, 1861), p. 14.

nounced the Government's decision to abolish the antiquated Indian navy of the Company days, costing a million pounds a year. In 1861-62 the Government had a deficit of about £50,000. In 1862-63, income from opium brought in £ 8 millions compared to £6 millions in 1861-62, and the post-Mutiny financial crisis ended: the Government found that it had nearly £2 millions surplus in income over expenditure in 1862-63.

VIII

Before he finally left India in 1862 because of ill-health, Laing advised a future Financial Member of India, Richard Temple, to seek distinction in active administration, for as Laing told him, the heroics of Indian finance were over.³² The Government's search for permanent increase in income by new taxation as announced in the Financial Notification of February 1859, in the event, practically reduced itself to increased salt duty, which Canning did not really like. The chief new tax in the period of post-Mutiny financial reorganization a truly modern income tax, which people in north India viewed as a Mutiny tax, was allowed to expire in 1865; it produced less than £2 millions a year, and much criticism and bitterness.³³ But with returning peace and revival of trade, income from land revenue including forest and excise increased by a million pounds every year from 1858-59 to 1862-63; income from salt improved by about £2 millions, and income from customs duties by one million, during the same period, 1858-59 to 1862-63. Thus it may be said returning peace and prosperity, a timely small windfall in income from opium, and what was most important, bold reductions in military expenditure, more than any innovation in taxation, finally restored equilibrium after the financial crisis created by the Mutiny of 1857.³⁴ Peace and economy restored the finances of the Govern-

32. Sir Richard Temple, *The Story of My Life* (London, 1896), I, 135.

33. Bholanauth Chunder in his *The Travels of a Hindoo* (London, 1869), I, 437, tells us that in 1860 throughout Hindustan the income tax "is regarded as a national mulct for the Rebellion."

34. Laing acknowledged the importance of reduction in military expenditure in ending the post-Mutiny financial crisis. In his budget speech of 1861 he paid a tribute to the Military Finance Commission which must be noted here: "If the future historian of India should have occasion to mention, that in the year 1861, India was saved from a great Financial danger,

ment of India after the crises produced by the Nepal Wars (1814-16) and the Third Maratha War (1817-19), and by the First Burmese War of 1824-26; the same factors proved their worth, as Trevelyan and Elphinstone and Anglo-Indians in general held during the controversy over new taxes in 1860, again after the Mutiny wars, which produced the biggest and noisiest financial crisis of the nineteenth century.

In a letter of June 1861, Bartle Frere, a member of the Governor General's Council, thus wrote to Lord Canning:

You know I do not undervalue the labours of either poor Wilson or Laing, but the net result is not worth the cost. In reductions you are where your own Military Finance Commission (appointed two years before any English Financier was appointed) would have brought you, at least as soon, by simply working on as it began. In Civil reductions and Police reform the work has been done by Indian impulse as well as by Indian machinery,

In taxation, what Wilson did Laing has condemned.

In all, that relates to management of Loans, Budget and Audit and general organization and management, 'we have been great gainers through Wilson's and Laing's labours. But at what cost? Will the loss of Wilson and Ward, Laing's breakdown, the damage to Trevelyan's official repute and the interruption to his usefulness, the increased acerbity of local jealousies, the consequent delay and loss of time in effecting real reforms—will these be balanced by what we have gained? and is what we have gained equal to what we might have had, if what you began early in 1859 had gone on undisturbed by external interference?³⁵

There is much truth in this estimate by Bartle Frere of the developments since 1859. Canning does not seem to have believed before Wilson's arrival, that there was much opportunity for statesmanship in Indian finance; after the Trevelyan affair the Governor General intervened to suspend two tax proposals and on

that history will be very imperfectly written if it omits the names of Colonel Balfour, and his colleagues, Mr. R. Temple, and Colonel Simpson" See Laing's Financial Statement, p. 5.

35. Letter to Canning, 11 June 1861, in Martineau, *Frere*, I, 326. Sir Henry Ward, the Governor of Ceylon, was transferred to Madras to succeed Trevelyan, but died a few weeks after he reached Madras.

Laing's arrival impressed upon him the importance of avoiding unpopular taxation. In the circumstances of 1860, more than ever, a direct tax was as much a political proposition as a financial measure, and one of the axioms of Anglo-Indian administration was that in every instance, even in dealing with rebellious provinces, British rule in India must appear more benevolent than Mughal or Maratha rule. The dispute over the wisdom and convenience of imposing direct taxes continued for two, even three, decades after the Mutiny. After one successful experiment in 1867-68, licence taxes were permanently introduced in the presidencies in 1878. The chief direct tax of modern finance, the income tax, failed, because of the opposition of the Anglo-Indians and rich Indians, in a second experiment during 1869-72, but succeeded with the Income tax of 1886, which became permanent, and thereby opened a new epoch in Indian fiscal history.³⁶

36. The Government in urging the income tax from 1859 onwards had good reasons for doing so. Without an income tax, Europeans in India, official and mercantile, paid no direct tax to the Government and bore little share of the burden of the state. As to taxing native zemindars and other high income groups, an income tax was not unfair, nor oppressive on incomes above fifty pounds or 500 rupees a year (a lot of money in India in those days), the lowest income schedule carrying a rate of one per cent in the unsuccessful income tax of 1869-72 levied by Sir Richard Temple.

Politics and Public Opinion in Lytton's Tariff Policy¹

BY

IRA KLEIN

From the 1870's British economic rule in India was attacked by Indian leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Nowraji Furdonji, and indicted for 'enslavement', 'ruination', and 'tyranny', by the *Indu Prakash*, the *Maharashtra Mitra*, the *Indian Spectator*, and the *Bodhya Sudhakar*, and other newspapers.² Generalizations of Economic Imperialism and Indian Nationalism but imprecisely explain the making of political antipathies. How was Indian 'public' opinion consolidated in national opposition to British policies? The Lytton tariff was significant in creating Indian disaffection. Imposed on the 'eve' of formation of the Indian National Congress, it revealed how formulation of a national opposition to British policies in published opinion preceded and moved toward Nationalist agitation. Although directly an economic issue, the tariff policy illumined the inadequacy of British political views of India. Lytton's tariff was a product of Conservative Imperialism. Conservatism in British political life, influenced by Burke, Peel, and Disraeli, continually revealed a voter-oriented adaptation to changing social demands, balancing Tory ideological concerns. Conservative Imperialism differed in being more autocratic and less pragmatically adoptive of the popular will, paternalistically rigid, and less modernizing. Under the Conservative view of Empire, exemplified by Salisbury and Lytton, as

1. The research and writing of this article were completed while the author held a Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies, for which he is grateful.

2. Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901), pp. 1-103. Parliamentary Branch Collection, (India Office Library), No. 210, *Select Committee on East India Finance*, 1873, Furdonji's evidence, f. 5164, 5937, 6032 and *passim*. *Report on Native Newspapers*, (National Archives of India), Bombay Jan.-June, 1879, pp. 113, 217; Bengal, Jan.-June 1896, p. 131.

long as Hindu and Muslim interest groups were consulted in the making of policy affecting 'traditional' India—its religions, its social institutions, it was believed possible to widely ignore Indian opinion regarding the 'modernized' framework established and directed by the British. The Lytton tariff revision exemplified this attitude of British rule.

The 'dual politics' of British economic Imperialism may be viewed in the policy the Secretary for India, Lord Salisbury, tried to impose on Lytton's predecessor, Lord Northbrook. It was probably most significant as exemplifying the total failure of political diplomacy between Whitehall and the Government of India, and for providing that flame of discontent which, fanned by open governmental dispute, burst into furious Indian opposition. Salisbury complained of much 'pressure' from Manchester against the cotton duties. He wrote to Northbrook that he would facilitate political 'satisfaction' if the Viceroy's contemplated tariff reform granted Manchester's 'reasonable' request.³ Salisbury indicated his conviction that Manchester mistakenly blamed the five per cent cotton duties for expulsion of its coarse cotton goods from Indian markets. The duties were 'insignificant' and he proposed rapid abolition to prevent a British-Indian rift when Manchester publicly condemned 'protection' in India.⁴ However, Salisbury also, patently, contemplated pleasing Manchester to benefit the Conservative Government. This he later clarified to Lytton, but would not vouchsafe to Liberal Northbrook.⁵ The Viceroy considered Indian finances too unstable for modification of cotton duties, which earned revenues of 80 lakhs sterling. He wrote to Salisbury vaguely about reduction needing 'much... consideration'.⁶ Putting through his tariff legislation in a single session at Simla, on August 5, 1875, he presented Salisbury with the *fait accompli* of an unreduced cotton duty, but he newly taxed

3. Salisbury Papers (India Office Library), Salisbury to Northbrook, Dec. 11, 1874; Salisbury to Northbrook, Jan. 29, 1875.

4. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Papers on East India Tariffs*, Command 56, pp. 3-4.

5. Lytton Papers (India Office Library), Salisbury to Lytton, March 22, 1877.

6. Northbrook Papers (India Office Library), Northbrook to Salisbury, Feb. 26, 1875.

import of fine yarn into India. He assessed superior yarn to draw the venom from Manchester attacks upon 'protection' for Bombay fine textiles. Salisbury expressed complete 'surprise', and insisted that cotton duties 'must go'.⁷ He sent his Undersecretary, Louis Mallet, to Calcutta for 'consultations'. While the Viceroy wrote to Salisbury of 'grave' constitutional difficulties of tariff revision, which would multiply financial upset and political unrest, Salisbury dismissed contemporary Indian popular opinion, and democratic processes. The Secretary thought that the Government of India's financial discussions were an 'unmeaning mimicry' of 'popular institutions'.⁸ Public opinion was that of 'a clique'. The Anglo-Indian community was articulate but more 'noisy' than important. Other Indian opinion was comatose and there was 'still time' to revive tariffs without true 'popular' opposition. By anticipating Manchester's wrath, the Government could avoid the 'jealousy of the two populations'. Salisbury, then, represented Indian opinion as awakening only after some years' growth. Actually, *Rast Goftar*, *Indu Prakash*, and many other publications realistically evaluated Northbrook's tariff. They judiciously praised export reductions, and some found duty on yarn only a future hindrance to Bombay.⁹

When Mallet arrived in Calcutta in January, 1876, Northbrook obdurately opposed tariff revision. However, he had resigned as Viceroy, effective in a few months, and was preparing for re-entry into English politics. Mallet presented the imaginary spectacle of Northbrook defending his anti-Free Trade policies before a uniformly hostile Parliament. Under Mallet's skilled verbal pressure Northbrook agreed to a compromise, by reducing cotton import tariffs to three and a half per cent, and abandoning the duty on yarn.¹⁰ Northbrook's proposition, however, included increased borrowing power for India, abandonment of India's guarantee of 50 lakhs sterling revenue surplus, and the rewriting of an India Office despatch which roundly condemned North-

7. Salisbury Papers, Salisbury to Northbrook, August 6, 1875; Salisbury to Northbrook, Sept. 20, 1875.

8. *Ibid.*, Salisbury to Northbrook, June 12, 1874.

9. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Bombay, 1875, pp. 131-32.

10. Salisbury Papers, Lytton's Minute on Conversation with Mallet, March 9, 1876.

brook's tariff. These terms were too rigorous for Salisbury, who rejected them, no doubt, partly through conviction that if the Viceroy would not make an easier bargain, Lytton, already appointed his successor, could dispose quickly of the duties when he reached Calcutta. The Conservatives would reap the benefits in Lancashire at polling time. The breakdown of Mallet's mission unloosed a battle of despatches between Salisbury and Northbrook; their recriminatory comments, which reached the public in Parliamentary Blue-books, began creating that popular irritation which Salisbury had stressed avoiding. While Salisbury tried to emulate the confirmed Free Trader to claim the 'protective' quality of the duties, and to adumbrate the Lancashire cotton trade depression as created by Indian tariffs, Northbrook developed solid financial reasons for postponing revision.¹¹ Salisbury's generally cautious India Office Council split on the issue. Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Henry Montgomery, and, later Sir Barrow Ellis, recorded dissents against the Mallet mission and the making of Indian fiscal policy at Whitehall¹² By the time Northbrook's resignation became public, Indian opinion had contemplated the relations made apparent by published despatches, between Manchester pressure and Northbrook's yarn duty, and vilified the tariff as one of Northbrook's Black Acts. *Indu Prakash* wrote that except for export duty abolition the tariff had created dissatisfaction 'among all classes'; *Rast Goftar* considered the import duty on yarn a major misdeed, and the *Bombay Samachar* 'condemned' it.¹³ Thus, before Northbrook boarded ship for England, elements of a major political storm were activated. The India Office Council was divided, Northbrook's Council primed to resist tariff interference. India's financial problems were thoroughly aired, and the duties capably defended on theoretical premises by high Indian officialdom. Salisbury had badly under-estimated the ability of Indian officialdom and opinion to oppose Whitehall, if not by preventing change, by sufficiently leaving a compost of

11. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Papers on East India Tariffs*, Command 56, pp. 42-57; Command 515, pp. 8-41.

12. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Papers on East India Tariffs*, Command 216, pp. 2-13.

13. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Bombay, Jan.-June, 1876, pp. 49, 51 and 319.

dissenting minutes and articles, later ignited by fluent Nationalist writers like Romesh Dutt.¹⁴ Northbrook made one serious tariff blunder. He failed to remove petty imposts, on rape seed, shark fins, and other minor goods, whose literal few rupees contribution to the Exchequer failed to justify breaking the fiscal maxim of no customs on insignificant items inconvenient to administer. Northbrook's mistake served as Lytton's lever for a general tariff reduction.

Lytton's policy was to exhibit a Conservative incognizance of opposition politics in India. Lytton conceived that a superficially reasonable public justification would eliminate the effects of Indian dissent and that the India Council could be internally controlled or ignored. By the 1870's Indian opinion already fulfilled the opposition function of criticism, and was developing a national dissent from British economic rule. Dadabhai Naoroji had begun to articulate the 'Drain' theory regarding British economic 'mis-rule'. Internal Indian economic problems, population pressure, friction between peasant and moneylender, the failure of trade expansion to significantly raise living standards provided the backdrop for transformation of critical to national opposition. Lytton's tariff policy helped gestate a national economic antagonism to British rule. Lytton's accession to the Viceroyalty created unity with Whitehall on Indian tariffs. He arrived in India determined to deliver a 'mortal' attack on the duties but met problems of implementation.¹⁵ Mallet had been frightened that delay of abrogation during Northbrook's regime would cause Lytton to face 'an excited and hostile council'.¹⁶ Mallet was correct. Alexander Arbuthnot, a Northbrook holdover on the Viceroy's Council, wrote that 'not a dozen officials' regarded the Salisbury-Lytton policy as other than attempts of a 'political party....at any cost' to placate 'the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire'.¹⁷ Salisbury and Lytton were not Free Trade ideologues. Salisbury was shortly to politically romance a youthful

14. Romesh Dutt, *Economic History of India in the Victorian Age* (London: Routledge, and Kegan Paul Ltd., 7th edn., 1950), pp. 410-12.

15. Salisbury Papers, Lytton to Salisbury, April 14, 1876.

16. *Ibid.*, Lytton's Minute on Conversation with Mallet, March 9, 1876.

17. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Further Papers Relating to Import Duty*, Command 24, p. 7.

Fair Trade movement. Lytton pettishly cited Free Trade influence as preventing his annexation of South Afghanistan.¹⁸ Lytton's motivation appears not a simple electoral toadying but an Imperialistic wish to rationalize Indian policy, to break the independent resistance of his Council and to bring economic policy into line with English views. Lytton was complex, and his economic co-operation with Manchester may have balanced to him, his utter disregard of liberal opinion in fashioning his 'forward' foreign policy.

To complete tariff reforms, Lytton followed Salisbury's advice to have 'little to do with his Council';¹⁹ and he re-worked its composition. With Lytton and Salisbury agreed that the Council exhibited a dangerous 'home rule tone', not surprisingly Council members Arbuthnot and Sir Arthur Hobhouse told Ripon that they, Sir William Muir and Sir Henry Norman were disaffected.²⁰ The attitude of a fifth member, Whitby Stokes, was dualistic, for he hoped Lytton's Napoleonic visions would signal a Stokesian codification of British Indian law. Lytton believed that notwithstanding financial difficulties he could virtually on arrival have dealt a 'death blow' to cotton duties. However, Muir, his Finance Member, was 'committed' against 'touching' them.²¹ Financial distress would have allowed Muir and others to generate a political row. Further, Lytton began to comprehend the morass of Indian finances, into whose bogs disappeared through the nineteenth century the majority of reform plans. Lytton found the fall in silver, depreciating the rupee, 'strange and puzzling' and considered 'masterly inactivity' temporarily required.²² He conducted a charade to 'get finance out of the hands of Sir William Muir'.²³ Through Lytton's flattery and cajolery Muir was enticed into effective nullity on the more conservative India Office Council. By this means the prophet of Free Trade in India, John Strachey, achieved the financial portfolio. Lytton then felt strengthened for a massive attack on the cotton duty. Indian financial problems

18. Lytton Papers, Lytton to Cranbrook, Nov. 10, 1879.

19. Ripon Papers (British Museum), Ripon's Diary, p. 7.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Salisbury Papers, Lytton to Salisbury, April 11, 1876.

22. *Ibid.*, Lytton to Salisbury, April 14, 1876.

23. *Ibid.*

temporarily frustrated Lytton's tariff ambitions. Even Salisbury privately reacted against Lancashire's single-minded importuning, which ignored India's famine and monetary crises. He wrote to John Strachey that there was 'discontent in.....manufacturing countries' with delay at tariff revision, but that it was 'quite unreasonable' and commanded 'no sympathy in the rest of the country'.²⁴ He told Lytton that 'The Manchester people' were 'a little sore', being of the impression that the Government had 'made this famine to disappoint them'.²⁵ Under existing conditions Manchester complaints would 'not meet any support'. However, Salisbury noted to Lytton that unless they instituted some revision the next year, they would have political 'trouble'. They contemplated partial removal of imposts on coarse cotton, to eventually 'unravel' the entire duty. Unable to obtain immediate satisfaction through Whitehall, Manchester attacked through Commons. The campaign in Parliament was not the complete victory sometimes claimed. The Commons gave no complete mandate for immediate tariff abolition. Hugh Birely, Manchester M.P., argued predictably that the duties should be repealed 'without delay', and that successful Indian manufacturers of coarse goods were competent to produce fine textiles and might soon seize 'a half [of the trade] that remained'.²⁶ Jacob Bright of Manchester, less known than his illustrious brother, was a formidable spokesman of the cotton interest. He portrayed how the tariff would eventually destroy the entire trade.²⁷ More colourfully, W. E. Briggs of Blackburn depicted the deepening depression in Lancashire. He predicted the once-well-to-do receiving 'bread and soup....doled out by....centres of relief', and gloomily prognosticated Lancashire houses with 'bare walls! naked floors! destitution and want'. Good Lancashire citizens would be branded with 'the odious epithet of pauper'.²⁸ The House did not favour the exaggerations of this ripe rhetoric, especially in view of famine in India. The tiny India 'lobby', led by George Campbell, Henry Fawcett, and Samuel

24. Salisbury Papers, Salisbury to Strachey, April 12, 1877.

25. Lytton Papers, Salisbury to Lytton, March 22, 1877.

26. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, Vol. 235 (June-July, 1877) column 1087.

27. *Ibid.*, column 1091.

28. *Ibid.*, columns 1101-1102.

Laking was moderately successful in its defensive campaign. The Commons compromised. It did not adopt Campbell's entirely pro-India motion; but it tacked to Birley's demand that 'The duties now levied upon cotton manufactures imported into India being protective...should be abolished without delay', the significant words 'as soon as the financial condition of India will permit'.²⁹ Parliament, then, partly straddled the tariff issue, noting Indian financial peril. By denoting the tariff as 'protective' the Commons assured its ultimate removal, but abrogation was virtually immediate, and devolved from Lytton's policy.

Although faced with extreme financial stress, Lytton continued manipulations for tariff revision, but Salisbury partly restrained him, through anxiety of consequences of other tax increases. In September, 1877 Lytton was still optimistic, despite imminent starvation in Madras. He wrote that 'famine permitting' he would propose 'to abolish the duty on coarse goods, and reduce one half per cent on finer qualities'.³⁰ Obtaining new taxation for tariff revenue loss was Lytton's major hurdle. Salisbury warned that 'a good deal of opposition to the local cesses' which Lytton raised for famine relief had 'risen up' in the India Office Council. Lytton was accused of having 'infringed the permanent settlement', a charge Salisbury likened to 'incivicism' during the French Revolution.³¹ Salisbury and Mallet believed that the coarse goods tariff could be removed but were doubtful regarding the 'expedience of a general reduction on piece goods'. With Indian funds increasingly pouring into Madras to prevent starvation there, Lytton continued to broach tariff reform, but linked it with obtaining fresh revenues. He conceived of raising an 'income tax', but decided that it would meet 'formidable resistance'. Reiterating his anxiety for 'purgation of the tariff' he noted its impossibility 'without the Famine Cess'.³² Salisbury dictated a policy consistent with earlier promises. He had publicly agreed with Sir Erskine Perry, who had insisted in November, 1875, that cotton duties should not be abolished if this required alternate taxation. Salisbury had reassured Sir Richard Temple, then Governor of Bengal, that 'no

29. *Ibid.*, columns 1127-28.

30. Salisbury Papers, Lytton to Salisbury, Sept. 15, 1877.

31. *Ibid.*, Salisbury to Lytton, July 6, 1877.

32. *Ibid.*, Lytton to Salisbury, Sept. 15, 1877.

new tax should accompany....remission'.³³ Acquiescence to Lytton's tax proposals could have undermined Salisbury's position and furthered Council opposition. He wrote to Lytton in December, 1877 that his 'pledge not to impose a direct tax to make good loss by remission' was 'distinct'. It could 'not be departed from'.³⁴ Salisbury transferred his management to British foreign policy early in 1878, and the less formidable Cranbrook obtained the India Office portfolio. Lytton virtually immediately implemented his tariff programme. Lytton and Strachey determined upon a selective abrogation of cotton duties, and financed the scheme by bypassing Salisbury's tax pledge. In February, Strachey obtained provincial 'license-tax' increases to 'combat famine'.³⁵ Lytton then instituted a partial cotton tariff abrogation, which he and Strachey justified in the Indian Financial Statement of March 18, 1878, by the dictates of Free Trade policy issued by the Commons: that duties should be fiscal not protective; that raw materials of production should be exempt from imposts; that tariffs should only be levied on articles of sufficient revenue to justify interference. Lytton capitalized on Northbrook's mistake of continuing a number of petty imposts to give his policy appearance of genuine free trade reform. Spaced between customs exemptions on mats, soap, toilet articles was the abolition of tariffs on certain grey cotton piece goods, below fineness 30s, including T-cloths, jeans, domestics, shirtings and drills. Stressing the 'principles of Free Trade' as comprising British 'national policy', Lytton and Strachey insisted that Free Trade possessed 'peculiar significance' for India. They considered that although India had an 'almost total absence of accumulated capital', it possessed 'great productive powers'. Import customs involved the 'evils of protection' because India was capable of 'producing almost every article required for the use of man'. This argument, tacked to the banner of Free Trade, contradicted Salisbury's earlier frank admission that Indian textile industries attracted capital despite duties, which were not protective.³⁶ Lytton

33. *Ibid.*, Salisbury to Temple, March 3, 1876.

34. *Ibid.*, Salisbury to Lytton, Dec. 5, 1877.

35. Governor General's Council Proceedings, 1878 (Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1879), pp. 47-48.

36. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Papers on East India Tariffs*, Command 56, p. 3.

and Strachey played upon the sentiment of Indian Government officials, that duties should be abolished only as they were protective.³⁷ Strachey and Lytton by suggesting that the duties were theoretically protective, sidestepped the relevant issue that, certainly, they were not the reason for the expanding Indian production of coarse cloths at Lancashire's expense. That India could produce almost 'any article' was not equivalent to judging by theory of comparative advantage at what competitive level India produced cotton textiles. Nations ordinarily possessed an ability to produce many goods—but at an inferior or superior competitive productive capacity for each good. The crucial question was whether India's specific competitive advantage in coarse cotton manufacture was sufficient to oust Lancashire without tariff aid. Even Salisbury admitted that in rougher cloths India's competitive advantage enabled it to capture the Indian market without tariff protection. The tactics of Lytton and Strachey in obtaining a partial revocation of the cotton tariff were calculated to make the entire duty untenable. They planned to obtain that 'unravelling' effect which Lytton and Salisbury had earlier discussed, by having duties condemned 'in principle', and beginning an 'erosion' in which Indian officials would not be outraged by too rapid abandonment of customs revenues. Consequently Lytton and Strachey also underscored the Government of India's concern in the 'state of the finances' not to diminish revenues by more than the few lakhs sterling which revision would cost.³⁸

Lytton consummated his tariff revision of 1878 without creating a major official furor mainly because of the minimal revenue loss. Nevertheless, Indian opinion was consolidating against Lytton's general economic policies, and particularly castigating his taxes. The *Gujarat Samachar* attacked the 'increased duty on salt'.³⁹ The *Nyaya Praharal* wrote of the tax burden as 'dreadful and unbearable'.⁴⁰ The *Subha Suchak* condemned the English as having 'reduced the country to utter poverty' and having 'ruined indus-

37. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Papers on East India Tariffs*, Command 333, p. 3.

38. Parliamentary Papers, 1878-79, Vol. LV, Command 241, p. 9.

39. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Bombay, Jan-June, 1878, p. 59.

40. *Ibid.*

tries and manufacture'.⁴¹ The *Swadesh Mangal* contrasted funds spent on lavish British establishments with small outlays for development, education, or relief of the the 'long suffering ryot from heavy assessment'.⁴² The only discernible tariff comment in 1878 was the *Bombay Samachar's*,⁴³ noting Lytton's ignoring Salisbury's promises that removing duties would not bring new taxation. Before the tariff had been thoroughly considered, Lytton's Vernacular Press proposals absorbed newspaper attention. When Lytton completed his tariff policy in 1879 he unleashed a political tumult. By 1879 Lytton's Viceroyalty was nearing conclusion, and economically gloomier prospects for his final year, 1880, probably prompted his singular abrogation of duties in financially chaotic 1879. Manchester political pressure helped insure this course. In Lancashire the depression in the Indian textile trade continued and Manchester exhorted Whitehall for a further tariff revision. Almost immediately after Lytton's first reform, on March 27, 1878, the Manchester Chamber stated that the free goods list must be 'materially' augmented.⁴⁴ Manchester's lever upon Conservative Government policy was particularly strong in 1879, with a general election approaching. Indicative of the politics of reform at Whitehall and in India was a letter Cranbrook sent to Lytton. In it, W. H. Hornby Jr., Conservative Chairman in Blackburn warned of the conviction amongst 'Conservative masters and workpeople' that they had been 'very unfairly treated....with reference to....Indian import duties'.⁴⁵ There was 'no hope' for 'any Conservative candidate' in much of Lancashire, unless something was 'immediately done' reducing duties. Lytton already planned a further revision. On the day Hornby composed his letter in Blackburn, Lytton constituted a board to review earlier reductions. The appointment of the committee, T. C. Hope of the Executive Council, and J. D. MacLean, Calcutta Customs Collector, revealed how the 'unravelling' process worked. Manchester effectively attacked Lytton tariff reduc-

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

44. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Further Papers Relating to Import Duties*, Command 241, p. 14.

45. Lytton Papers, Hornby to Starkie, Feb. 7, 1879.

tions as 'arbitrary'.⁴⁶ The instructions which the Indian Revenue Secretary issued to the Review Board took complete account of Manchester criticism, denoted Lytton's revision of 1878 as 'avowedly arbitrary' and recommended 'some amendment'.⁴⁷ Hope and MacLean faithfully reported that enforcement of a scattered abolition of cotton duties below count 30s was impossible. The Lytton reductions had removed the tariffs from certain coarse grey cloths, but 'cloths of almost the same texture' could be found in a variety of other goods—in dhotis, and long cloths. The only effective remedy was to 'treat similarly....all cloths of the same texture'. To meet the technical difficulty of classifying quality of cloths, they advocated allowing Customs Collectors to judge fineness by weight of weft, and Lytton adopted this method.⁴⁸ In barring tariffs on all grey cotton goods below 30s, Lytton in his Notification of February 28, 1879 argued that the losses caused by the 'protective duties' to the 'English producers' and the 'Indian consumer' were 'indisputable'.⁴⁹ He insisted abrogation would not cause 'surrendering any considerable....revenue'—approximately £200,000, which he insisted India could afford.

Lytton's calls to Free Trade principle, and his insistence on Indian financial solidity were failures. His Council and the India Office Council rejected the measure. Lytton and Cranbrook then invoked authoritarian powers with somewhat dubious constitutional justification. Lytton reported to Whitehall on March 13, 1879, that he held 'the interests of British India' as 'essentially affected', and used his statutory right, under Act 33 Victoria, for Notification of elimination of the cotton duties.⁵⁰ At Whitehall a similar drama unfolded. The India Office Council deadlocked, and Cranbrook voted the measure into law. Governmental and popular opposition was gestated partly from India's obvious financial problems. Lytton acted at a most unpropitious time. Manchester itself admitted that Bombay mills were experiencing serious distress. The Bombay trade was judged far from remunerative. In a few months, 'nearly one third' of Bombay mills 'failed'.⁵¹ The

46. Parliamentary Papers, 1878-79, Vol. LV, Command 241, p. 14.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

financial strain of the recent famine was not absorbed. The silver crisis was worse. Lytton led India into an expensive clash with Afghanistan. This necessitated the Viceroy's negotiation for loans of millions of pounds in London. Partly the *manner* in which Lytton's claims belied realities stimulated uproar. Lytton's public assurances contradicted his private correspondence. To Cranbrook he represented financial circumstances as critical. He told of the 'terrible silver difficulty', a 'pertinacious demon'; and noted that 'heavy [new] taxation' to enable the government....to meet the....loss' was 'inevitable', unless Whitehall allowed bolstering the rupee.⁵² Shortly after, he declaimed India's crisis in language dramatic to the rim of hysteria, depicting the 'bottomless gulf of loss by exchange', the Famine Insurance Fund 'swept away', India's credit 'jeopardized' by war, the 'whole financial policy upset', and India's need for heavy borrowing.⁵³ These grave difficulties Lytton could not, of course, propagandistically disguise. Hence Lytton's and Cranbrook's barreling through of anti-tariff legislation unloosed the greatest political storm in Indian and India Office circles roused by an economic measure in decades. Financial complaints culminated in political condemnation, stamped by cries of 'autocracy'. Stokes defined India's financial condition as 'too deplorably bad' for sacrifice of even 20 lakhs. He defined crisis borrowing from England as 'begging'. He feared eventual sacrifice of the remaining 65 lakhs cotton duty. The 'powerful Lancashire manufacturers' would be encouraged to 'new attacks' until they succeeded.⁵⁴ Rivers Thompson stressed the political mistake of venerating Free Trade to prevent 'trifling inconveniences' to Lancashire.⁵⁵ To Arbuthnot, tariff abolition was a political, financial and military disaster. The Afghan problem would cause extensive military outlays 'for years'. India's finances were desperate. Local opinion had been ignored. The hostility of the Indian public was shared by the 'European mercantile community', and by the 'official hierarchy throughout India'.⁵⁶ The dissidents of the India Office Council echoed the Lytton Council's

52. Lytton Papers, Lytton to Cranbrook, Jan. 13, 1879.

53. *Ibid.*, Lytton to Cranbrook, April 10, 1879.

54. Parliamentary Papers, 1878-79, Vol. LV, Command 241, p. 1.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-7.

dismayed complaints. Muir emphasized that cotton tariff abrogation had ignored the more important need for removing export duty on rice, for swelling Indian exports, and stabilizing India's shaky finances. Henry Norman was disturbed that cotton revenues had been quenched when India's rickety finances required 'stopping to a great extent....public works', and while other economies were inflicting 'severe hardship'. Henry Montgomery protested against Lytton's ignoring 'men....with great experience' better acquainted with Indian economic realities.⁵⁷ Erskine Perry's Minute most resoundingly criticised the constitutional irregularity of Government policy. He implied that by over-ruling his Council, Lytton had committed the very type of 'despotic' act that Parliament had meant to prevent by providing a Council and other constitutional checks on the Viceroy. Parliament, he insisted, had intended to give the Governor General powers of over-ruling the Council only in cases of 'high and critical importance', involving India's 'safety', as defined in the famous Act of 1786. Sudden emergency, or foreign policy were the valid fields for the invocation of these powers, but not ordinary, widely discussed 'domestic matters'.⁵⁸ Lytton, then, in Perry's view had broken with just English concepts of Indian governance. The tumult in governing circles gave resonance to that increasingly articulate Indian popular opinion Salisbury had dismissed. Indian newspaper opinion, split on Northbrook's tariff, gained unity in opposing Lytton's anti-tariff Act. Even before the Council's dissenting minutes were published Lytton's tariff was condemned. *Native Opinion and Maharashtra Mitra* cried that the masses were 'destitute' owing to 'recurring famine' and 'heavy taxation'.⁵⁹ Crops had been destroyed. Disease, rats, locusts, and famine prevailed. These journals, *Rast Goftar*, *Yajdan Parast* and other publications attacked the 'license tax, imposed by Lytton as an alternative to cotton revenues as 'cruel', 'mischievous', and 'inconvenient'.⁶⁰ They concluded it was the worst of times to 'please the merchants of Manchester' while 'disregarding Indian interests'. The *Dnyan Prakash* insisted that Manchester was doing its 'utmost' to crush

57. Parliamentary Branch Collection, *Further Papers on East India Cotton Duties*, Command 392, pp. 3-4.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8.

59. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Bombay, Jan-June 1897, pp. 113, 165.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 217.

Bombay.⁶¹ In an incipient Swadeshi vein, *Bodhya Sudhakar* decried Lytton's tariff policies, forcing consumption of Manchester goods, as one of Imperialist 'enslavement'.⁶²

Lytton's tariff policy signalled an incomprehension of political realities in India. The failure of Lytton's policy is explainable by a theory of 'lag' which coloured the British political mind. Until perhaps after Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, India's capacity for a national political movement threatening British rule and culminating in Indian independence was not seriously entertained, except perhaps for the visionary future. Military security, involving adherence of warlike and feudatory groups more than educated and commercial middle classes appeared crucial. Indian agitation expressed in print was viewed as serious not through expressing educated discontent, but as possibly weakening Indian army loyalty. The Vernacular Press Law exemplified this attitude. Similarly, a lag existed in perceptions of Indian awareness of British tariff manipulations. Salisbury's view that there was 'still time' for cotton duty reform without political difficulty typified this view. In economic thought, John Strachey illustrated a paternalistic conservative view, when he defended Lytton's tariff policy with the dicta that even 'better educated' Indians had not 'the most elementary knowledge' of tariff issues.⁶³ The political crudity of Lytton's tariff revision heightened Indian discontent, which had been nurtured by internal distress. By the last decades of the nineteenth century the Manchester Free Trade pattern was clearly not fulfilling original expectations of the Smithian idea of comparative advantage. Agrarian India had not become truly prosperous. Tenancy and money lending were increasing, Bond-slaved peasants saw recourse to ending their thraldom in such violence as the Deccan riots. Foreign problems and internal monetary crisis were causing a multiplication of taxation. The salt tax, for example, was raised until it reached 600 per cent *ad valorem*.⁶⁴ Yet industrialization had not progressed significantly. While Indian critics like Naoroji and Dutt, and news-

61. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

63. John and Richard Strachey, *The Finances and Public Works of India* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1882), p. 287.

64. *Parliamentary Papers 1893-94*, Vol. LXV, Command 7060, p. 15.

papers, recognized that Free Trade theories were inadequate for Indian purposes, they possessed no Keynesian or Nurksian hypotheses for alternate modes of economic growth. Politically, Bagehot wrote of the educative function of Parliament, but in India parliamentary dialogue was replaced by public controversy. Rising national economic opinion in India sought political explanations for what could not be proved by economic theory. By the mid-1870's opposition opinion in India, as expressed by Naoroji, Furdonji and others focussed primarily on the 'Drain' regarding expensive employment of British officials, and the commodity imbalance against India in international trade. Attributing the 'Drain' caused by remittances to England for British civil servants in India, critics could connect the issue politically to the British failure to honour promises of complete and equal employment of Indians.⁶⁵ Their 'case' against the British was largely limited to the employment issue. Lytton's tariff policy, however, allowed a broadening of the 'Drain' theory, a further dimension to political power proliferating into a ruinous economic Imperialism, as explaining India's economic problems. Criticism by *Bodhya Sudhakar* was most significant. It described Indian poverty as mainly attributable to 'the inordinate consumption of Manchester goods in India'. It ascribed 'untold wealth being carried to England on account of Government and commerce', and concluded that it was the object of the English to make 'slaves of natives'.⁶⁶ That Salisbury and Lytton so thoroughly misunderstood Indian political processes cannot be deemed accidental. It can now be easily comprehended that the 'opposition' functioned in India with much the same 'advocate' approach as in Western politics. Through public opinion, tract, newspaper, and economic theory it criticized Imperial rule with the techniques of Opposition elsewhere, although deprived of an open parliamentary forum. The Conservative strength in English politics was its ability to pragmatically absorb the policies of the liberal opposition; the failure of the Conservative Imperial idea in India was its lack of sufficient regard for Indian opposition views to absorb them as policy, at least not without a lag allowing crystallization of Indian antipathy to British economic Imperialism.

65. Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule*, pp. 90-99.

66. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Bombay, Jan.-June, 1879, p. 113.

Mahitāndhradēśa

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I

The Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu and Rajamundry who swayed Āndhradēśa for a century and a quarter from about A.D. 1325, were the political successors of the Kākatīyas. Contemporaneous with them were the Velamas (C.A.D. 1325-1527) ruling in Telin-gāṇa, the Bāhmanis of Gulbarga (A.D. 1347-1527) to the North of the Kṛṣṇa, and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar in Western Āndhra-dēśa. This crop of fresh kingdoms in full bloom had been the immediate result of the liberation movement in the Deccan and South India in the first quarter of the fourteenth century against the imposition of Muslim imperialism as well as the religion of Islam from North India. Subsequent to the age of the Kākatīyas, the most formative period in Āndhra history, the country enters into an age of consummate glory and efflorescence, and the Reddi records¹ most aptly and amply applaud it as Mahitāndhradēśa and Mahanīyāndhradēśa with full confidence, due pride and endearment.

II

Āndhradēśa, in the early centuries of the Christian era, a comparatively limited area on the Kṛṣṇa, expands through the ages and attains compactness, comprehension and unity with the advent of the Reddi rule. The core of Āndhradēśa in the third century A.D. was Āndhrāpatha ruled over by a Pallava Viceroy with headquarters at Dhanakataka, attested by the Mydavōlu plates² of Śivaskandavarman. To the West of Āndhrāpatha i.e., Vaḍugavali, lay Perumbānappādi, the kingdom of the Bānas.

1. A. P. Govt. Arch. Series, 6 — C. P. Inscriptions in A. P. Museum, p 200; S.I.I. X, 599.

2. E.I. VI, 8, pp. 84-89.

Āndhrāpatha, thus extended southwards from the Gunṭūr District, up to the limit of modern Āndhra Pradesh. Within a century, Āndhrāpatha developed into Āndhramaṇḍala Twelve Thousand country, borne out by the Bāna grant (A.D. 338) of Vadhūvallabha Malladēva Nandivarman.³ Obviously this is Vaḍugavaḷi Twelve Thousand country of Tamil and Kannaḍa inscriptions.⁴ Thus in the 4th century A.D. Āndhrāpatha, Vaḍugavaḷi and Āndhramaṇḍala applied to the country South of the Kṛṣṇa in Āndhra Pradesh.

Āndhrāpatha extended beyond the Kṛṣṇa, to its North in the fifth century A.D., for poet Murāri⁵ specifies the location of god Bhīmēśvara in proximity to the Saptagōdāvari in Āndhraviṣaya. The commentator Jayamaṅgaḷa⁶ locates Āndhraviṣaya to the East of Karnātakaviṣaya in Dakṣiṇāpatha to the South of the Narmada. In the seventh century A.D., the age of the Cālukyas of Vēngi, Āndhraviṣaya had extended on either side of the Kṛṣṇa, even beyond the Gōdāvari in the North and the Pinākini in the South. Mahākavi Daṇḍin⁷ mentions Āndhranātha Jayasimha I (Vallabha), Āndhranagara i.e., Vēngīpura, the capital of Āndhraviṣaya and Kolanu i.e., the Colair.

In the eleventh century A.D., under the Cālukya-Cōḷas, the lineal descendants of the Vēngi Cālukyas, Āndhraviṣaya comprised of fifty lakhs of villages. For, Gonka I of the Velanāṇḍu Cōḷas, their feudatories, is mentioned as the ruler of Āndhradēśa consisting of fifty lakhs⁸ (of villages). But Cōḷa I, the son and successor of Gonka I, was conferred with the rulership of Āndhra-bhūtalamu Sixteen Thousand (country), by far a smaller area, by Kulōttunga I.⁹ King Nannicōḷa of the period mentions Āndhravisaya.¹⁰ In the reign of Cōḷa II, the grandson of Chōḷa I and son of Gonka II, the bounds of his kingdom, Āndhravisaya.

3. E.C. 10, Mulbagal C.P. 157; Rājarāja Sancika (1922), pp. 98-99.

4. S.I.I. III, p. 90; S.I.I. IX-15.

5. K. I. Dutt: *Ancient Historical Geography of A. P.* p. 26 Citation.

6. -do- *Vyākhyāna on Kāmasūtra* by Vātsāyana.

7. Daśakumāra caritra Mahākāvya; Kētana: Daśakumāracaritra Canto XI.

8. Pañcāśatlakṣasasamnyuktamāndhradēśam-Pulivaṛṇu Kaifiyat. Bhārati Vyaya, Śrāvana.

9. S.I.I. X. 177.

10. Āndhrakumārasambhava I.

were the eastern ocean, Śrīśailam, Mahēndragiri, and Kālahasti when the Cālukya Cōla emperor was Rājarāja II.¹¹ In course of time, Āndhradēśa had come to be known as Trilingadēśa,¹² its three protecting deities being the three lingas at Śrīśailam, Kālēsvaram, and Drākṣārāma. Further, Trilingadēśa came to be called by its more popular names, Telugudēśa and Tenugudēśa.

The kingdom of the Kākaṭīyas was Āndhradēśa, and Āndhranagara was no more the Cālukyan capital Vēngi, but Ēkaśilānagara i.e., Ōrugallu the Kākaṭīya capital. Thus, the shift of the Āndhra capital was from Vēngi to Ōrugallu (i.e., Warangal). Passing on to the Redḍi times, it is significant that neither the records, nor the literature of the period specify the location of Āndhradēśa, its bounds, or the total number of villages it had comprised. Apparently this was because these data had become too static, permanent and familiar to require any recurrent repetition. Besides, several petty kingdoms of the country, a characteristic feature of the three preceding centuries, had faded into oblivion. As political successors of the Musunūri Nāyakas of Warrangal and conquerors of the Velamas of Telingāna, both bearing the title of Lord of Āndhradēśa, the Redḍis called themselves Āndhras. The solidarity of comprehensive Āndhradēśa finds expression in phrases of Mahitāndhradēśa and Mahanīyāndhradēśa—the prologue for the glories of the Redḍi age.

III

On account of nature's bounties in the form of mountains and rivers, Āndhradēśa has been a byword for fertility, plenitude and prosperity. As Tanjore of Tamil country, Nellore has been the granary of Āndhradēśa and South India. The Redḍis realised the utility and importance of the mountain and river systems in the country more than their predecessors. The practice of specification of territorial divisions and bounds of villages with reference to mountains, rivers, streams and roads was in vogue in by far earlier times e.g., Ṣaṭsahasrāvani to the South of the Kṛṣṇa,¹³

11. *E.I.* 29. 32. pp. 225-247 — Nandūru C.P. grant.

12. C. Virabhadra Rāo: *History of Āndhras* III, p. 120 — Citation from Āryavaṭam C.P. grant of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōrukonda; Bhārati. 21. I, p. 553 ft — Anitalli's Katurvaceru c. p. grant.

13. *S.I.I.* X. 8. Āruvēlavelanāṇḍu, 144.

Pāvanavāra viṣaya on the Gūḍhastani,¹⁴ Omgērumārga viṣaya¹⁵ through which river Omkāra flows, Kolanumaṇḍalas,¹⁶ Gṛipaścuma viṣaya¹⁷ to the West of Koṇḍaviṭṭu, Paṭṭisapunāṭṭu¹⁸ and Pūngināḍu. The Pūngināḍu extending from the eastern foot of Śrī-sailam to the ocean on both sides of the Kuṇḍi, was the nucleus of the Reḍḍi kingdom with its first capital at Aḍḍanki.¹⁹ Such elaborate specifications are comparatively few in Reḍḍi records.

Regarding the mountains in Āndhradēśa, the Eastern Ghāts and their offshoots bore different names varying with localities. The range extends from Utkal to Madura at a distance varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles from the sea and the maximum height of the range is 2000 feet. The Mahēndragiri range spreads from the confluence of the Ganges and the ocean to the Gōḍāvari and Mahēndranātha i.e., Gōkarnēśvara had ever been the guardian deity of Kaṭṭiṅga, particularly under the Gaṅgavarṇis, the contemporaries of the Reḍḍis. Mahēndragiri had been the eastern limit of Āndhraviṣaya in the age of the Cālukya-Coḷas,²⁰ and the range bears the names Pālakoṇḍas (in Vizāgapaṭam District), Malayas and Pāpikoṇḍas (in Gōḍāvari District), Pālakoṇḍas and Velikoṇḍas (Nellōre and Cuḍḍapah Districts), Nallamalais (Kurnool District) with the peaks Śeṣaśaila and Kālahastigiri (in Cittoor District). Among these are the abodes of Nṛsimhasvāmi at Simhācalam, Śrīrāmacandra at Bhadrācalam, Kanakadurgā at Indrakilādri, Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam, Narasimha at Ahōbalam and Vēṅkaṭēśvara on Śeṣaśailam.

Top priority had been accorded to hills not only as sanctum of gods, but also for the construction of forts. No eminence, strategically important, was left unfortified. The Reḍḍis bore titles²¹ implying their building of eighty-four forts, including four kinds—*giri*, *vana*, *jala* and *sthala durgas*, and their having wrested such

14. S.I.I. X. 146, 147.

15. S.I.I. X. 573.

16. S.I.I. X. 206.

17. S.I.I. X. 151, 199.

18. S.I.I. X. 116.

19. S.I.I. X. 355, 574.

20. E.I. VI. 35-Tēki plates of Rājaraḷachōḍa Ganga.

21. Koṇḍaviṭṭi daṇḍakavile: S.I.I. X. 559.

fortresses in the possession of enemies. Records reveal that *vana durgas* and *jala durgas* were numerically less than *sthala durgas* and *giri durgas*. As regards the fortresses in Āndhradēśa, starting from the East and North, the *sthala durga*²² at Rājamahēndravara was built in the tenth century A.D. by King Amma I of the Vēṅgi Cālukyas. Thereafter Rājamahēndravaram had become the provincial capital of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu and subsequently the capital of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rājahmundry. Kolanuviḍu, popularly known as Kollēṭikōṭa, is a rare example of *jala durga* i.e., water fortress. It had been the capital of the Sarōnāthas.²³ The single example of *vana durga* is the fortress at Kōrukoṇḍa, at a distance of twelve miles from Rājahmundry. This capital of the Reḍḍis of Kōrukoṇḍa owes its name Pārāśara śaila²⁴ to Pārāśara Bhaṭṭa, the Vaiṣṇava preceptor of the royal family. Śrīnātha calls it Vēdādri,²⁵ the abode of Nṛsiṃhasvāmī. Instances of hill fortresses abound in the country. Koṇḍaviḍu alias Acala-pura or Śailapura, thirteen miles from Narasarāopeṭ, has a hill fortress. The eminence has a commanding view of the country as far as Haidarabad. The Reḍḍi court poet Śrīnātha²⁶ describes the impregnability of the fortress in his inimitable style thus—that it tempts and proves to be the death-noose to the three rulers (i.e. the Gajapati, the Aśvapati, and the Narapati) and equals in grandeur the Amarāvati (in heaven). Now the place teems with relics of bygone glory. Next, the hill fortress of Koṇḍapalle lies at a distance of nine miles from Bezavāḍa. It figured as the capital of the District of Koṇḍapalli Three Hundred since the days of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi and throughout the Reḍḍi period. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa alias Śrīparvata, fifteen miles from Mācerla on the Kṛṣṇa, had a hill fortress. Vinukoṇḍa, alias Śrīparvata durga²⁷ had a strong hill fortress. Besides the hill fortress of Bellamkoṇḍa, Udayagiri alias Aruṇādri, like Koṇḍaviḍu, had one of the eminent and strategic fortresses in the country

22. S.I.I. X. 559. Niravadyapura had a *sthala durga*.

23. S.I.I. X. 262.

24. S.I.I. X. 554.

25. Kāśikhāṇḍamu I. preface; S.I.I. X. 577 — Vēdādri Nṛsiṃha on the Gautamī.

26. Cātu verse cited in p. 226 of *History of Āndhras* III; S.I.I. X. 577, 753.

27. Vallabhāmātya; Kṛīḍābhīrāma.

and had been the bone of contention between the Reddis and the Rāyas and thereafter between the latter and the Gajapatis, and throughout the headquarters of Udayagiri rājya. All these fortresses are in Sāgara Andhradēsa.

Gōlakoṇḍa, five miles from Haidarabad, Rācakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, the capitals of the Velama kingdoms, and Nalgoṇḍa all in Telingāṇa, possessed historical hill fortresses. Penugoṇḍa and Gutti²⁸ in Rāyalasīma had important hill fortresses. These and several other fortresses were maintained in excellent state under Reddis.

The river system in Āndhradēsa starts with R. Mahānadi in the East and North, now in Orissa state. Prōlayavēma Reddi, the founder of the Reddi dynasty conquered several petty states in southern Kāṇḍi and granted *agrahāras* on either bank of the Mahānadi.²⁹ Proceeding southwards, the next river is the Gōdāvari, the Gangā of Dakṣiṇāpatha. From Mahārāṣṭra it enters Telingāṇa in Āndhradēsa, passes through the Sarkars, divides itself into the Sapta Gōdāvaris i.e., the seven branches at Rājahmundry, and falls into the Bay of Bengal. The Sapta Gōdavaris namely Tulyabhāga, Ātrēya, Bhāradvāja, Gautami, Vṛddha-Gautami, Kauśiki and Vasiṣṭha render fertile Kōnamaṇḍala or sīma, a by word for facundity, plenitude and prosperity, even today. The Gōdāvari in its course is joined by its tributaries-Vain-gaṅga, Prāṇahita, Indrāvati and Śabari from the North and Mañjira from the South. Paṭṭisam, Kēipalli and Bhīma-maṇḍala are some of the holy places of pilgrimage on the banks of the Gōdāvari. Along with the Mahānadi Kṛṣṇāvēṇi and Bahuda, Gōdāvari is eulogised in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa, Viṣṇupurāṇa and Kāvya-mīmāṃsa. Nannayā Bhaṭṭa, the court poet of Rājārāja I of the Vēṅgi Cālukyas calls the Gōdāvari as Dakṣiṇa Gaṅga³⁰ and describes the glory of Āndhradēsa. Śrīnātha,³¹ subsequently, most picturesquely delineates the sacred centres of pilgrimage on the Gōdāvari. Contemporary literature refers to the Gōdāvari simply as the Gaṅgā.

28. S.I.I. X. 757.

29. E.I. 21. 41-A. p. 267.

30. Ādīparvamu.

31. Bhīmēśvarapurāṇamu III.

Further South is the Kṛṣṇavēṇi which after entering Āndhradēśa is joined by its tributaries — the Kṣīra (Pālēru), the Diṇḍi, the Peddavāgu and the Musi in Telingāṇa and the Bhavanāsi from Rāyalasīma. *Āndhra Mahābhārata*³² mentions the river along with the Penna and the Bāhuda. The Kṛṣṇa had ever been the obstacle for the spread of Muslim rule and religion of Islam to its South. It bore the names — Kannabeṇṇa, Karabeṇṇa, Kannaveṇṇa in Prākṛt, Sahyaja and Kṛṣṇaveṇṇa in Sanskrit, Pardore in Kannaḍa, Perāru in Tamil, Kṛṣṇaveṇṇa, Kṛṣṇavēṇi and Pērēru in Telugu inscriptions³³ and literature. Indrakīlanaga is close by the Kṛṣṇa. As the Gōdāvari is called Dakṣiṇa Gangā, Kṛṣṇavēṇi may be styled the Dakṣiṇa Yamuna and the country between the two rivers — Sindhuyugmāntara resembles the Madhyadēśa in the North—between the Ganga and the Yamuna.

Next in order is the Guṇḍlakamma flowing from the Nallamalai Hills, through Kurnūl District. It passes into the Guṇṭūr District and joins the sea at Peddavōrampāḍu. Thus, it runs through the territorial divisions Kammanāḍu³⁴ and Pūṅgināḍu and on its bank is located Addaṅki, the earliest capital of the Reḍḍis. Its tributaries are the Jampilēru and the Enumalēru. Records³⁵ give the river several names — Guṇḍēru, Guṇḍlēru, Kunti, Kuṇḍi, Kuṇḍika, Kuṇḍija, Kuṇḍiprabha, Brahmakuṇḍī and Gundlakamma and praise it as the sacred paścima vāhini. Kanuparti was a holy place of pilgrimage on its banks.

The Pēṇṇār, celebrated as Suprayōga and the Pinākini, lav further South in Āndhradēśa. Flowing through the middle of Anantapūr District, the northern Peṇṇa passes through Nellōre District. In early inscriptions and literature, except in *Āndhra Mahābhārata*, where Tikkana uses the popular name Penna,³⁶ the river bears the name Suprayōga. Its tributary is Mahābāhu, popular as the Bāhūda or Cheyyēru, joining it after flowing through Chittūr and Cuddapah Districts.

32. Aranya parva II, Bhīsmaparva I.

33. S.I.I. X. 358, 447, 363, 559.

34. S.I.I. X. 371.

35. S.I.I. X. 63, 340, 371, 559, 586.

36. Aranvanarva II 278. Bhīsmaparva I. 38.

Among the lesser rivers recurring in records³⁷ are *Varṇsa-dhāra* and *Nāgāvaḥi* (i.e., *Lāngulya*) in southern *Kāṇṇa*; and *Pampā* or *Pampāvati* in *Peddāpuram Taluk* (East *Gōdāvari District*) has on its bank *Mummaḍivīḍu*,³⁸ the capital of the *Korukonda Redḍis*. The village *Pampāvaram* is in the same *Taluk*. Apparently this *Pampā* is a counterpart of the famous *Pam̐pa* i.e., *Tungabhadra*, as *Cina Tuṅgabhadra* is in *Gunṭūr District*. The *Tulyabhāga* is *Daḷiyavāvi* of *Viṣṇukunḍin* records.³⁹ The river *Kumāra* *alias* *Ēla*⁴⁰ with its tributaries flows through the *Rampā* forest area and past *Cālukya Bhīmavaram* and *Pithāpuram* (East *Gōdāvari District*). The *Gōstani* i.e., *Gūḍhastani* or *Gōḍhastani* passes through *Pāvanavāra viṣaya* and is now a channel passing through *Taṅku* and *Bhīmavaram Taluks* (West *Gōdāvari District*). Proceeding South, the *Ōmkara* or *Ōṅgēru* passes through the *Taluks* of *Palnāḍ* and *Bāpaṭla* (*Gunṭūr District*) and enters the *Bay of Bengal* at *Nizāmpaṭnam*. The *Kṣīra* or *Pālēru* in *Natavāḍi viṣaya* flows into the *Kṛṣṇa* at *Rāvirēla*. Another river *Kṣīra* flows through *Kanigiri* and *Kandukūr Taluks* (*Nellōre District*) and falls into the ocean at *Pākāla* (*Kandukūr Taluk*). The river *Dindī* i.e., *Daṇḍenagōva* of the *Redḍi* records⁴¹ is a tributary of the *Kṛṣṇa*. Among the two rivers bearing the name *Tungabhadra*, the larger one popular in *Āndhradēśa* as *Peda Tuṅgabhadra* joins the *Kṛṣṇaveṇṇa* at *Kūḍalsangamam*, and the other river *Cina Tuṅgabhadra* flows from the *Sītānagaram hills* on the South of the *Kṛṣṇa* and falls into the sea in *Bāpaṭla Taluk*. Now it has been converted into a canal. Besides, the rivers *Nāgilēru* i.e., *Nāgēśvara*, *Bhavanāśi*, *Bhīmarathi* (*Bhīmānadi*), *Candrabhāga*, *Candravaṅka*, *Malāpahāri* *alias* *Mālaghni*, *Maṇika* or *Mannēru* or *Mākēru*, *Mūshaka* or *Muśi* that is, *Elikēru* and *Puliyēru* are celebrated in records and literature.

IV

The titles of each *Redḍi* king, besides those of ministers and subordinates, epitomise the events of his reign, extension and con-

37. *S.I.I.* X. 707, 750.

38. *Āryavatam* grant of *Mummaḍi Nāyaka*.

39. *J.A.H.R.S.* VI. p. 17.

40. *E.I.* IV. p. 369 1.28, *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu II*, VS 4 prose passage 55.

41. *S.I.I.* VI, 225, 243.

solidation of the kingdom, conquests, personal parts, and grants of many *agrahāras* on the banks of the major rivers in the country from South to the North. Thus, Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi (C. 1325-1356) granted forty-four *agrahāras*⁴² situated to the West of the Kṛṣṇa and the Tuṅgabhadra to Brahmanas of Vēgināḍu, Drāviḍa and Velanāḍu sects. Here, Tuṅgabhadra is Cina Tungabhadra passing through the divisions, Velanāḍu and Kammanāḍu. The titles of Vēma in the Cimakurti grant⁴³ (A.D. 1335) — *Kuṇḍiprabhāsahyajā-gautamījalakṛīḍāvinōda*, and *Brahmakunḍi-Kṛṣṇavēṇi-gōdāvarī-mahānadītatadvaya-tanmadhyadēśa* (dattā) *nēkāgrahāra* (one taking delight in sporting in the waters of the Guṇḍlakamma, the Kṛṣṇa and the Gōdāvari; and grantor of several *agrahāras* on either bank and the mid-country of the rivers Guṇḍlakamma, Kṛṣṇavēṇi, Gōdāvari and Mahānadi) attest the keen anxiety of the king, who liberated the land from the Muslim yoke, to rehabilitate the country, establish Brahmanas in *agrahāras* and restore order and settled life in Āndhradēśa subsequent to the disturbances from the Muslim ravages. The Man-cālla grant⁴⁴ (A.D. 1340) specially states that he wrested *agrahāras* from the enemies (i.e., the Yavanas) and restored them to Brahmanas. By A.D. 1345 — the date of the Ātukūru and the Amarāvati inscriptions,⁴⁵ Vēma bore the title *Rāvacēkōluganda*, wrested from the enemies *agrahāras* granted to Brahmanas by Kākati Rudradēva and restored them to their owners. He assumed the title *Dandanacōva-brahmakunḍi-kṛṣṇavēṇi-gōdāvarī-tatadvayatana-madhvadēśadattānēkāgrahāra*, in the long string of titles-*jaṇanob-baṇḍa*, *Bhujabalabhīma*, *vīranārayana*, *kōdandarāma*, *virōdhinr-padānavanarasimha*, *Durmadavairi vīrabhayaṅkara*, *Śrīpallavatri-nētra*, *Pallavāditua*, *Pratyarthi-hēmādrīdāna nirata*, *Hēmādrīdāna-cintāmani*, *Śrīśaila ahōbala-nirmītasōpāna*, *Jagaraksapāla Jagada-gōpāla*, *prajāparipālana prajñācaturvidhōpāya*, *nityaparipālitasatya* and *Dharmaparipālānānirata*. Of these the first six titles attest his valour and heroism; *Pallavāditua* is reminiscent of the early Pallava rule in the heart of the Redḍi kingdom; *Hēmādrīdānacintā-*

42. M. S. Śarma: *The History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 87 — Citation of the Cātu śloka.

43. E.I. 21. 41. A. p. 267 ff.

44. V. P. Śāstri: *Śrngāra Śrīnāthamu* Appendix.

45. E.I. X. 3. pp. 9-15; S.I.I. VI. 225.

maṇi speaks of his munificence in performing the several charities prescribed in *Dānakāṇḍa* of *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* by *Hēmādri*,⁴⁶ and the rest mention his building steps to Śrīśailam, Ahōbālam and Pātālagāṅga, his capacity for efficient administration, truthfulness, and ardour to the well-being of his people.

An eminent warrior who had a tough role in the freedom movement in the fourteenth century A.D., Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi, with the blessings of Ghōḍerāya Gangayadēva,⁴⁷ as Harihara and Bukka who were blessed by Vidyāranya, founded, expanded and consolidated the Redḍi kingdom to the bounds of Āndhradēśa. The exuberance and jubilation of the country is exemplified in the phrase Mahitāndhra i.e., glorious Āndhra, used in the Puvvāḍa grant⁴⁸ (A.D. 1346) of Prōlaya Vēma. The date happily synchronises with the celebration of *Vijayōtsava* by Harihara and his brothers at Śṛṅgēri. The steps to Maṇikēśvaram (Ongōle Taluk) from the Kuṇḍika were constructed in A.D. 1353 by a feudatory of Prōlaya Vēma.⁴⁹ Vēma had planted several gardens on the banks of the rivers, trees on the sides of the roads and established choultries and calivēndras for the use of pilgrims and travellers. His successor Anapōta Redḍi (A.D. 1356-1370) shifted the capital from Addaṅki to Koṇḍaviḍu. Anavēma, brother and successor of Anapōta, strengthened and rebuilt Koṇḍaviḍu. His reign can be considered to be the best and happiest period in Redḍi history. Entitled *jagarakṣapāla*, according to his Manthēna plates⁵⁰ (A.D. 1371), Anavēma wrested several *agrahāras* from his enemies and restored them to their owners. His Peddacerukūru inscription⁵¹ mentions him as *Kṣurikāśahāya* and *Sangrāmagāṇḍivi* indicating his valour, and as the performer of *ṣōḍaśadānas* and charities at Śrīśailam, Kumārācalam, Pancārāmas, Simhācalam, Śrīkūrmam, Puruṣōttamam and Kāśi. Anavēma celebrated *Vasantōtsavas* (i.e., spring festivals) on a grand scale in his kingdom and assumed the title—*Vasantarāya*. He bore the title—*Pūrvasamudrādhīśvara*

46. R. G. Bhandārkar: *Early History of the Deccan*. Appendix

47. *E.I.* VII. p. 15; Errāpreggaḍa; Harivaṁśamu, II-IV, VI.

48. N. Ramēsan: c.p. grants in A. P. Museum, p. 200.

49. *Nell. Ins.* III. 678.

50. V. Yasōda Dēvi: *The Reddis* (of Kondāviḍu and Rājahmundry) Appendix.

51. C. V. Rao: *History of the Āndhras* III, p. 179 citation.

i.e., lord of the eastern ocean.⁵² In his Śrīśailam epigraph (A.D. 1377), he assumes the epithet—*Mahanīyāndhradēsa Paṭṭābhiṣikta*⁵³ (i.e., anointed to the throne of the glorious Āndhra-dēsa) with legitimate pride.

Kumāragiri was the nephew and successor of Anavēma. So far, the Redḍi kings claimed descent from the Caturthānvaya (i.e., fourth caste) born from the feet of Purāṇapurusa and sacred like the Ganga born from Viṣṇupāda; and king Kumāragiri claimed Kṣatriya descent and this was maintained by the Redḍis of Rājahmundry. For, Manumakulavārdhicandra⁵⁴ is a title of Kumāragiri and later on was borne by Virabhadra Redḍi⁵⁵ of Rājahmundry. In this reign, the pūrvarāya i.e., prācībhuvam,⁵⁶ that is, the eastern portion of the kingdom was separated and entrusted to Kāṭya Vēma, brother-in-law of king Kumāragiri and his descendants. Its capital was Rājahmundry. Pedakōmaṭi Vēma, the successor of Kumāragiri, bore the titles—*Vīranārāyaṇa*, the lord of the eastern ocean and the lord of the Āndhra kingdom. His scholarship is borne out by his title *Sarvajñacakravarti*. The *Vasantōtsavas* continued to be celebrated both at Koṇḍavīḍu and Rājahmundry, so long they survived as capitals. The titles speaking of the grant of *agrahāras* on the banks of the important rivers were assumed by subsequent rulers.

The Redḍi administration was efficient and beneficial to the ruled. The Hēmasimhāsana⁵⁷ (the golden throne) at Skandapuri (Kandukūr), the seat of the government of Śivaliṅgabhupa of the Kandukūr branch of the Redḍis, reminds us of the Vajrasimhāsana of the Rāyas. Pallava Trinētra,⁵⁸ the sign manual of the Redḍis, and Basavaśankara of Prōlaya Vēma stand comparison with Śrīvirūpākṣa of the Sangama dynasty. The signature of Anavēma

52. S.I.I. X. 559.

53. *Ibid.*

54. S.I.I. X. 555, 556, 557.

55. Niśanku Kommana; Śivalī lāvilāsamu. *The History of the Redḍi Kingdoms*, p. 550, v. 63.

56. Tottarāmuḍi plates of Kāṭya Vēma.

57. cf. *Tyāgasimhāsana* of the Cālukyas.

58. *E.I.* 8. pp. 9 ff.

was in four forms⁵⁹—Kṣurikāśahāya, Kaliyugabētāla, Pallava Trinētra and Tripurantaka, indicative of his valour and religious leaning. Kumāragiri signed as Kumaragiri and Vasantarāya, the latter indicating his taste for spring festivals. Śrīvīranārāyaṇa⁶⁰ was the sign manual of Pedakōmaṭi Vēma Reḍḍi, and jaganobba-gaṇḍa was that of his younger brother Pedakōmaṭi Māca. Allaya Vēma and Anitalli signed as Śrīmārkaṇḍēyēśvara,⁶¹ as god Mārkaṇḍēya on the Gōdāvari in Rājahmundry was the guardian deity of the kingdom. The banner of the Reḍḍis had either Vṛṣabha,⁶² symbolic of *Dharma* or *Virabhadra*, embodiment of action. The Reḍḍi palace at Koṇḍaviḍu was *Gṛharāja saudha*,⁶³ or *Gṛharāja mēḍa*, built on a single pillar as the basement. The ruins are known today as Gṛharājumēḍadibba or Gurṛājumēḍadibba. The Reḍḍi palace at Rājamahēndravaram was *Trailōkyaviḷaya* on the Gōdāvari, in the *Candraśāla* of which, Virabhadra Reḍḍi held his court.⁶⁴

In the Reḍḍi kingdom, *Dharma* was compared to *Vṛṣabha* walking on four feet, while formerly, it was limping with a single foot.⁶⁵ The rulers practised sound religious toleration, performed *Hēmadri dānas*, *Ṣōḍaśa dānas*, *Tulā dānas*, and *Tulāpuruṣa dānas*. For the economic improvement of the people, the Reḍḍi kings restored sound trade conditions in the country. This was necessitated by the prevalent unsettled political condition of the country subsequent to the fall of the Kākatīyas. The port officers were taking undue advantage of their positions by collecting exorbitant customs and confiscating the salvage of the wrecked ships. Prōlaya Vēma secured all the ports within his kingdom including Mōṭupalle,⁶⁶ the most important port of the Deccan. Mōṭupalle had the names⁶⁷ *Veḷāpura*, *Mukulaḷpura*, *Mogaḍapalle*, *Dēśyuyakkoṇḍa*

59. c.p. 15 of 1922-23; *S.I.I.* VI, 243.

60. Several grants composed by Kavisārvabhauma Śrīnātha.

61. *J. Tel. AC.* II, pp. 98 ff; *Bhārati* 21-I, p. 553 ff.

62. Title — Basavaśankara — *S.I.I.* X. 559, VI. 243.

63. *E.I.* XI, p. 312 ff, *J.A.H.R.S.* XI, p. 213 v. 20, p. 205 ff; V. P. Śāstri: *cāṭupadyamaṇi manjari* I, p. 31; *Kaifiyat of Koṇḍaviḍu*, p. 9.

64. Śrīnātha: *Kāśikhandaṃu*. Preface.

65. *S.I.I.* X. 559.

66. *Errana: Harivaṃśamu* I, iv, 23.

67. *S.I.I.* X. 278, 601, 602 of 1909; *S.I.I.* X. 556; K. A. N. Śāstri: *Foreign Notices of S. India*, pp. 174-175.

paṭṭana and Mutfili. Ships could come closer to shore here than at other places on the coast and hence its primacy in the period. The Reḍḍi King Anapōta in A.D. 1358 renewed the trade charter⁶⁸ —*abhayaśāsana* (A.D. 1244)—of Gaṇapati, to traders coming to Mōṭupalle. He called it *Maryāda śāsana*, *Dharma śāsana* and *Abhaya śāsana* in three languages—Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil, offering facilities of free trade to merchants from foreign lands and *nānādēsi* merchants in port towns. Traders could reside at Mōṭupalle as long as they desired and go unmolested to any other place of their choice. The charter⁶⁹ shows that silver was an article of trade in A.D. 1358, and Motupalle was celebrated for fine *muslins* from the Kākatīya, or even earlier times. Trades flourished under Kumāragiri, and Komaragiripaṭṭam in Prōlunāṇṭi sīma was another important port on the coast. Vāḍarēvu, seven miles to the South-West of Bāpaṭla was a centre of foreign trade attested by a Reḍḍi charter⁷⁰ there.

The prosperity of the Reḍḍi kingdom could be gauged by the large scale on which the spring festivals were celebrated. Śrī-nātha says⁷¹ that articles—silks from China, mast elephants from Ceylon, horses from Ormuz, sankumada from Goa, perfumes from Tavai (in Malay Archipelago), Jaffna, and Panjara (in Sumatra or Borneo) were imported for the annual spring festivals. Cāmi Setṭi, brother of Tirumala Setṭi, supplied to Kumāragiri for the festival, camphor from the Panjab, golden plants from Jalanōgi, pearls from Ā-page, musk from Chōṭangi, sandal, *agaru*, *himambu*, (rose water) and *kumkumaraḥa*. This family of merchants supplied *ratnānkuras* (gems) in the crowns of the Sultans of Pāṇḍuva, Delhi and Rāḍha in their ships from Ceylon.

The high sense of sanitation prevalent in the period is indicated by some of the Reḍḍi titles. For instance the title—*Ankanagarōpakāṇṭhapratśiṭāpitabhahavidhārāma* i.e., layer of several kinds of gardens in front of many towns⁷²—attests this. No doubt, this policy was continued on a larger scale by Anavēma,⁷³

68. E.I. XII. 22, pp. 188-197.

69. 601 of 1909; S.I.I. X. 556.

70. M. G. Śarma: Koṇḍavīṭisāmrājyamu.

71. Haravilāsamu I, vv. 26, 28.

72. E.I. 21. p. 276 ft.

73. S.I.I. X. 559.

Kumāragiri and their successors. Besides harnessing rivers for irrigation, and fortifying hill tops for defence, laying parks and celebrating festivals, the rulers indulged in tank-digging, a meritorious act and one of the *sapta santānas*. Prōlaya Vēma enhanced public weal by digging wells for every house and constructing tanks. Inscriptions⁷⁴ refer to Kumāragiri digging tanks in the place at Koṇḍavīḍu for pleasure bath and sport with his ladies. The tank Komaragirisamudramu was constructed by Goggaya-dēva, a subordinate of the king. The Santāna sāgara⁷⁵ tank was built by queen Sūramāmbā in A.D. 1410, in the reign of Pedakōmativēma and dedicated to public use; and the feeder to it, Jaganobbagaṇḍakāluva,⁷⁶ was dug by her son Rācavēma in A.D. 1415. In this reign, in A.D. 1403 at Appāpura, the tank Gōvardhanasamudramu was constructed by a benefactor for the satisfaction of eighty-four lakhs of lives—birds, cattle and human beings.⁷⁷ Śrīsasrigiri Reḍḍi of Kandukūr dug several tanks for facilitating the production of plenty of crops.⁷⁸ At Vinukoṇḍa, on the way up the hill was an artificial reservoir with a spring. An embankment to the North of Doṇḍapāḍu (Vinukoṇḍa Taluk) connected formerly two hills to form a tank which irrigated the land as far as Vinukoṇḍa.⁷⁹ At Dharanikōṭa was a big artificial lake. Even today there are wells (in Amalāpuram and Nagaram Taluks) stated to have been dug during the Reḍḍi period. They are known as Jain wells or Reḍḍis' wells with depth about eighteen to twenty feet, holding ten to twelve feet of water, practically perennial and riveted with bricks and used for areca and cocoanut plantations.⁸⁰ Near Kollūr (Sattenapalle Taluk) are traces of two bunds of ruined tanks, which originally collected water from hills in the East.⁸¹ The Nāgulēru⁸² had a massive embankment with at one time dammed its waters between the hills of Kārempūḍi and Singarutla agraḥāram. From the huge stone dams at Gāmāla-

74. J.A.H.R. S. XI. p. 91 ft.

75. E.I. XI. 33-A. pp. 313-316.

76. S.I.I. X. 582.

77. S.I.I. X. 573.

78. Nell. Ins. II, KR. 35.

79. Kistna District Manual, p. 201.

80. Gōdāvari District Gazetteer I, p. 89.

81. Kistna District Manual, pp. 170-171.

82. Ibid., p. 155.

pāḍu, Śankarapuram and Dāchēpalle, small irrigation channels were led to gardens. In the capital Koṇḍaviḍu, were several springs and large tanks, one leading into the other, so that when the first was filled, the second began to receive its supply and similarly the third and so forth. Besides, according to the methods of town planning, in Koṇḍaviḍu, *sūrya* and *sōma vīthis* (streets) were laid.⁸³ Thus under the benevolent Redḍi rule, Āndhradēśa was in remarkable state of progress.

VI

The society in Redḍy kingdom was prosperous. Hinduism was in a progressive condition. Prōlaya Vēma's titles⁸⁴—*Aparimita-bhūdānaparaśurāma* i.e., a Paraśurāma in making lavish gifts of lands, and *Anavaratapurōhitakṛtasōmapāna* i.e., making Brahmanas ever drink *sōma* juice attest the happy condition of the Brahmanas ever active in celebrating sacrifices. Assured of royal patronage, the Brahmanas invoked the blessings of gods by performing sacrifices to their satiety. Inscriptions of Vēma are replete with statements that Vēma pleased the Brahmanas by his gifts of agraḥāras, and they in their turn appeased the appetite of gods by their knowledge of the Vēdas and sacrifices. The policy of maintenance of *Dharma* by Vēma was followed zealously by his successors. The *praśasti* of Anapōta⁸⁵ has the title—*aṇaṇṇapunya-kṣētrasatradattabahuvidhāhāra* attesting to his munificence and compassion. Allāda Reddi of Rāiahmundry had the title *Niśśīma-bhūdānacakravarti*, and his son Vēma bore the title, *oōcarmamahā-grahāraprada*,⁸⁶ and exempted the lands of Brahmanas from taxation.

The Redḍis practised religious toleration. Their family deities were Mullagūramma, and Cedalavāḍa Raghunāthanāyakasvāmi. Recorded tradition says that Prōlaya Vēma built one hundred and eight temples at Koṇḍaviḍu in expiation of the sin of *Brahmahatya*. Anavēma was devoted to Tripurāntakēśvara at Tripurāntakam and worshipped Śiva six times daily. He bore the title *Tripurāntakadēvadivyaśrīpādapadmārādhaka*. He made *mahādānas* — *Brahmāṇḍadāna*, *Kanakadhārā mahādāna*, *gōsahasra dāna*, and *Kalpa-*

83. Kaifiyat of Koṇḍaviḍu.

84. *E.I.* III, p. 286. V 5, *S.I.I.* VI, 243.

85. *S.I.I.* VI, 205.

86. *S.I.I.* IV, 1382; *J. Tel. Ac.* II, pp. 96-112,

taru dāna and kept golden and silver pinnacles on the temples at Śrīśailam, Tripurāntakam, Ahōbalam, Kāśi, Prayāga, Gaya, Simhācalam, Śrīkūrmam and Puruṣōttamam.⁸⁷ Kumāragiri performed *Tulā puruṣa dānas* in the presence of Bhīmēśvara at Drākṣārāma.⁸⁸ Pedakōmaṭi Vēma was a devotee of Ādilakṣmi Kāmēśvari enshrined in the *Gṛharāja* palace in Koṇḍaviḍu. The rulers of Rājamundry were ardent Śaivaites and in accordance with injunctions in the *Āgamas*, worshipped Śiva six times daily to the accompaniment of music and dance.⁸⁹ Allayavēma performed *Gōsahasra dānas* at Drākṣārāma.⁹⁰ Virabhadra adored Mārkaṇḍēśvara on Kamalācala at Rājahmundry, where the temples of Gōpāla and *Mullagūriśakti* were within the fortress.

Ghōḍerāyapada was a religious *pīṭha* like Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* at Śrīśailam, Sṛṅgēri *pīṭha*, and Kāmakoṭi *pīṭha* at Kāncīpuram. The Redḍi rulers were devotees of this *pīṭha*. The annual *Vasantōtsavas*, also known as *Kāmōtsavas* or *Madanamahōtsavas* had not merely religious and social significance but also gathered royal grandeur and political momentum. The spring festival was celebrated at the approach of the vernal equinox. Anavēma was the first Redḍi King to participate in the festival. The titles *Vasantarāya* and *Karpūravasantarāya* imply the profuse use of camphor in the festival,⁹¹ the other articles being musk, saffron, sandal, rose-water, civet, and eagle wood. The *vasantavaibhava* of Kumāragiri had been appraised by Harihararāya, Firozshah and the Gajapati and was conducted by Tirumala Setṭi, son of Avaci Tippaya Setṭi, whose entire family was in the service of the Redḍis and devoted to Ēkāmrēśvara of Kānci.⁹² Probably the low hill-Vasantarāyugaṭṭu at Tādēpalle was named after Kumāragiri Vasantarāya. The Vasantarāya *maṇḍapa*⁹³ in the temple at Sarpavaram was built for the merit of Kumāragiri. The festivals of Gautami and Kṛṣṇa Puṣkarams,⁹⁴ occurring once in every twelve years, making gifts in

87. S.I.I. X. 559.

88. J.A.H.R.S. XI, p. 91 ft — Komaragirivaram and Anaparti grants.

89. Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍamu I, V. 56.

90. E.I. XIII, p. 237 ft.

91. E.I. III, p. 289, V. 13, IV, p. 226; ep. 15 of 1922-23.

92. Śrīnātha: Haravilāsamu.

93. S.I.I. V. 27.

94. S.I.I. V, 114-Palivela; 290 of 1934-35-Kētavaram (Guntur District).

auspicious times of *Uttarāyana*, and *Dakṣiṇāyana*, lunar and solar eclipses, *Ardhōdaya* and *Mahōdaya* occasions, and the *vratas* of *Śivarātri*, *Ēkādaśi*, *Dvādaśi*, and *Kāmēśvari* were observed, as seen from the records, e.g., Allaya Doḍḍa of Rājahmundry granted the village Gumpiṇi on the occasion of *Ardhōdaya Puṇyakāla* to Brahmanas.⁹⁵ The rich could command all comforts and enjoyed rich variety in food. The women of higher classes were cultured. Centres of education existed and the development of various sciences was stimulated by royal grants to scholars. Mathematics, grammar, philosophy, logic, philology, law, *āgamas*, sacrificial lore, astrology, astronomy, *āyurvēda*, *rasavaidya* (i.e., treatment of diseases with mercurial preparations) were studied in the period.

VII

As regards arts, the period witnessed substantial advancement. While in the Kākatīya period, Sanskrit was patronised by the rulers and Telugu literature having completed the *Purāṇic* age was on the threshold of the *Prabandha* age, in the Reḍḍi period, Telugu was elevated to a position on par with Sanskrit. Some of the best works in the entire range of Telugu literature were produced by two master minds of this age. Errāpreḡgaḍa, the court poet of Prōlaya Vēma, wrote *Rāmāyana* and *Harivaṁśamu*, *Āndhra Mahābhārata*, and *Narasimhapurāṇa* (alias *Ahōbala-māhātmya*). Of these, *Harivaṁśamu* is the first extant *prabandha*, and *Bhārata*⁹⁶ earned him the title-*prabandhaparamēśvara*, while his devotion to Śiva secured him the epithet-*śambhudasā*. Errāpreḡgaḍa's contemporary poet Nācana Sōmana wrote *Uttara Harivaṁśamu* in dedication to Harihararāya I of Vijayanagar. The other celebrated poet was Śrīnātha, the court poet of the Reḍḍis from the reign of Kumāragiri to the close of the reign of Anitalli and Vīrabhadra Reḍḍi. He was the *Vidyādhikāri* in the courts of Kumāragiri, and Pedakōmaṭi Vēma. Śrīnātha hailed from a family of scholars, and composed several grants⁹⁷ of the period. He visited the courts of Dēvarāya II and Sarvajña Singama at

95. *E.I.*, V, p. 55 ft. — Konkuduru plates.

96. *Narasimha purāṇa* IV. 17.

97. Ponnappalli grant (A.D. 1404) — L. R. 43, pp. 267 ff — the earliest and Rudravaram grant (A.D. 1419) C.p. 7 of 1919-20 is the latest of Pedakōmaṭi Vēma's reign; *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇamu* I. V 23.

Vijayanagar and Rāckonḍa and won laurels. He acquired the title *Kavisārvabhauma* and his works are *Maruttarāṭcaritra*, *Śālīvāhana Saptasāti*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*, *Śṛṅgāranaiṣadha*, *Bhīmēśvara purāṇa*, *Haravilāsa*, *Kāśikhaṇḍa*, *Palnāṭivīracaritra*, *Vithindāṭaka*, and innumerable *chāṭus* in superb style.

Vennalakaṇṭi Sūrana, Lollamahādēva and Pramathakavi Śrigiri were poets in the court of Prōlaya vēma. In the reign of Anapōta, Bālasarasvatī was *Vidyādhikāri* and composed grants. Like his father, Anavēma patronised scholars, and several *chīṭu* verses attest his munificence to poets and Trilōcanācārya was *Vidyādhikāri* in his reign. Kumāragiri, a versatile scholar, wrote *Vasantarājīya*, a work on dramaturgy. His general, Kātaya Vēma, dedicated his *Kumāragirirājīyavyākhyā*, a commentary on the three dramas⁹⁸ of Kālidāsa, to his lord. King Pedakōmaṭivēma wrote, *Śṛṅgāradīpika*, a commentary on *Amaruśataka*, which earned him fame in the literary world. He styled himself as Sakala Vidvāviśārada as Śrīnātha assumed the epithet Sakalakavitāsanātha, in the Colophon of his *Śṛṅgāra Naisadha*. His other works are *Bhāvādīpika* alias *Saptasātisārvavyākhyā* a commentary on the select hundred stories of *Gāthāsaptasāti* by King Hāla, *Sāhituacintāmani*, an excellent work on poetics and rhetorics, *Sanoṭacintāmani*, an important work on music, and *Vīranārāyanacaritra*. In his court, besides Śrīnātha was Vāmana Bhaṭṭabāna entitled Abhinavabhatta Bāna. The fame of vāmana bhaṭṭabāna rests on his prose work in Sanskrit *Vīranārāyanacaritra* alias *Vēmaabhūpālacarita*, wherein he assumes the titles⁹⁹ *Sāhitva-chūḍāmani* and *Gadyakavisārvabhauma*, and proclaims his determination to disprove the saying "Bānōccīṣṭam jagatsarvam". He modelled his work on Bāna's *Kādambari*. Among his other works are *Pārvatīpariṇaya*, *Śṛṅgāra bhūṣaṇa*, and *Raghunāthacaritra*. Narasimhakavi, the author of the drama, *Kādambarī-kalyāṇamu*, was in the court of Pedakōmati Vēma. Māmidisīṇanāmātva, minister of Padakōmati Vēma, wrote *Sōmasiddhāntamākhya* alias *Gūḍharthadīpika*. Prince Śivalingabhūpa wrote *Giriśāśrtisūktimālāvyākhyā*, a commentary on Haradattācārya's work bearing that name. Śrīvallabha and Sarasvatī Bhaṭṭa com-

98. *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, *Vikramōrvaśīyam* and *Mālavikāgnimitram*.

99. In *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇa* (Bhāṇa) and *Vīranārāyanacarita* respectively.

posed grants in the courts of Kāṭaya Vēma and Allāḍa Reḍḍi. Niśsaṅku Kommanāmātya, patronised by Doḍḍa Reḍḍi, the younger brother of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, and Queen Anitalli wrote two works *Sivalilā vilāsam*¹⁰⁰ and *Viramāhēśvaram*.¹⁰¹

Music advanced under royal patronage. Anavēma granted three *agrahāras* to three women, proficient in music and literature.¹⁰² Pedakōmaṭi Vema was a musician and his younger brother Pedakōmaṭi Māca was an expert player on viṇa and flute. Śrīśaṣṛigiri of Kandukūr was a man of letters, artist and a musician.¹⁰³ Kāṭaya Vēma was an adept in the technique of music and dance. Virabhadra Reḍḍi was learned in the *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* of *Sangīta śāstra*, and a player of Viṇa and flute.¹⁰⁴

The art of dancing flourished in the age. Lakumādēvi was a renowned dancer in the court of Kumāragiri Vasantarāya.¹⁰⁵ She filled a large role in the annual spring festivals in Koṇḍaviṭṭu, the capital. Dramas were enacted during the celebrations of temple festivals and on several important auspicious days as well. The drama *Vallabhābhūdaya* was staged during the *Tirunāl* of Telungurāya i.e., Āndhranāyakasvāmi of Śrikākūḷam. As the name implies, the theme was about the deity, also known as Vallabha. Again, *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇa Bhāna* of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa was staged during the festival *caitrāyatra mahōtsava* of Srīvirūpākṣa at Pampa i.e., Vijayanagar. Possibly *Kṛīḍābhīrāma* was enacted during the *Tirunāl* of Bhairavasvāmi on Bhairavakoṇḍa *alias* Mōhanaśaila in Mōpūr.

Architecture and sculpture registered considerable progress in the period. *Vīraśīrō maṇḍapa*¹⁰⁶ and a hall in the temple of Śrīśailam, *Anavēmanagaru*¹⁰⁷ in the temple of Simhācalam, *Kalyāṇa maṇḍapa* with twenty pillars in the Kṣīrārāmēśvara tem-

100. (MS). Introductory portion is appended to the *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*, pp. 543-563.

101. It is known from verses quoted in *lakṣaṇagranthas*.

102. M. G. Śarma: *Koṇḍavīṭi sāmraṇyam*.

103. Nell. Ins. II, KR. 19.

104. Śrīnātha: *Kāśikhaṇḍamu* V, v. 338.

105. Śākuntala vyākhyā — citation in p. 57 of *Śṛṅgāra Śrīnāthamu*.

106. S.I.I. X. 559.

107. S.I.I. VI. 806.

ple¹⁰⁸ at Pālakoḷ, a *śilāmaṇḍapa* with a *Kalyāṇa vēdi* in the Koppēs-
vara temple at Palivela,¹⁰⁹ and several *maṇḍapas*—*nāṭya*, *kalyāṇa*,
hōma, *śanivāra*, *āsthāna maṇḍapas* and twelve pillared *gōpura* in
the temple of Drākṣārāma¹¹⁰ were constructed in this age. The
steps from Pātālaganga up to the hill of Śrīśailam and Ahōbalam
were built by Prōlaya Vēma. Malla II of Kandukūr built in his
capital a temple to Janārdana with a *maṇḍapa*, *prākāra* and
gōpura.¹¹¹

So the Redḍi epoch was a glorious chapter in the his-
tory of Āndhradēśa, deservedly appraised in their records as
Mahitāndhradēśa.

108. S.I.I. V. 133.

109. S.I.I. V. 113.

110. S.I.I. IV. 1379, 1381, E.I. IV. p. 328, Bhīmēśvarapurāṇa IV, 74.

111. Nell. Ins. II, KR. 18, 19, 21.

Terracotta Figurines and other objects from Kāñci Excavations, 1962

BY

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1. Introduction

On behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, the authors undertook a trial excavation at Kāñcipuram, the historic city of the South, famous alike for its political importance and cultural glory. The excavation was done in the premises of the Mutt of His Holiness Jagadguru Śrī Śankarācārya of Śrī Kāñci Kāmakōṭipīṭham, situated in the busy centre of the city.

2. Historical Background

The origin of Kāñci, like that of many other ancient cities of India, is almost shrouded in obscurity. Known to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* as *Satyavrataksētra* it has been mentioned by Patañjali, the great Sanskrit grammarian who lived in the second century B.C.¹ We find references to this city in the early Tamil literature of the Śāngam period. It is described as a leading centre of Buddhistic and other studies by the *Mañimēkalai*.² The *Ghaṭikasthānās* (colleges) of Kāñci attracted many students from far-off places. Mayūraśarman, the Kadamba King of fourth century A.D. is said to have joined one of these colleges at Kāñci to learn the *Vēdas*, while Buddhaghōṣa, the great Pali commentator who lived in fifth century A.D. had stayed at Kāñci.³ On the political side, however, the picture is not so clear. We know from a Śāngam poem that while Karikāla (c. 190 A.D.), the great Cōla King, was ruling in Tanjore and Tirucirappalli districts, Kāñci was under one ḷam Tiraiyar. It is not known whether the latter

1. R. Gopalan: *Pallavas of Kāñchi*, p. 157.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p. 31.

3. *A Comprehensive History of India*, ed. by K. A. N. Sastri (1957), Vol. II, p. 679 n.

was subordinate to or independent of the Cōla power.⁴ But except for some scrappy information like this, the history of Kāñci before the advent of the Pallavas (in fourth century A.D.) is rather dark. Even the early years of the Pallava rule cannot be said to be free from obscurity. It is only from the seventh century A.D., thanks to the stone inscriptions left by the Kings, that a more authentic history emerges.⁵

3. *Object of Excavation*

The excavation was undertaken to get, if possible, a vertical sequence of cultures at Kāñci and, more particularly, a glimpse into the Pre-Pallava times. Though only a small trench of 20 feet by 10 feet was taken, it has furnished a continuous story of Kāñci at least from the early centuries of Christian era. The discovery of Śātavāhana coins in well-stratified layers may be an important evidence to postulate the expansion of the Śātavāhana rule over Kāñci in the second century A.D. which has been surmised by some early scholars.

4. *Cultural sequence*

The excavation uncovered a total cultural deposit of about 16 feet and revealed broadly two main periods of occupation, viz., Ancient and Mediaeval, besides a thin but very much disturbed deposit of modern occupation at the top. In Period I (Ancient), two sub-periods were noticed: I-A Pre-Pallava, i.e., earlier than fourth century A.D; and I-B which can broadly be termed Pallava in point of time i.e., from fourth to tenth century A.D. Period II is mediaeval and Period III is modern. More details about the cultural equipment of each period cited above and stratigraphy are published elsewhere.⁶ In this paper we give details about the terracotta figurines and other clay objects recovered in the excavations.

5. *Terracotta objects*

Comparatively, the North Indian sites are more prolific in their yield of clay images than those of the South.⁷ But this small trial

4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *A History of South India* (1959), p. 121.

5. *Ibid*, p. 138.

6. *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, 1962 (under print).

7. *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 102; No. 13, p. 110.

dig at Kāñci has, however, yielded a rich crop of terracotta materials, 33 in number, which are interesting for their variety and for high quality in workmanship. The materials comprise of human figurines including royal busts, a dancing girl etc; animals like the bull and the elephant and various utilitarian objects like beads, bangles, pendants, ear-ornaments, finger-ring, hair-pin, gamesmen etc. A terracotta coin-mould with square sockets in the early level is extremely significant.

6. *General features*

It is of interest to note that the terracotta objects, particularly, of utilitarian value, were more in number in the earlier levels than in the later ones. In Period I Ancient, represented by a deposit of eight to nine feet thickness, 23 clay objects were found while in Period II (Mediaeval)—a deposit of about five feet thickness, only 5 terracottas were collected. This may probably indicate that at Kāñci, the art of making clay objects was more cultivated in the Pre-Pallava and Pallava days than in subsequent times when stone and metal became the popular media of art expression. That this art, with its crude beginnings, touched great heights of quality, in the course of time, is clearly borne out by the discoveries. Find No. 1, for example, is a very rare but crude, hand-made figurine of a cult image from the lowest levels which have yielded the megalithic Black and Red ware and, even on a conservative estimate, it can be assigned to not later than first century A.D. But the figurines and the objects of later levels exhibit considerable skill and refinement in modelling. Particularly, the two beautiful human figurines (Fig. 2 and 3) with their ornamental royal headgear can rival any of their counterparts in stone or metal in their naturalistic treatment or careful finish. Fig. 3 is a remarkable depiction in clay and reminds the onlooker of many of the familiar Pallava sculptured figures at Mahābalipuram or Kāñci, which it anticipates. It has a rather elongated face, broad nose, full lips, double chin and a simple but stylish head-gear. Fig. 4 is a good model of Balakrishna in the crawling pose and belongs to Period II. Its round and smooth face, the flowing ears and thick necklace in a circular pattern around the neck show typical features of the Cōla style. The same artistic skill is seen in the animal figurines too. Fig. 12 is

a powerful modelling of a sturdy bull with a shapely hump, reminding us of similar bulls of the Pallava times. Fig. 14, which is only a fragment depicting the back portion of an elephant in double-mould, is of no mean artistic merit. Even the terracotta objects of daily use listed in an earlier paragraph show artistic ingenuity. Fig. 28, for example, is an ear-ornament with beautiful floral designs. Similarly, we have fine samples of decorated bangles, pendants, finger-rings etc. The discovery of a coin-mould with roughly square sockets which served to produce punch-marked coins by die-strike method affords important evidence to show that the punch-marked coins were probably in use at Kāñci in the early centuries of Christian era.⁸

7. Description of Terracotta objects

A. Human Figurines

Fig. 1. A nude male figurine, representing a cult image, crudely modelled by hand. Nipples and navel indicated by piercing holes. Nose and eye-brows are indicated by pinching, eye-lids by applique and mouth by incision. From Period I-A.

Fig. 2. A beautiful human head in double-mould having a characteristic Pallava style. It has a somewhat elongated face and ears, broad nose, full lips and a simple but stylish head-gear, suggestive of a royal personage. *Kuṇḍalas* adorn the ears and strings of beaded ornament are seen in the crown. Stratigraphically, it belongs to the early Pallava period i.e., about fourth or fifth century A.D. period I-A.

Fig. 3. Head with elaborate three-tiered spiral, ornamental head-gear and long ears and big-ear-lobes with *Kuṇḍalas*. Nose and mouth are formed by pinching and eyes by incision. Somewhat similar head-gear is seen depicted in some of the Pallava sculptures of Piravātana-Īśvara temple at Kāñcipuram⁹. Period I-B.

8. It is important to note that these strata have also yielded many Sātavāhana coins of I and II Centuries A.D. Probably the punch-marked coins were in vogue side by side or that they were kept as prized possessions long after they ceased to be legal tenders.

9. Compare Plate XXII, fig. 11, *Lalit Kala*, No. 3 & 4 (1956-57).

Fig. 4. A fragmentary human head with outflanged head-dress and a prominent forehead and nose. Eyes and mouth incised. Period I-A.

Fig. 5. Part of a human hand with outstretched palm evidently that of a lady as is indicated by the bangles. Period I-A.

Fig. 6. Two folded-hands in worshipping posture evidently of a lady as indicated by the beaded bangles and wristlets—made in double-mould. Period I-A.

Fig. 7. Two fragments depicting lower part of the back portion and the shoulder of a dancing girl (?) String of beaded ornament are seen around the waist. Double-mould. Period I-B.

Fig. 8. A fragment appearing to be the outstretched left hand of a dancing figure (like *Kāliyamardana Kṛṣṇa*) with figures drooping down. Fingers indicated by pronounced incisions. A thick wristlet is also seen. Period I-A.

Fig. 9. Shoulder and hand with folded palm. Fingers not well-marked. Rather crudely modelled. The hand seems to be raised at the elbow as if in *abhaya-mudra*. Period I-B.

Fig. 10. Human leg. Foot rather disproportionate to the leg and the thigh. Period II.

Fig. 11. Figurine of Bālakṛṣṇa in the crouching position. The front two hands resting on the floor are half-broken. It wears a rich necklace in circular pattern round the neck, characteristic of the Cōla style. Facial features smooth and rather blurred. Period II.

B. Animal Figurines

Fig. 12. Broken figurine of a humped bull—stylistically seems to be an anticipation of the Pallava bull. Period I-A.

Fig. 13. A star-shaped clay bullae with the faint impression of a seated bull—Period I-A. (Too faint to be illustrated).

Fig. 14. Fragment depicting the back portion of an elephant in double-mould. Portion of the ornamental caparison is visible on its back. Period I-A.

Fig. 15. A fragment of the head, perhaps of a ram—Period II.

C. Utilitarian objects:-

Fig. 16. Coin mould: Very rare and interesting design of a coin-mould in grey-ware pottery. It is disc-shaped with square sockets on one side, the other side being plain. Only four such sockets are intact and, in its fuller shape, it would have had two more. At its rim, traces of a notch with a straight channel for the inflow of the molten metal and two distinct smaller feeder channels, inter-connecting the sockets are visible. In one of the sockets some traces of sun and bull symbol are visible. The designs in other sockets are evidently worn-out. The rather irregular square shapes and the sun symbol are very much typical of the punch-marked coins. This mould was evidently designed to produce in a single operation imitations of coins with designs which were normally struck by a series of punches. It is also very significant that stratigraphically this mould belongs to Period I-A i.e., earlier than fourth century A.D. i.e., a period prior to the advent of the Pallavas of Kāñci. This technique of coin-moulding, must have found its way to Kāñci during the rule of Sātavāhanas, whose coins have also been found along with the moulds. Similar moulds both in terracotta and stone were also found in the lower levels of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa excavations datable to first-second centuries A.D.

Beads

Fig. 17. Bead, Long bicone and circular in section with one groove on each end. Period I-A.

Fig. 18. Bead or small finial with grooves in concentric circles on its neck. Period I-A.

Fig. 19. Long biconical barrel bead with circular section with three grooves in the centre and one at an end. Period I-A.

Fig. 20. Bicone, one side rather truncated and circular in section. Period I-B.

Fig. 21. Truncated bicone with a thin iron wire in its central hole, projecting on both ends. Might have been a spindle whorl. Period II.

Finger-Ring

Fig. 22. Ring or signet with a prominent, flat, circular head bearing an impression of some figures, possibly a *Mayūra* with outstretched plumage. Period I-B.

Pendant

Fig. 23. An almond-shaped pendant, one of the pair, with a hole on the top. Decorations at the top. I-A.

Hair-clip

Fig. 24. A circular decorated hair-clip with a central hub and dotted designs on the back, there is a central long ridge with three pairs of holes for the pin or thread to be tied to the hair. Even today similar hair-clips in gold are used by the ladies in Tamilnad. Period I-A.

Bangles: All the three terracotta bangles belong to the Period I-A.

Fig. 25. Fragment with a rectangular section. Prominent compartmental decoration with vertical lines alternating with stud-like projections made of fine clay.

Fig. 26. Fragment with convex section. A series of stud-like dotted and other decorations along the outer rim.

Fig. 27. Fragment of a bangle or bracelet circular in section. Plain except for one circular dot-embossment.

Ear-ornaments

Fig. 28. A circular decorated ear-ornament black in colour with floral designs and incised motifs in concentric circles on one side. Such big ear-ornaments were popular in the Pallava days to which this belongs (Period I-B). Similar ear-ornaments can be seen in the famous portrait-sculptures at Mahābalipuram.¹⁰

10. C. Sivaramamurti, *Mahabalipuram* (1955), Compare Plate IV A & B: and also Plates II and III.

Fig. 29. Ear-ornament with biconical terminals and a deep groove in the middle. Roughly similar to the type III found at Sisupālgarh.¹¹ Period II.

Fig. 30. A very crude type of ear-ornament with rough surface. Period III.

Toy-objects

Fig. 31. Terracotta disc with a central hole. Perhaps the wheel of a toy-cart. I-A.

Fig. 32 and 33. Terracotta discs, probably gamesmen. Both belong to Period II.

8. *Conclusion:* The foregoing description will amply show that Kāñci, which was the centre of intellectual and artistic tradition, zealously fostered by its long array of Kings, through the ages, also nurtured the poor man's art of making clay-objects, many of which may well challenge comparison with their contemporary representations in stone or metal. It is also seen that this art had a hoary tradition at Kāñci going back to the beginning of the Christian era. It is well-known that working in stone, both for temples and sculptural forms, was introduced in Tamilnad by Mahēndravarman I (600-630 A.D.). The Kāñci Excavation has shown that the burnt clay served as an admirable medium of artistic expression before the use of stone became common and continued to be so, long after too.

11. *Ancient India*, Nr. 5, p 90, Plate XLVII, No. 10.



PLATE I: Kāñchipuram—Terracotta Human Figurines

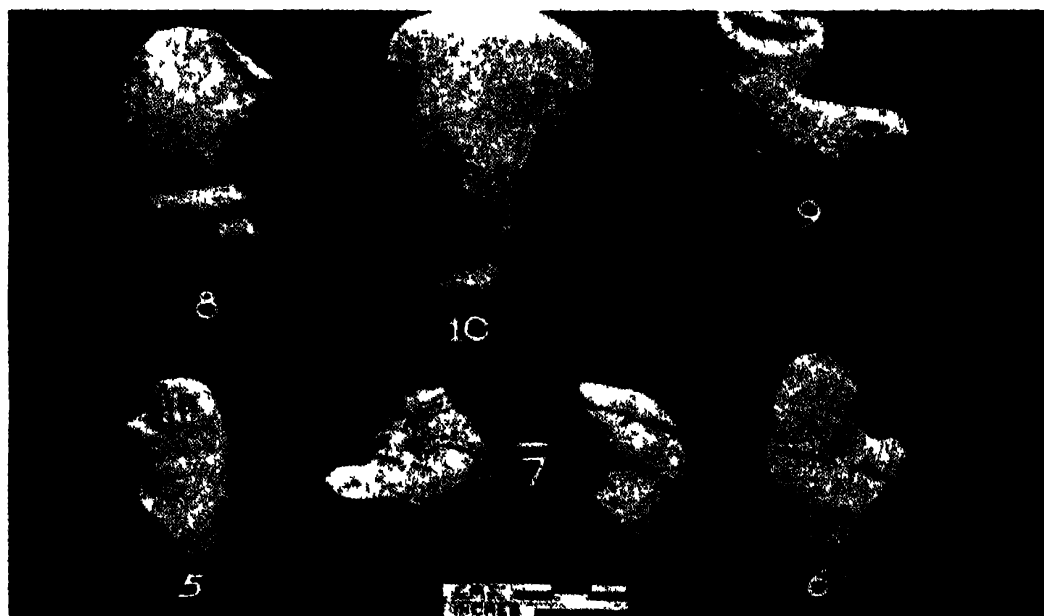


PLATE II: Kāñchipuram—Terracotta Human Figurines

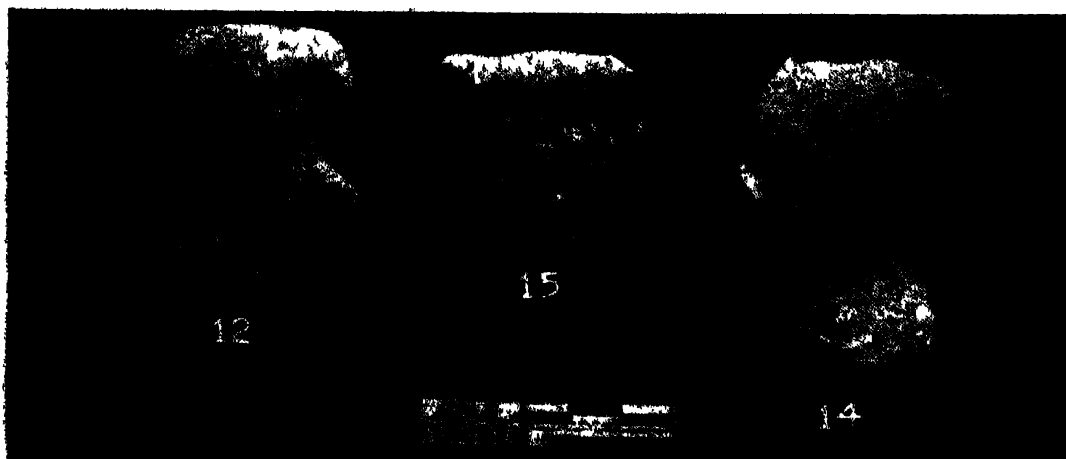


PLATE III: Kāñchipuram—Terracotta Animal Figurines

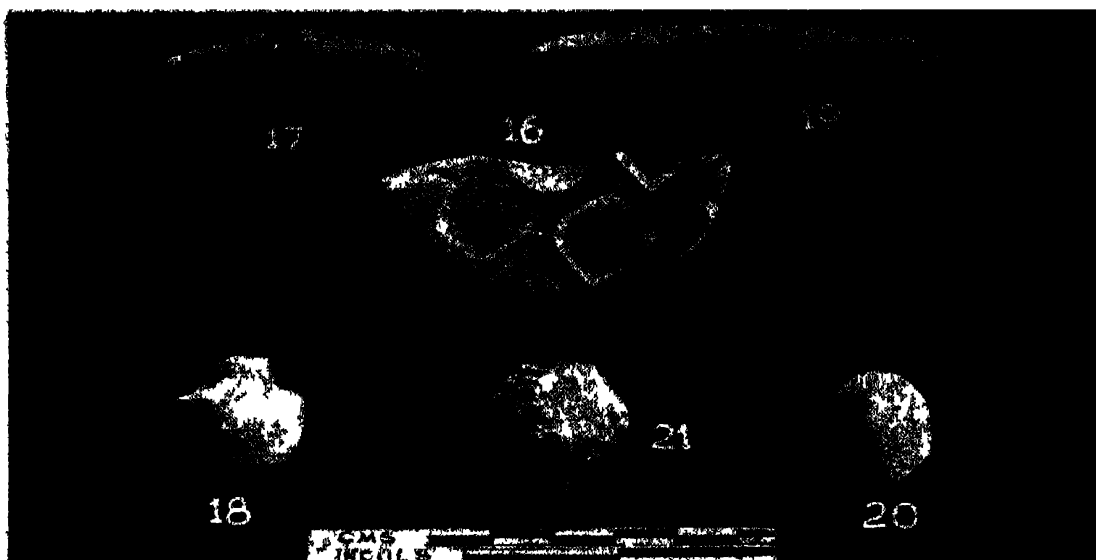


PLATE IV: Kāñchipuram—Terracotta Objects

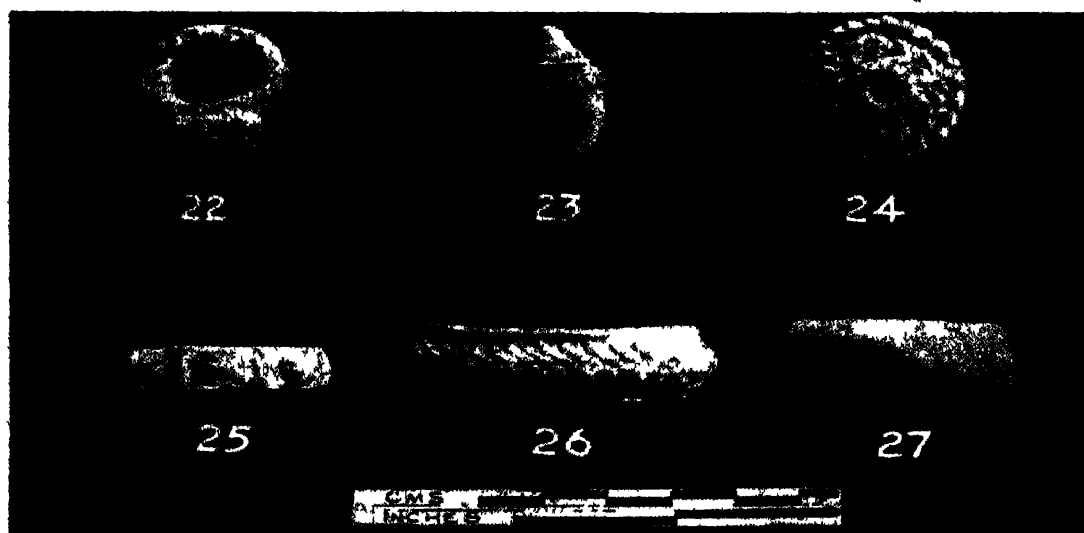


PLATE V: Kāñchipuram—Terracotta Objects

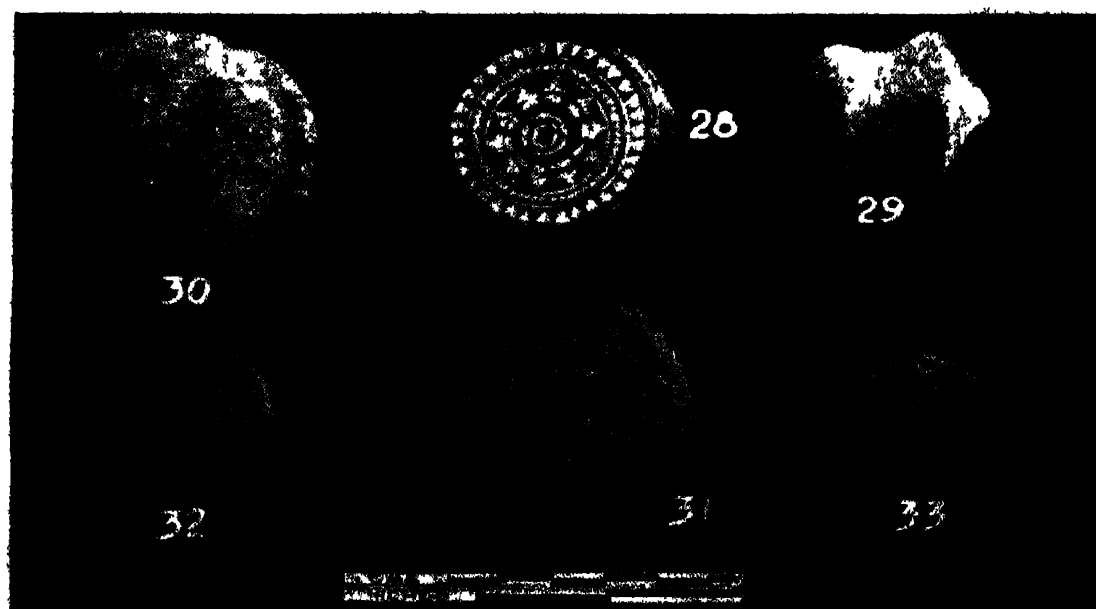


PLATE VI: Kāñchipuram—Terracotta Objects

Mewat Affairs during the Sultanate Period

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Mewat¹ or the land of the Meos and Khanzadas, lying to the south of Delhi and including considerable portions of the modern districts of Mathura, Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur, was inhabited by people, extremely contumacious, who during the Sultanate period remained a source of great trouble to the rulers of Delhi. They acquired during the early medieval period a notoriety of being thieves and robbers.² On account of the hilly terrain and the large extent and density of the jungles³ that existed south of Delhi during the first half of the thirteenth century, they had succeeded in extending their depredatory activities to the outer walls of the metropolis. So much did they become troublesome that the contemporary writer Minhaj was constrained to remark in 1259 that they had become a terror even to the devil.⁴

During the period of the rule of Iltutmish, Mewat as a part of the kingdom of Hindustan was peaceful.⁵ But after Iltutmish's death none of his successors took up seriously the task of holding Mewat under control.⁶ Largely on account of the incompetence of the successors of Iltutmish, the Mewattis had become so emboldened as to infest the jungles lying to the south of Delhi, and to attack there the travellers going southwards. Thus, they had created a situation which called for immediate action. In 1249, therefore Nasiruddin Mahmud, the reigning Sultan, directed Ulugh

1. Hunter-*Imp. Gaz.* 4, 8 ff, Tieffenthaler III map.

2. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, abbreviated subsequently as *TN*, 313, *Wakiat-i-Mushtaqi*, 27 relates an anecdote about their thieving habits.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Barni), abbreviated subsequently as *TFS*, 56, *TN*, 314.

4. *TN*, 227.

5. *TFS*, 56.

6. *Ibid.*

Khan to conduct a campaign against them. But this period being one of general disorder throughout northern India, Ulugh Khan could not achieve anything beyond effecting some destruction of Mewatti property and collection of some booty.⁷

The weak personality of the king coupled with the intrigues of Imamuddin Rihan and the dismissal and disgrace of Balban must have made action against the Mewattis difficult. They could therefore continue on a course of mischievous activities. Under the leadership of a Hindu named Malkha,⁸ they in 1257, committed an imprudent robbery of the transport camels belonging to Balban on the eve of one of his projected campaigns against the Mongols. This action of the Mewattis had aroused Balban's personal resentment,⁹ and when he was free from the activities of the Mongols, he decided to deal with the rebels of Mewat. On 29th January 1260, he therefore left Delhi¹⁰ with an army of 10,000 soldiers, and in a single forced march penetrated upto 50 Kas¹¹ and took the rebels completely by surprise. For twenty days the work of slaughter and pillage continued. In order to achieve quick results, Balban ordered the reward of one silver *Tanka* for every head, and two for every living prisoner. The soldiery thus stimulated, soon activated themselves and without caring for geographical difficulties they began to bring forth either the heads of the rebels or living prisoners¹² from amongst them. The Afghan section of the Imperial army was particularly active, and Minhaj goes to the length of saying that each one of them brought at least one hundred Hindu prisoners. The rebel chief Malkha was arrested with his entire family together with 250 other leading men of the tribe.¹³ Besides this, 142 horses were captured and

7. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* (Basu Tr.) 34, TN, 292.

8. TN, 313.

9. *Ibid.*, 314.

10. TN, 227 and 314, Badaoni, Vol. I, 94, however gives a wrong impression that Nasiruddin Mahmud had himself conducted this campaign, FMS (B) 37 agrees with TN.

11. TN, 314, Cunningham ASI XX, 13, incorrectly says that during this campaign Balban had captured two important towns called Santur and Salmur which he identifies with Indore and Alwar respectively. See Hodivala 227 and 229 for correct location of these places which were not in Mewat.

12. TN, 315.

13. *Ibid.*

60 cotton bags, each containing 30 thousand *Tankas*, were obtained in loot.

Having thus accomplished apparently a great victory for the Muslim arms, Balban returned to Delhi on 9th March 1260. A grand reception was ordered for him and the Sultan organised a great durbar at Hauz-i-Rani to celebrate the victory. Two days later the prisoners were publicly massacred. Some of them were trampled to death by elephants, others were cut to pieces by the Turkish soldiery and several hundreds were flayed alive.¹⁴ Thus, in his own ruthless way Balban tried to curb the menace of the rebellious neighbours.

Sometime later, news was again received at the capital about the activities of some of those rebels who had run away at the time of the earlier campaign and who, on their return, were reported to be infesting the highways and slaughtering the wayfarers. Balban after having ascertained from the spies, the movements of the robbers left Delhi on 5th July, 1260,¹⁵ and as before, by a forced march reached the heart of Mewat and surprised them. Minhaj says that 12000 of them including women and children were taken prisoners.¹⁶ Thus, by two vigorous campaigns Balban succeeded in establishing peace in Mewat for a period of five years.

But the geographical features of Mewat and the old rebellious habits of the Mewattis made them challenge the authority of Delhi Sultans once again. They had temporarily bowed down to the might of the Imperial arms and to the strategy of Balban, but were shortly up in arms again. Balban, on his part must also have seen the transitory nature of his earlier success. He must have noticed the fresh activities of the rebels, and would have realised how they constituted a psychological pointer to the weakness and incompetence of the Imperial Government. Therefore, immediately after his accession, Balban planned a definite policy of action against Mewat. His hands were more free now as he was no longer a minister pursuing a dictated policy but was a sovereign

14. Speaking about the punishments that were inflicted, Minhaj says that never before were such severe punishments given publicly.

15. *TN*, 323.

16. *Ibid.*, Minhaj's account however, seems to be greatly exaggerated.

himself. The result was that even before the end of the first year of his reign, he decided to deal with this problem in right earnest.¹⁷

In the programme of the new government, the destruction of the Mewatti menace was given top priority.¹⁸ The Sultan, accordingly, ordered the camps of the army to be pitched outside the town. Barni points out two reasons for the increase of the nefarious activities of the Mewattis. In the first instance, the incompetence of the successors of Iltutmish had taken away the feeling of awe from the hearts of the people at large, and secondly, the growth of dense jungles around Delhi, had provided secure places of concealment to these bandits. They used to prowl freely into the city of Delhi after sunset and rob and harass the citizens. They also plundered the travellers even during the day time and rendered the movement of trade difficult. They struck so much terror that people dared not move out of their houses after evening prayer. The famous picnic spot Hauz-i-Sultan¹⁹ lay neglected because it was here that the bandits several times stripped off the clothes of the water-carriers and women drawing water from the large reservoir. Indeed, it was out of the fear for these Mewattis that the western gate of the metropolis used to be closed after the hour of afternoon prayers.

The very first year of his accession saw Balban in action against these bandits. He rightly concluded that the clearance of woods around Delhi was the first step in dealing with them. Accordingly, for one full year he was constantly engaged in getting the woods to the south of Delhi cleared, and bringing the place under cultivation.²⁰ This was followed by military activity. The net result of the year-long exertion was the massacre of a very large number of the Mewattis.²¹ Not satisfied with this, Balban further got constructed a fort at Gonalgiri,²² and established a number of police stations around Delhi, which were garrisoned

17. *TFS*, 56.

18. *Ibid.*

19. The famous Shamsl reservoir constructed by Iltutmish.

20. *TFS*, 57, *Ferishta* (Briggs), Vol. I. 225.

21. Barni, 57, says that one hundred thousand of the royal army were killed by the Mewattis, but *Ferishta* appears to be correct when he says that Balban put one hundred thousand of the enemy to sword.

22. *TFS*, 57, *TA*, 84 calls this place 'Kabalkar.'

with Afghans. Barni records with great satisfaction that from that time onwards the people became free from the Mewatti menace.²³

Balban's Mewat policy had been successful to a large extent as we hardly find any mention of trouble from Mewat for nearly a century. During this period the Chiefs of Mewat appear to have maintained satisfactory relations with the authorities at Delhi. Nor were there any serious activities of the dacoits in that region. So far as Balban himself was concerned, he certainly had no more worry on their account for the rest of his reign. Thus, 'by a combination of ruthless massacre, show of military force and wanton destruction', Balban succeeded to a considerable extent in effectively controlling Mewat. Wolseley Haig²⁴ has however, rightly pointed out that in spite of all these measures, Mewat was still not completely subjugated.

We do not find any mention of Mewat in the Persian chronicles during the period of the Khalji rule. It appears that Balban's measures were still paying dividends. The fear for the Central authority was further reinforced by the drastic punishments given by Allauddin Khalji to such rebels as the Jalali nobles and the New Musalmans. This terror of the Central authority continued to be felt by the Mewattis till the days of Muhammad Tughlaq.

It was during the days of Firuz Tughluq that the proselytizing activities of the Muslim state reached Mewat. It resulted in the conversion to Islam of a considerable section of the Hindu population of northern Mewat. In his autobiography, Firuz writes how he got destroyed a Hindu temple at Sohona.²⁵ Powlett,²⁶ on the basis of the family histories and traditions of the Khanzadas of Mewat, holds that their ancestors became Musalmans during the days of Firuz Tughluq. But the southern portion of Mewat remained for many years free from the religious impact of the Musalmans, and we find a member of the Chauhan dynasty named

23. *TFS*, 57.

24. *CHI*, Vol. III, 76.

25. *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, 12, writes Gohona, but it is clearly Sohona which lies a few miles South of Delhi, on the Delhi-Alwar road.

26. *Raj. Gaz.* III, 203.

Koka ruling at Macheri.²⁷ One of the members of the Yaduvanshi Rajput family who had been ruling over northern Mewat accepted Islam probably to obtain greater power from Firuz. He was Bahadur Nahir who is better known to history as the founder of the Khanzada tribe of Mewat.

By 1389, Bahadur Nahir had become an active participant in the court politics at Delhi, and till his death he often held the balance of the rival parties.²⁸ Sultan Ghiyasuddin II, greatly relied upon him and entrusted to him the conduct of an important campaign against Prince Muhammad.²⁹ In this enterprise the Mewatti chief showed great vigour. After the assassination of Sultan Ghiyas, Bahadur Nahir joined the ranks of the new Sultan Abu Bakr and helped him against Prince Muhammad.³⁰ But Abu Bakr was also not destined to rule for a long time and he soon discovered to his consternation that an important faction at the court was secretly in league with Prince Muhammad. Having lost his nerves, Abu Bakr fled to Mewat and took shelter with his friend Bahadur Nahir at the latter's Kotla.³¹ Like a devoted friend, Bahadur Nahir extended to him all help. This necessitated a campaign against him, and the Imperial army under Islam Khan obliged him to submit. Abu Bakr was carried off to Delhi as a prisoner, but Bahadur was pardoned. Further, in an attempt to convert an erstwhile enemy into a friend, he was even awarded a robe of honour³² and sent back to his Kotla.

But used as he was to play the part of a free-booter, Bahadur could hardly stay quiet. By the middle of 1393, he had already re-started his plundering activities. This required immediate attention. Though ill, Sultan Muhammad Shah personally led

27. Macheri is about 25 miles from Alwar, B.V.B. Series, Vol. VI, 97, wrongly asserts that Koka Chauhan was the ruler of the entire Mewat. In fact, the northern portion was held by Yaduvanshi Rajputs who had accepted Islam in large numbers during the days of Firuz. TMS, 138, Hodi-vala 390, Badaoni 254. It was with Koka Chauhan that Khan i-Jahan had taken shelter in 1387.

28. For the part played by this Khanzada Chief, see my article in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1960.

29. TMS, 142.

30. *Ibid.*, 146.

31. TMS, 149, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, 423 A, TA, 246, Ferishta, 472.

32. TMS 151 TM 496 R

an army against him.³³ In a series of clashes the Mewatti Chief was defeated and obliged to retreat. After the death of Muhammad Shah in January 1394, Bahadur managed to re-enter the arena of court-politics taking advantage of the civil war that now ensued among his successors. His friend Mukarrab Khan who was a leader of one of the rival factions, recalled him from the Kotla and put him in charge of the fortress of old Delhi.³⁴

In the wake of the general confusion that followed Timur's occupation of Delhi at the close of 1398, Bahadur withdrew to his Kotla and watched the development of events from there. Mewat during this time was flooded with fugitives flying from Delhi and Khizr Khan Syed,³⁵ the future Sultan of Hindustan, was one of those who took shelter in Mewat. That the Mewatti Chief was enjoying a high reputation at this time is shown by the fact that from Delhi, Timur had sent him two envoys³⁶ who invited him for a meeting with the invader. Bahadur accepted this invitation, met the invader and offered him rare and suitable presents, which Timur praised highly.

After the departure of Timur from Hindustan widespread anarchy prevailed over northern Hindustan. Such a situation was advantageous to the Mewattis, who took to their old rebellious activities. Throughout the period of the Syed rule, they harassed the Sultans of Delhi. In 1411/12, Khizr Khan the powerful governor of the Punjab invaded Mewat³⁷, ostensibly for the purpose of looting it, but really to prove his military prowess. He over-ran the northern portion of Mewat upto Tijara³⁸ and plundered the important commercial centre of Narnol³⁹ and other towns like Sarhata and Kharol. In the middle of 1413 he repeated his visit to Mewat, where Jalal Khan, the nephew of Bahadur Nahir, came to wait upon him.⁴⁰ All these incursions of Khizr Khan were

33. TMS, 154, TA, 249.

34. TMS, 160, Balaoni, Vol. I, 266.

35. TMS, 166.

36. I have discussed the question whether Timur had sent an embassy to Bahadur Nahir, in a paper published in the August 1963 issue of the *Journal of Indian History*.

37. TMS, 179, Badaoni, 227.

38. It is about 30 miles north-east of Alwar. *Imp. Gaz.* XXIII, 358.

39. It is situated in 26° 2' N., 76° 14' E, and lies on Ajmer railway line.

40. TMS, 181.

really a prelude to his later attempts to capture the throne of Hindustan.

The habitual laxity of the Mewattis in rendering their stipulated tribute afforded a good pretext to the new Sultan Khizr Khan to attack them. In 1421 he advanced as far as Kotla of Bahadur Nahir and besieged it.⁴¹ Finding resistance difficult, the beleaguered garrison fled towards the interior of the mountainous terrain. Kotla was razed⁴² to the ground and thus the strong citadel which had resisted many earlier attempts, was at last demolished.

But the recovery of the Mewattis was as usual quick. In the winter of 1424, we find the new Sultan Mubarak Shah proceeding against them.⁴³ This time the Mewattis followed a scorched-earth policy and retreated towards Jahara.⁴⁴ The Sultan having thus failed to get the necessary supply of fooder and grain returned to Delhi without achieving anything. But this failure rankled deep in his mind and in 1425/26, he led yet another expedition against them. Jalal Khan and Qadr Khan,⁴⁵ the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir adopted the old tactics of laying waste the territory and retreated to the fort of Indore.⁴⁶ The Sultan pushed on with the siege of Indore. Finding it difficult to hold on any longer, the Mewattis retreated to Alwar.⁴⁷ In sheer anger Mubarak ordered the dismantling of the fort of Indor⁴⁸ and pushed on to Alwar. Ferishta tells us that in spite of the great pressure of the Imperial

41. TMS, 192, TA however, says that the expedition was organised in order to punish the rebellious Mewattis.

42. TMS, 192.

43. TA I, 276, TMS, 204, Badaoni writes 'reduced the fortress of Indor and Alwar.'

44. Obviously Tijara, the initial letter of which was omitted. Babur described the Tijara fort as a stronghold of the Mewattis. Baburnama (B) II, 578.

45. Ferishta calls Jullu and Kudroo. Badaoni does not name them. Yahya and Nizamuddin both call them Jallu and Qaddu, probably in contempt.

46. The fort of Indor lies 6 miles from Kotla, in the hill range which forms the boundary between Alwar and Gurgaon districts.

47. Alwar lies in lat. 27'.4, 28'.13' and long 76'.7', 77'.14'.

48. The damage must not have been much for we find the Mewattis taking shelter in this fort after some time.

army, the Mewattis defended the passes leading to Alwar with much obstinacy. They had however, to yield to superior force and Qadr Khan personally went to pay homage to the Sultan. But he was made a prisoner and with him Mubarak returned to Delhi. While on his way to Bayana during the winter of the same year, Mubarak Shah again passed through Mewat probably to see that everything was in order there.

In the fifteenth century, Mewat again became what it had been in the fourteenth century, a sancturay for fugitives flying from the wrath of the Sultans of Delhi. Thus we find Muhammad Khan Auhadi, the rebellious governor of Bayana, who had been interned at Delhi, escaping to Mewat⁴⁹ and organizing his opposition from there.

Meanwhile, at Delhi Qadr Khan was not sitting idle. He found to have been in secret correspondence with Ibrahim Khan Sharqi of Jaunpore.⁵⁰ Mubarak found it a good pretext to get rid of Qadr Khan and got him murdered.⁵¹ Since this step was likely to cause great discontent in Mewat, Wazir Sarwarul Mulk was deputed to go to Mewat to suppress any rebellion that might arise in the wake of Qadr's murder. Taking this to be another attack upon them, the Mewatti leaders like Jalal Khan, Ahmad Khan and Fakhruddin again shut themselves up in the fortress of Indor. But upon the advance of the Imperial forces they begged for peace. Sarwarul Mulk collected Kharaj and returned to the capital.

Jalal was bitter. He lay low waiting for an opportunity to avenge the death of his brother. The opportunity presented itself in the conditions created by the rebellion of Jasrath Khokhar which turned the attention of the Sultan northwards. Now Jalal became active again. When Mubarak heard about Jalal's movement, he turned towards Mewat and reached Taoru.⁵² Jalal shut himself in the fortress of Indor, later shifting to Kotla which

49. TMS, 206 and 210, TA, I, 277.

50. TMS, 211, TA, I, 279.

51. TMS, 211, 212. Ferishta, I, 166, TA, I, 279.

52. TMS, 227. Taoru is a small village about 20 miles east of Rewari in Punjab.

was considered safer on account of its being in the interior. But the Sultan pushed on devastating a greater part of Mewat. Failing to hold his own against the Imperialists any longer, Jalal submitted and agreed to pay tribute. In the confused situation that prevailed over northern Hindustan at that time, the Sultan could not expect anything more. Jalal was accordingly pardoned. This turned out to be the last campaign of Mubarak Shah into Mewat, for he was himself assassinated in February 1434. Mubarak was the second Sultan after Balban who gave serious thought to Mewat affairs. Like Balban, he also tried to solve this problem by force, but unlike Balban he did not supplement force with constructive measures. No roads were laid, no forts constructed and no garrison posts established. Thus though credit must be given to Mubarak for having brought vigour into the campaign against the Mewattis, the result in the end remained the same—Mewat was hardly subdued.

Yet, largely on account of Mubarak's repeated expeditions, the rebellious tract remained comparatively quiet during the days of his successor Muhammad. In 1438, we find Ahmad Khan Mewatti coming to Delhi to pay his obeisance to the new Sultan.⁵³ In spite of this apparent submission, the Khanzadas had not given up their love for intrigues and we find some of them inviting Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa to occupy the throne of Hindustan.⁵⁴ Besides, they were also quietly extending their sphere of influence and activities. The country lying upto Lado-Sarai⁵⁵ was under their control at the time of Bahlul's accession.

Accordingly, one of the earliest measures of Bahlul was to bring Ahmad Khan back into the fold of submission. To accomplish this work he marched into Mewat. Ahmad Khan submitted and offered his uncle Mubarak Khan for employment in the service of the Sultan. Ahmad Khan was punished with a loss of seven parganas,⁵⁶ which were bestowed upon Tartar Khan. These

53. TMS, 243. Jalal Khan had already died in 1440. His last coin bears the year 1439.

54. TA, I, 291, Badaoni, I, 303.

55. TA, I, 296, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, 7, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, 5. Lado-Sari is very near Delhi.

56. TD, 18, TA, I, 302, *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, I, 441, *Makzan-i-Afghani*, 81, all mention seven parganas. Ahmad Yadgar however says eleven, T.S. 10.

parganas remained with Tartar Khan till the reign of Sikandar Lodi. But when Bahlul was at war with Hussain Shah Sharqi, the Mewatti Chief again deserted and joined the Sharqi king.⁵⁷ Therefore, the moment Bahlul was free from the Sharqi war, he marched into Mewat. It was Khan-i-Jahan, an influential noble, who brought about a reconciliation between the two opponents.⁵⁸ Like his predecessors Bahlul also did not think it proper to annex Mewat to his kingdom. No further mention of Mewat is found in the Persian sources till the days of Babur, when the reigning Mewatti Chief Hasan Khan joined the ranks of Rana Sanga against the invader.

Thus, for a period of about three centuries, Mewat remained a problem tract for the Sultans of Delhi. Incurable till the end of the Sultanate period, the Mewattis constantly remained stubbornly hostile and rebellious. Their misdeeds, therefore, necessitated frequent visitations of the imperial army. True that they suffered heavily both in men and money as every imperial expedition into Mewat resulted in considerable damage and devastation to their life and property. But they remained undeterred and almost rash in their contumacious behaviour. By the end of the 15th century they were no longer thieves and robbers for they had organised themselves into some sort of political power. Yet they remained unchanged so far as their rebellious and hostile attitude to the Delhi government was concerned. In the evolution of this attitude the geographical features of Mewat had played important part, because it was Nature which had often shielded them from the wrath of the Delhi Sultans.

It must be admitted that in dealing with this rebellious tract, the Sultans of Delhi generally failed. It is true that each expedition against them succeeded in extracting a promise of submission and a payment of tribute. But from the Mewatti point of view, each time it turned out to be what Edward Thomas calls 'concessions to expediency.'⁵⁹ Indeed, the Mewattis submitted each time to the superior force, but the moment it was withdrawn,

57. *TA*, I, 308, *M.A.* (Roy's trans.) 42

58. *TA*, I, 308, *M.A.* (R) 42.

59. Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 327

they reverted back to their old habits. The failure of the Delhi Sultans against Mewat was largely due to the fact that they made no efforts to evolve a clear policy on a long-range basis. The rebellions of the Mewattis were treated as isolated events, and not as manifestations of the activities of a newly rising tribe. As such efforts were made to suppress them by force only. It is surprising that in spite of repeated rebellion in Mewat, no Sultan of Delhi ever thought of annexing it permanently and thereby governing it as a part of the kingdom of Hindustan. No imperial governor was ever appointed to control Mewat probably till the period of the Lodis, and no administrative machinery was evolved to maintain a touch with it. All these steps were later on taken by the Mughal government, which resulted in making Mewat a quiet administrative unit under them.

Appa Sahib Bhonsle in Marwar (1828-1840 A.D.)

BY

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(A) *Madhu Raj Bhonsle (Appa Sahib) and The British Power*

Raghuji Bhonsle, after his sad experience of war with the British in 1803, continued to maintain an attitude of sullen indifference towards the Maratha confederacy confining his attention to the protection of the territory of Nagpur against future British in-roads. His death on 22 March, 1816, facilitated British penetration into Nagpur, which he had long resisted. He was succeeded by his son, Parsoji Bala Sahib who, being blind and paralytic, was incapable of conducting the affairs of the State. Madhu Rai Bhonsle, the nephew¹ of the late Raghuji Bhonsle was appointed as Regent of the new ruler.² He strengthened his position by entering into a secret treaty of mutual help with the British on 28 May, 1816.³ Thereupon a British force under Col. Doveton arrived at Nagpur on 18 June,⁴ in order to crush all possible opposition to Appa Sahib. The consequent confusion brought about the death of Parsoji on 1 February, 1817. Appa Sahib became, with British support, the ruler of Nagpur on 25 April, 1817.⁵

Soon after his accession Appa Sahib changed his attitude towards the British Government. He dismissed his Minister who had been responsible for negotiating the treaty with the British. He sent secret communications to the Peshwa Baji Rao II and other Maratha leaders, indicating his desire to make common cause against the British. He enlisted new recruits and maintained

1. He was the son of Vyan-Koji Manya Bapu, younger brother of Raghuji. He died in 1811 at Benaras (P.R.C.V. 214).

2. Jenkins' Report on Nagpur, p. 68, P.R.C.V. 227, 229, 231.

3. P.R.C.V. 227.

4. Jenkins' Report on Nagpur, p. 69.

5. P.R.C.V. 230, 231.

a larger force than he was entitled to. The British could not tolerate his activities in contravention to the treaty of May, 1816.⁶ Matters became worse when he joined the cause of the Peshwa against the British in November, 1817.⁷ The British moved an army against him, resulting in his deposition from the throne.⁸ He was taken prisoner but somehow managed to flee in May, 1818.⁹ In 1819 he proceeded to the Punjab, where he remained with Ranjit Singh for some time.¹⁰ In 1812, he found shelter at Oonah in the Simla Hills, in the possession of Sahib Singh Bedi.¹¹ Later on he made Mandhi his place of residence.¹² But in February, 1828, he came to Amritsar and lived there in seclusion.¹³

One of the despatches, intercepted by Wellesley, Resident at Indore, indicates that while remaining at Mandi, Appa Sahib developed good relations with many persons in Rajasthan.¹⁴ It further says that he sent a person, Ganga Singh, to various States of Rajasthan in order to secure support to his cause.¹⁵ At the close of the Burmese War in 1826, taking advantage of the resentment of local rulers¹⁶ against the British, Appaji asked his agent to meet

6. *Ibid.*, 232.

7. Jenkin's Report on Nagpur, pp. 71-72.
P.R.C.V. 235.

8. P.R.C.V. 235.

9. *Ibid.*, 236. Calcutta Gazetteer (1813-1823), Vol. V, p. 259.

10. P.R.C.V. 248.

11. *Ibid.*

12. A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others from Hawkins to Swinton, F. P. 16 April 1830, No. 25.

13. *Ibid.*, No. 26.

14. *Ibid.*, No. 35.

15. *Ibid.*, He visited Bharatpur, Jaipur, Karauli, Fatehpur, Tonk and Udaipur. At Ajmer he was apprehended in 1825, under a charge of raising troops for the service of Appa Sahib, but the charge could not be proved and he was released in September 1826. (From Metcalfe to A. Stirling, Persian Secretary to Governor General, dated 20, Sept. 1826. F. P. 25, Oct. 1826, No. 4).

16. To meet the expense of the Burmese War, the Governor General took from the Princes of India amounts, (as indicated below) which they gave grudgingly. The King of Oudh paid £ 1,00,000 sterling; the Raja of Nagpur paid £ 50,000; the Raja of Benaras paid £ 20,000; Baji Rao, the ex-Peshwa, paid a very considerable sum out of his pension. Lord Amherst's treatment of the Emperor at the time of his visit to him in February, 1827, was also humiliating to Indian sentiments. (B. D. Basu: *Rise of the Christian power in India*, Vol. IV, pp. 440-441).

Metcalf and Colebrooke¹⁷ in order to get favourable terms for a compromise with the British. He met Colebrooke on 10 October, 1827¹⁸ and wrote to Sir John Malcolm on 8 February, 1828 about his mission.¹⁹ However, Colebrooke was ordered by the Governor General in May, 1828, to discontinue all negotiations with Ganga Singh.²⁰ Even help from Ranjit Singh could not be secured for his cause.²¹

(B) *Man Singh helps Bhonsle against the British*

Coming down from the hills and failing to find support in other parts of Rajasthan and the Punjab, Appaji moved towards Bikaner in 1829²² (about March). He resided at the holy temple at Deshnok.²³ He tried to settle his differences with the British Government by promising to pay, on his restoration, six annas in a rupee to the British.²⁴ The British did not entertain the move.²⁵ However, as Appaji was popular at Nagpur, the local people were regularly financing him; and money also reached him through his agents in Rajasthan and outside.²⁶ While staying at Deshnok, he wrote to the Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur indicating his desire to go over to Marwar. He requested him to permit him to reside at Nagor.²⁷ The British Government now adopted a stern

17. A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others, from Hawkins to Swinton. F. P. 16, April 1830, No. 25 and 26.

18. *Ibid.*, No. 25.

19. *Ibid.*, No. 26.

20. From the Secretary to the Governor General to Resident, Delhi, dated 23, May, 1828. F. P. 23, May, 1828, No. 41.

21. A memorandum on the intrigues of Ganga Singh and others, from Hawkins to Swinton, F. P. 16, April 1830, No. 25 and 26.

22. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 19, March, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 1829, No. 12.

23. From Colebrook to Cavendish, dated 20, May, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 1829, N. 13.

24. From Cavendish to Colebrook dated 19, March, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 1829, No. 12.

25. *Ibid.*

26. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8 and 13 May, 1829. F. P. 5 June, 1829, No. 12 and 13.

Maratha papers about Appa Sahib, dated 13 Aug. and 15 Aug. 1829. F. P. 28 May, 1830, No. 15.

27. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8, May, 1829. F. P. 5, June, 1829, No. 12.

attitude towards Bikaner and Jodhpur. The Governor General reprimanded the ruler of Bikaner for having given asylum to Appa Sahib in violation of the treaty obligations and instructed him not to let him pass into the adjoining territories of Jodhpur or Jaipur.²⁸ Man Singh also was instructed to apprehend or detain Appaji, if he were to cross over to Marwar.²⁹ The instructions were effective. Appa Sahib was asked, after a stay of more than two months, to leave Bikaner by its ruler.³⁰

The ex-Raja made his next move towards Bhawalpur.³¹ Later on, he changed his movements and crossed the frontiers of Marwar³² and reached Nagor with 300 followers, posing as a friend of the British. There he did not remain silent, but kept his contacts with his friends at Nagpur.³³ He arrived at Mandor in April, 1819, and requested the Maharaja to allow him to reside there for some days.³⁴ The British Government was on his trail. Suspecting his march towards the Deccan, the British Resident asked the *Vakil* of Jodhpur at Delhi to urge his master to comply strictly with his previous instructions about Appa Sahib.³⁵ He was asked to convey to him that Appa Sahib must be expelled towards Bhawalpur³⁶ and some men from Jodhpur must be deputed to take Appa Sahib back by the same route from which he had gone over there.³⁷ At first Man Singh did not entertain the re-

28. From Colebrooke to Cavendish dated 16, May, 1829, F. P. 5, June, 1829, No. 12.

29. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8 May, 1829, F. P. 5 June, 1829, No. 12.

30. *Ibid.*, dated 25 May 1829, F. P. 19 June 1829, No. 26 and dated 11 June, 1829. F.P. 3 July, 1829, No. 28.

31. From Colebrooke to Cavendish, dated 20 May, 1829. F.P. 5 June 1829, No. 13.

32. From Colebrooke to Swinton dated 2 and 4 June, 1829, F.P. 19 June 1829, Nos. 26 and 27.

33. From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 25 May 1829. F.P. 19 June 1829, No. 26.

34. From Cavendish to Man Singh, dated 8 May, 1829. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. xxxiii (1947), Pts. I and II.

35. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 25 May 1829, F.P. 19 June 1829, No. 26.

36. From the Resident, Delhi to Mehta Buch Raj, Political agent of Jodhpur, F.P. 19 June, 1829, No. 26.

37. From Cavendish to Man Singh dated 8 May 1829. *J.B.R.S.* Vol. xxxiii, (1947), Pts. I and II.

quest of Appa Sahib to permit him to stay in his State;³⁸ upon a second thought, however, probably on account of the influence of the *Naths*, he was allowed to stay.³⁹ He was lodged at Mahamandir,⁴⁰ now a suburb of Jodhpur city. This brought the Rathor ruler to a headlong clash with the British. For some time past he had not been happy with the British. They had supported the rising of the feudal chiefs against him in 1827-1828.⁴¹ Now he was being questioned about his policy towards Appaji. He considered it his right to give asylum to any person without securing the previous permission of the British, as he was under no obligation to the British to act according to their directions in the internal affairs of his State.⁴² The letters, which he received from the British Government through his agent at Delhi and in which he was repeatedly questioned about the lodging of a criminal at Jodhpur were disliked by him.⁴³ In reply to these letters, Man Singh boldly wrote in the strain, 'An agent of Appa Sahib is permitted to reside at Delhi. On what principle do you require me to disgrace myself by expelling the master from my principalities?'⁴⁴ He further declared that by the treaty he was not bound to deliver an enemy of the British Government.⁴⁵ However, Man Singh was very particular to sound the reaction of

38. *Ibid.*

39. From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 27 May. 1829. F.P. 19 June, 1829, No. 27

40. *Ibid.*, dated 8 June 1829, F.P. 3 July, 1829, No. 25.

41. Man Singh had asked the British to go over to his aid to repress the feudal rising, which tried to strengthen itself by putting forward the case of Dhonkal Singh, the supposed son of late Bhim Singh. The British adopted the policy that their Government was not pledged to protect him for his misrule. However, they interfered later on and made Man Singh to accommodate the demands of the noble chiefs by restoring the confiscated lands. (Mill's *History of British India*, Vol. ix, pp. 309-311).

42. From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 23 Sept. 1829 F.P., 7 Nov. 1829, No. 3.

43. From Cavendish to Man Singh dated 8 May 1829. *J.B.R.S.* Vol. xxxiii (1947) Pts. I and I. From Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 25 May, 1829. F.P. 19 June, 1829, No. 26. From Resident, Delhi to Mehta Buch Raj, F.P. 19 June, 1829, No. 26.

44. Letters from Cavendish to Colebrooke, dated 8 June 1829, F. P. 3 July 1829. No. 25 and dated 20 June 1829 F.P., 7 Aug. 1829, No. 8.

45. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 23 Sept. 1829, F.P. 7 Nov. 1829, No. 3.

the British on this issue. He sent Babu, a Bengali employee in his State, to secretly learn about the reactions of the authorities at Ajmer.⁴⁶

The British Government suspected that Man Singh was in league with Appa Sahib in order to send him to Nagpur via Pushkar in the guise of a pilgrim.⁴⁷ To counteract this move, letters were sent to the Political Agents at Nagpur, Indore, Gwalior, Sagaur, Kota, Udaipur and Jaipur to alert them to be on their guard against it.⁴⁸ At the same time, refuting Man Singh's stand on the issue of treaty obligations, the British Agent at Ajmer informed him that the State was not justified in giving an asylum to the enemies of the British,⁴⁹ and that Appa Sahib should be arrested.⁵⁰

It appears from the letter⁵¹ of Cavendish to Colebrooke, that Appa Sahib had left Mahamandir and proceeded towards Bikaner. It was also proved by an enquiry conducted by the Political Agent at Ajmer through his news writer at Nagor.⁵² However, again it was reported that Appa Sahib had gone back to Mahamandir.⁵³ Our sources are silent as to whether Man Singh was a partisan in sending him away from Jodhpur or whether he went away on his own accord. But when he returned, he was properly looked after and lodged at Mahamandir.⁵⁴

46. From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 8 June, 1829. F.P. 3 July, 1829, No. 25.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 27 June 1829 F.P. 24 July 1829, No. 19. Appa Sahib was declared an enemy of the British and a reward for his arrest was substituted (P.R.C. v. 241).

50. From Cavendish to Man Singh dated 12 June, 1829 *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. xxxiii (1947) Pts. I and II.

51. From Cavendish to Colebrooke dated 26 June 1829, F.P. 31 July, 1829, No. 8. From Colebrooke to Swinton dated 4 July, 1829, F.P. 24 July 1829, No. 20.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Maratha Papers about Appa Sahib dated 14 July 1829. F.P. 28 May 1830, No. 15.

54. *Halikat Bahi* No. 11, p. 218 R.A.Jd.Rec.

Further news from Jodhpur that Man Singh would substitute a stranger in his stead and allow him to escape disturbed the British Government.⁵⁵ They drew the attention of Hawkins, British Resident at Delhi, who asked Cavendish, Political Agent at Ajmer, to explain the reasons of the slow policy adopted by him in relation to Appa Sahib's asylum at Jodhpur. Cavendish explained his position while submitting his report on 10 October, 1829: 'In the present time of peace and our undoubtable supremacy, no immediate danger threatened our interests from allowing Man Singh ample time to reflect on his treaty with the British Government'.⁵⁶ The reply of Cavendish was not satisfactory. The Governor General desired that Appa Sahib must be handed over to the British authorities.⁵⁷ It was conveyed to Man Singh that the British Government would take over the responsibility for the personal safety of Appa Sahib and guarantee to him comfortable subsistence.⁵⁸

Man Singh was not ready to hand Appaji over and on his behalf, he requested the British to remove his (Appa Sahib's) sister's son from the throne and to replace him by one of the main line.⁵⁹ He also demanded a *jagir* for Appaji, so that it might satisfy him.⁶⁰ The British did not entertain the overtures. The Resident threatened Man Singh that his insistence on any condition previous to his surrender might be considered a bargain, hence a violation of the treaty.⁶¹ As such the Government would be bound to revise their attitude if Dhonkal Singh asked for the same claim.⁶² The Political Agent at Ajmer deputed a person,

55. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 10 Oct. 1829, F.P. 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

56. *Ibid.*

57. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 23 Sept. 1829, F.P. 7 Nov. 1829, No. 3. From Hawkins to Man Singh dated 2 Oct. 1829 J.B.R.S. xxxiii (1947). Pts. I and II. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12 Oct. 1829 F.P., 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

58. From Cavendish to Hawkins dated 12 Oct. 1829, F.P. 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

Laxmi Chand to Jodhpur at the beginning of October, 1829, with an injunction to the Maharaja to deliver Appa Sahib.⁶³

Man Singh turned a deaf ear to the mission of Laxmi Chand and began to prepare for the defence of Jodhpur,⁶⁴ in view of the possibility of a struggle with the British. The troops were alerted.⁶⁵ Recruits were taken into the army,⁶⁶ which was placed under the command of Kaur Chand.⁶⁷ In order to have internal stability, Bhim Nath was reconciled to him.⁶⁸ He requested his friends in different parts of Rajasthan and the ruler of Tonk to support him at this juncture.⁶⁹ But there was no hopeful response.⁷⁰ Moreover, he came to know that his feudal chiefs and Dhonkal Singh were in touch with the British.⁷¹

Finding his position at stake he opened negotiations with the British. He sent two letters to Lord William Bentinck, Governor General of British India, one directly received by him on 16 October, 1829⁷² and the other received by him through the British Resident at Delhi on 19 October, 1829.⁷³ The purport of the two letters is summarised below. Appa Sahib was still detained at

63. Extracts from intelligence in respect of Appa Sahib from Jodhpur received on 19 Oct. 1829.

A letter from Cavendish to Swinton, dated 12 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. Extract of the newspaper from Jodhpur, dated 17 Oct. 1829. (From Hawkins to Swinton, dated 10 Nov. 1829, F. P. 4 Dec. 1829, No. 10).

68. Extract of the newspaper from Jodhpur, dated 18 and 20 Oct. 1829. (From Hawkins to Swinton, dated 10 Nov. 1829, F. P. 4 Dec. 1829, No. 10).

The differences were over the succession to the *Gaddi* of Ayasji Maharaj. Bhim Nath wanted that his son should be adopted by the mother of Ladoo Nath. Man Singh was reluctant to give his assent to it.

69. Extract of the intelligence respecting Appa Sahib from Tonk sent by Cavendish to Swinton on 12 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

70. *Ibid.*

71. From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 12 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

72. From Man Singh to the Governor General, received in 16 Oct. 1829, F. P. 7 Nov. 1829, No. 5.

73. From Man Singh to Hawkins, received on 19 Oct. 1829, F. P. 13 Nov. 1829, No. 9.

Mahamandir. Man Singh had no longer any power or wish to excite disturbances in the British territory but hoped and prayed for pardon and protection from the Governor General. He was entirely ruined by the displeasure of the British Government and a pardon would give him peace of mind. He was prepared to expel Appa Sahib as soon as the Government would order him to that effect. Man Singh pleaded that it was his duty to respect places of sanctuary and that obligation he would be able to fulfil if the British would sympathetically consider his position. If he was to seize Appa Sahib there, his name and reputation would perish. His family had ever been held in high esteem in India. In the past many people, great and small, had sought refuge in his State but upto that time it had never been customary to deliver up such persons. He requested the Governor General not to attach any stigma to the State but take into consideration and order the adoption of such measures as would appear to be salutary and expedient.

The Governor General wrote to the effect that he was prepared to consider the feelings and wishes of the allies of the British in matters affecting their honour and reputation in the eyes of their equals and tribes. He further informed Man Singh that he would consider his request only on condition that he would stand surety for Appa Sahib and make himself responsible for any attempt on his part to regain his lost territory of Nagpur or disturb the peace and tranquillity there.⁷⁴

Man Singh was agreeable to the changed policy of the British Government over the Bhonsle affairs⁷⁵ He assured the Governor General through a letter, (received by the latter on 1 February, 1830)⁷⁶ that he would implicitly put into effect the directions issued by him and would keep the conduct and actions of Appa

74. From William Bentinck to Man Singh, dated 6 Nov. 1829, F. P. 7 Nov. 1829, No. 6.

From Swinton to Hawkins, dated 6 Nov. 1829, F. P. 7 Nov. 1829, No. 7.

75. From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 12 Dec 1829 F.P. 15 Jan. 1830, No. 5.

76. From Man Singh to the Governor General, received on Feb. 1830. F.P. 5 March, 1830, No 79.

Sahib under vigilant observation. After making adjustment with the British, he tried to send Appa Sahib to Jalor,⁷⁷ a better defended and fortified place but Appaji was reluctant to leave Mahamandir⁷⁸ on the plea that it was a safer place for his stay.

Contemporary sources tell us that Appa Sahib did not remain silent at Jodhpur. A letter dated 26 January, 1833, (received by Alves, Agent to Governor General at Ajmer from an Akhbarnavis stationed at Jaisalmer), indicated that Appa Sahib was trying to raise an army from Jaisalmer and Bhawalpur, the neighbouring States of Jodhpur.⁷⁹ He sent embassies to Nagpur to create a favourable atmosphere.⁸⁰ A clandestine correspondence was maintained with Ambika Bai,⁸¹ the second Dowager Queen of the Late Raghuji Bhonsle. The atmosphere in 1834 was found so favourable at Nagpur that he wrote to his friends there to act speedily.⁸² But Appa Sahib failed to go to Nagpur and remained at Mahamandir.⁸³ It led to the further augmenting of the relations of Man Singh with the British.⁸⁴

(C) *Last days of Appaji Bhonsle at Jodhpur*

Appa Sahib took advantage of the Anglo Afghan rift, which occurred in the middle of 1838. He contacted the rulers of

77. From Cavendish to Hawkins, dated 12 Feb. 1830, F.P. 16 Feb. 1830, No. 16.

78. Ibid.

79. F.P. 27 Feb. 1833, No. 21.

80. From A. S. Grome, Resident at Nagpur to the Secretary to Governor General, dated 15 Sept. 1832, F.P. 29 Oct. 1832, No. 102, Prdg. p. 432.

81. From Briggs, Offg. Resident at Nagpur to the Secretary to Governor General, dated 18 Aug. 1834, F.P. 5 Sept. 1834, No. 20.

82. From Briggs to Secretary to Governor General, dated 18 August 1834—Translation of letters found from a Rasid travelling from Nagpur to Jodhpur, letter No. 3, from Appa Sahib to Amrit Rao, dated 14 June 1834, F.P. 5 Sept. 1834, No. 21, Oct. Prdg.

83. From Agent to Governor General at Ajmer to Macnaughten, dated 28 July 1835, F.P. 24 Aug. 1835, No. 22.

From Alves to Prescott, dated 10 Nov. 1836, F.P. 12 Dec. 1836, No. 13.

84. From Agent to Governor General, Ajmer to Macnaughten, dated 28 July 1835, F.P. 24 Aug. 1835, No. 22.

Nepal,⁸⁵ Satara⁸⁶ and Baroda⁸⁷ to take up his cause. At Nagpur he had been able to create his own party, led by Banka Bai and his wife.⁸⁸ In response to his letter, the ruler of Nepal asked him to send his agents to him and he would furnish as much money as he required along with the troops.⁸⁹ The ruler of Baroda promised Appa Sahib to support him with 10 or 12 lacs of rupees.⁹⁰ Man Singh, of course, was an active associate of Appa Sahib. He advanced money, which Appa Sahib needed for the purchase of arms and ammunition at Jodhpur.⁹¹ In association with his aunt and wife Appa Sahib made out a plan. The ladies would execute a *coup* at Nagpur on the occasion of *Dusserah* by arresting the ruler and he would join them near about the time of *Diwali*.⁹²

When Appa Sahib was thus busy, the British Government came to know that he had contemplated to go to Nepal or towards the Deccan.⁹³ The British Government took immediate steps to check his escape from Jodhpur. The ruler of Bikaner was secretly asked to depute intelligent officers to keep a strict watch on Appa Sahib at Mahamandir.⁹⁴ Mounted guards were organised

85. From Alves to R. Scott, dated 17 July 1838, containing an *Arzee* from Jodhpur *Vakil* written on 13 July 1838, F.S. 22 Aug. 1838, No. 36.

86. From Secretary to Governor General to R. Scott, dated 10 April 1837, F.P. 10 April 1837, No. 61.

87. From Alves to Macnaughten, dated 17 July 1838, F.S. 22 Aug. 1838, No. 36.

88. *Ibid.*, dated 19 June 1838, F.S. 12 Sept. 1838, No. 26, dated 12 Sept. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 25 and dated 15 Sept. 1838, F.S. 3 Oct. 1838, No. 147.

89. From Alves to Macnaughten, dated 9 Oct. 1838, E.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 27.

90. *Ibid.*, dated 17 July 1838, containing news from Jodhpur, written by Mirza Mohilah on 12 July 1838, F.S. 22 Aug. 1838, No. 36.

91. *Ibid.*, dated 9 October 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 27.

92. *Ibid.*, dated 12 Sept. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 26; dated 9 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 27; dated 22 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 31.

93. From Macnaughten to Alves, dated 22 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 29.

94. From Alves to Torrens, dated 22 Dec. 1838, F.P. 3 April 1839, No. 48.

and put on the probable routes to be taken up by Appa Sahib,⁹⁵ who, it was feared, might escape in disguise.⁹⁶

The British adopted a stern policy concerning Appa Sahib at the beginning of 1839. The new Agent to the Governor General at Ajmer, Col. Sutherland and Capt. Ludlow visited Jodhpur in March, 1839 and insisted that Man Singh should hand over Appa Sahib to the British custody.⁹⁷ Col. Sutherland also adopted a clever strategy by creating rift between Appa Sahib and Man Singh. He suggested to Appa Sahib personally in April⁹⁸ and later through his embassy⁹⁹ in May, that Appa Sahib should give to him in writing that he was in great troubles at Jodhpur and that he should be freed from Jodhpur environment and be taken under British protection. But the conscience of Appa Sahib did not allow him to accept this suggestion and he preferred the life and death of a beggar to entering on any condition which might appear a relinquishment of what he considered his right to a throne.¹⁰⁰

Man Singh, on his part, agreed to hand over Appa Sahib to the British Government in December, 1839, on condition that he would be given a territorial provision in Nagpur State.¹⁰¹ It was not possible for Col. Sutherland to agree to such a condition during his second visit to Jodhpur in the closing months of 1839,

95. From Macnaughten to Alves, dated 22 Oct. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 29.

96. From Ales to Macnaughten, dated 15 Nov. 1838, F.P. 23 Jan. 1839, No. 33.

97. From Sutherland to Man Singh, dated 26 April 1839, J.B.R.S. Vol. XXXIII (1947), Pts. I and II; From Waddock to Sutherland, dated 23 May 1839, F.P. 7 Aug. 1839, No. 30, Prdg. p. 626.

98. From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 3 May 1839, containing copies of the letters from Appa Sahib to Sutherland and *vice versa*, F.P. 19 June 1839, No. 25.

99. Dr. Russel was sent to attend on the ailing Appa Sahib in May 1839, F.P. 21 Aug. 1839, No. 66 prdg. pp. 82-84; From Sutherland to Waddock dated 6 June 1839, F.P. 21 Aug. 1839, No. 68, Prdg. pp. 87-88.

100. From Sutherland to Torrens, dated 18 July 1840, F.P. 3 Aug. 1840, No. 123.

101. From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 26 Dec. 1839, F.P. 12 Feb. 1840, No. 47.

because the Governor General had directed him that any reference to subsistence would only be considered after Appa Sahib's removal from Jodhpur was finalised.¹⁰² Hence, leaving the matter as it was,¹⁰³ Col. Sutherland left Jodhpur on 4 December, 1839.¹⁰⁴

However, the British Government kept a keen eye on Appa Sahib. The letters to his wife at Nagpur were censored.¹⁰⁵ The Political Agents at Jodhpur and Nagpur were directed to keep a rigorous watch on the movements of Appa Sahib.¹⁰⁶ But he did not live long thereafter. After an attack of *diarrhoea* which lasted for five days, he expired at sunrise on 15 July, 1840, at his residence in the holy sanctuary of Mahamandir.¹⁰⁷ He was given a State cremation at the orders of Man Singh.¹⁰⁸ It appears from a letter dated 19 July, 1842, sent by Waddock, Secretary to the Governor General, that there was a proposal for the appointment of an heir-apparent of Appa Sahib in the person of Sheonath Singh, son of Thakur Sabal Singh of Sanderao,¹⁰⁹ but the British Government refused to recognise such a claimant¹¹⁰ because

102. From Waddock to Sutherland, dated 10 June 1839, F.P. 21 Aug. 1839, No. 67, Prdg. pp. 85-86; From Sutherland to Waddock, dated, 26 Dec. 1839, F.P. 12 Feb. 1840, No. 42.

103. From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 26 Dec. 1839, F.P. 12 Feb. 1840, No. 42.

104. From Sutherland to Hamilton, dated 2 March 1840, F.P. 23 March 1840, No. 47.

105. From Ludlow to Sutherland, dated 26 March 1840, F.P. 27 April 1840, No. 32.

106. *Ibid.*

107. From Ludlow to Sutherland, dated 15 July 1840, enclosed with the letter from Sutherland to Torrens, dated 18 July 1840, F.P. 3 Aug. 1840, No. 123.

108. *Ibid.*

109. From Waddock to Sutherland, dated 19 July 1842, R.A.O. File No. 28-Jod. 1842, pp. 1-2.

110. From Sutherland to Waddock, dated 26 July 1842, R.A.O. File No. 28-Jodh. 1842, pp. 3-6.

neither did the wives of Appa Sahib at Nagpur entertain such a move¹¹¹ nor did Man Singh ever give any assent to it.¹¹²

ABBREVIATION:

- P.R.C. = Poona Residency Correspondence.
F.P. = Foreign Political Consultations, National Archives, New Delhi.
F.S. = Foreign Secret Consultations, National Archives, New Delhi.
J.B.R.S. = Journal of Behar Research Society.
R.A.Jd. = Rajasthan Archives, Jodhpur Records, Bikaner.
Prodg = Proceedings.
R.A.O. = Rajputana Agency Office Files, National Archives, New Delhi.

111. From Sutherland to Ludlow, dated 26 July 1842. R.A.O. File No. 28-Jodh. 1842, p. 7.

112. From Ludlow to Sutherland, dated 29 July 1842. R.A.O. File No. 28-Jodh, 1842, pp. 8-10.

A note on the term 'Asūryampaśyā' in Pāṇini

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The term 'Asūryampaśyā' in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* offers a good scope for the study of *pardah* system in ancient India. The society in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does not anywhere contain any reference, implied or direct, to *Purdah*. The women were free in the choice of their husbands. We notice absence of restriction on young maidens. They had full freedom to be wooed by young men, as the term 'varya' in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (III, 1. 101) means. The freedom of women is further defined in the term 'anirrodha' (III, 101) in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. We notice the existence of female teachers (IV. 1, 49), and female mendicants (II, 1, 70). Female students used to live in girls' hostels called *chātrī-sālā* (VI, 2, 86). The girls used to marry late and there existed women who remained maidens for their lives.¹ All these facts nowhere contemplate *pardah* in society.

If we accept the period of Pāṇini as some time between 500 and 300 B.C., the contemporary Buddhist or Jaina sources will not provide any instance of *pardah* either among the commoners or among the aristocrats in society. Nor in the following period of the Mauryas do we find *pardah* in society; the Greeks have not noticed or recorded it and Kauṭilya too does not provide any reference to it; rather both the Greek accounts and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya picture a good amount of female freedom in society. The term 'avarodhana' (*orodhana*)* in Aśoka's inscriptions, in reference to the female quarters of his brothers, cannot mean *pardah* in the true sense, as it lacks corroborative data in

1. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 89-92.

* Dr. Bhandarkar (*Aśoka*, Hindi Trans. p. 157) and Dr. Agrawala (*India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 407) however have interpreted *orodhana* of Aśoka's brothers as denoting prevalence of *pardah* in ancient India.

other sources. The practice of keeping the private apartments of the King and the members of the royal family under strict guard and that of the King to live in seclusion away from the gaze of the public were noticed by Megasthenes. He gives us details about it while describing the life of the King. "As a rule, the King remained within the precincts of the inner palace, under the protection of his Amazonian bodyguard and appeared in public only to hear causes, offer sacrifice, and to go on military or hunting expeditions. Probably he was expected to show himself to his subjects at least once a day, and then to receive petitions and decide disputes in person."²

Since the King lived in seclusion, naturally greatest care was taken of his nearest female relations, the ladies of his palace. In the absence of corroborative data for the custom of *purdah* for royal ladies the logical conclusion, particularly in view of the unsafe political conditions of the time, is that the term '*orodhana*' in Asokan inscriptions simply refers to private royal apartments, kept under strict vigilance. The association of the inmates of the royal apartments with outsiders, particularly males, was unimaginable in Mauryan days when the King himself lived in great fear for his life and changed his bedroom every night.³ The instance of the last Śiśunāga King being killed by the paramour of his Queen,⁴ was before the first Maurya whose position in the beginning was quite unsafe. We come across details of keeping the palace under strict guard in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.⁵ His precautionary measures against the ever-present chance of the King being poisoned explain very well the uncertain political conditions of the times

Secondly, the term '*avarodhana*' which may mean restricted and secluded life of royal ladies cannot very well explain the term '*asūryampaśuā*' which literally means one not seen by the sun and which is better explained if a lady wears a veil of black or of some deep-coloured cloth. Even in restricted quarters sun-

2. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1924, p. 130.

3. Megasthenes, XXVII, 15.

4. McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 220.

5. *Arthaśāstra*, Book I, Ch. 20, and 21.

shine will fall on a face but the sun is apparently not enabled to see the face hidden behind a veil. We have no evidence in support of the fact that Indian ladies in Aśokan days wore veil on their faces.

Since *pardah* was generally absent in society in the days of Pāṇini, in *Kāśikā* a commentary of Pāṇini (of the time between 300-600 A.D.⁶) the term ‘*asūryampaśyā*’ is explained as a term meant for royal ladies; so it is said ‘*asūryampaśyā rājadārāḥ*’. But, as we have seen above, we have no positive data to hold that royal ladies lived behind curtains in the days of Pāṇini. Even in the period of *Kāśikā* *pardah* for royal ladies or ordinary women was not actually established in society. But of course, by this time we notice stray references to veil for respectable women. For example, in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, in *Śākuntalā* (Act V. 13) in the *Lalitavistāra* (a work of early Christian era) in the *Harṣacarita*,⁷ the wearing of veil is noticed as a mark of respectability for women though a general picture of society contradicts the fact that veil was worn by respectable women. Still the idea that the wearing of veil was a mark of respectability for women was gaining recognition during this period. Thus while in the *Mahābhārata*,⁸ Śakuntalā, in all her womanly dignity and majesty, gives a long and fiery harangue to her timid royal husband in the very court of the King for disowning her as a wife and her son as his own legitimate son, in Kālidāsa’s work she is a frail feminine figure with a veil hiding her face, speechless like an image. In the *Lalitavistāra*,⁹ Gopā after her betrothal to the Buddha, is given a veil to wear but she strongly refuses to do so. In the last act of *Mṛcchakaṭika* the point becomes clearer; the courtesan-concubine, as soon as she gains the status of the wife, is given a veil as a mark of respectability for her newly acquired dignity. It is to be noted, however, that excepting the veil worn by Śakuntalā when she went to her royal husband’s court, no other reference to *pardah*, either throughout *Śākuntalā* or in other works of Kālidāsa is noticed. In the *Harṣacarita* veil is noticed only once; in the rest of the work Rājvaśrī

6. P. V. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra Ka Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 15.

7. *Harṣacarita*, Ch. IV.

8. *Mbh.*, *Ādiparva*, Ch. LXXIV,

9. *Lalitavistāra*, Canto. XVI.

is always without any veil and as Hsüan Tsāng tells us, throughout her widowhood Rājyaśrī in her public or court appearances is without any kind of *pardah*. In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* *pardah* is not noticed. Hsüan Tsāng nowhere refers to the practice of *parda* in India. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁰ the references to veil are few and in the major part of the epic the ladies are found not to observe any *pardah*. So the literary references to veil are not only stray, they are incongruous with the general picture of society in which no *pardah* is noticed.

As we have noted, veil given to a betrothed or a newly married girl or to a bride (as we find Rājyaśrī with a lovely red veil on the eve of her marriage, meeting Grahavarman), was a sign of wifely status. Neither the *Ṛgveda* nor the *Dharmasūtras* or *Dharmaśāstras* would show that veil denoted wifely dignity. How then did this idea come into Indian society? Where can we trace its origin?

In Assyrian civilization a married woman wore veil. Her daughters also wore head-dresses prescribed by the custom. A concubine (*'esirtu'*) was not entitled to wear a veil; if her keeper wished to raise her to the position of a wife, he had to veil her in the presence of five or six witnesses and declare "This is my wife". The married respectable women wore veil, by which they were distinguished from temple prostitutes, harlots and slaves.¹¹

The Persian princesses wore veil as, being Fire-born, they were not supposed to be seen by ordinary people. In Persia the seclusion of women had become quite common before the beginning of the Christian era.¹² In Athens in 500 B.C. the association of women with male guests was not permitted,¹³ and according to the prevalent social conditions¹⁴ no bride might be seen by her husband before marriage. In Sparta female apart-

10. The couple of verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa* referring to *pardah* (VI, 116, 28. II, 33, 8) are totally inconsistent with the absence of *pardah* throughout the Epic. It has been suggested that those are later interpolations. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 198-99.

11. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia*, p. 283.

12. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 209.

13. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. V, p. 735.

14. *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 445.

ments were separate from those of males and no woman could attend banquets.

So Pāṇini who belonged to the North-West (500-300 B.C.) most probably used the word ‘asūryampaśyā’ in reference to the veiled ladies of Assyria. It is quite possible that North-Western India, because of its proximity to Central Asia, was affected by Central Asian ideas and practices and probably in those parts of India the wearing of veil was a practice adopted by Indian women. A veiled face is certainly not seen by the Sun.

The fact that in the early centuries of Christian era the veiling of face by married or betrothed girls of high status was becoming a practice or at least gaining recognition in Indian society, is attested by *Lalitavistāra*, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and Kālidāsa’s *Śākuntala* and also in references to veil in the Epics. It is possible that during the centuries following the disruption of the Śuṅga empire, India saw waves of foreign invaders, the Śakas, the Parthians and the Greeks. The invaders settled in India but they, particularly the Śakas and the Parthians, being Central Asian nomads must have brought with them Central Asian notions of feminine respectability. And thus while the general picture of society shows absence of *purdah*, we notice its references here and there, in literature and commentaries. As regards the Greeks who ruled and settled in the North Western India, they had no need to stop the spreading of this idea of *purdah* as in their own society restrictions on women in movement and association obtained; and the Greeks in North Western India must have also contributed to the spread of the custom of *purdah* in India. It has been pointed out by the eminent scholar Dr. A. S. Altekar that a character in one of the plays of Menander says, “A free woman should be bounded by the street door.”¹⁵

The term ‘asūryampaśyā’ in Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has nothing much to do with the general social condition of contemporary India nor has it any connection with the ‘avarodhanas’ of the brothers of Aśoka Maurya.

15. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 209.

Change of superscription on Coins of Native States 1858-1872

BY

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The coinage of most of the Native States of India carried the impression of the Mughal Emperor at the time of Revolt of 1857 and represented a peculiar political phenomenon. Ordinarily the name of only a paramount power is inscribed by a subordinate State on its coins. In 1857 Bahadur Shah, the Mughal Emperor, could claim no paramountcy in any of the Native States in India and yet his name was inscribed on their coins as if he was still their *de-jure* sovereign. The British, on the other hand, had become the supreme authority in India much before 1857. They were not only masters of vast territories, they were also a powerful influence in almost all the Native States, which were bound to it, in a subordinate position, by a series of engagements and treaties; and still no Native State had the name of the British Government superscribed on its coins. The Jaipur coin is a typical example. Even when Jaipur had signed a "Treaty of Allegiance" with the British Government in 1818, by which it had accepted the British as a paramount power¹ and even when the Mughal Emperor had no influence on the affairs in Jaipur its coin carried the inscription "Sicca Badshah Adil Mohumud Bahadur Shah."²

A proposal had been made by the Rao of Kutch in 1846, that the British Government as the paramount power in India should have their name superscribed on coins;³ the Maharaja of Indore

1. Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. IV, p. 36.

2. Capt. W. F. Eden, Political Agent, Jaipur to Brig. Genl Lawrence, Offg. Agent to G. G. Rajputana: 28 Jan. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: No. 146.

3. Political Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 39, 15 Sept. 1859.

made a similar proposal in 1857 and actually got new stamps made without the impression of the Mughal Emperor.⁴ The Government of India, however, took no action to implement these suggestions.

The involvement of Bahadur Shah in the uprising of 1857, and his subsequent conviction by the British Government in the beginning of 1858, which resulted in his deportation to Rangoon, changed the whole situation. The title of the Mughal Emperor was abolished; and the Queen of England assumed the direct sovereignty of India by the Act of 1858. The retention of the name of the Mughal Emperor on the coins of the Native States, in these circumstances, became all the more anomalous. There was no Mughal Emperor, even in name, after 1858 whom the Native States could treat as a titular sovereign by putting his impression on their coins.

The Government of the North Western Provinces brought this anomaly to the knowledge and attention of the Government of India in February, 1858.⁵ They reported that the Dholpur coin carried the impression of the Emperor of Delhi's name on the rupee.⁶ The Bharatpur coin was also superscribed in the same way and perhaps all the Rajputana States continued to bear the earlier superscription on their coinage as if Delhi was the paramount power.⁷ Having thus been apprized of the continued use of the name of the Mughal Emperor on the coinage of the Native States, Lord Canning ordered that, before taking any steps to get the superscription altered, it should be ascertained from the Residents and Agents as to what the practice was in the Native States upto the Mutiny.⁸ They were to report whether the

4. Sir R. Hamilton, Agent to G. G. Central India to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department: 11 Apr. 1858: For Progs. 6 Aug. 1858. Pol. A. No. 164.

5. C. B. Thornhill to C. Beadon: 9 Feb. 1858: For Progs. 9 April 1858: Pol. A: No. 67.

6. Capt. J. P. Nixon, Offg. Political Agent, Bharatpur to Secretary, Government of North Western Provinces: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl. For. Progs. 9 April 1858: Pol. A: No. 68.

7. Nixon to Lawrence: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl. For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 68.

8. Note by Lord Canning: 15 Feb. 1858: K. W.: For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 67.

coins current in the States under their political control carried the superscription of the King of Delhi, and to ascertain as to how the different Chiefs would react to a proposition to efface it hereafter.⁹

At this time, the Rao of Kutch, who had proposed twelve years earlier that the British, as paramount power, should have their name inscribed on Native coins, resolved on his own, to strike his coin in the name of the Queen for the future.¹⁰

The Maharaja of Jaipur also expressed his desire to withdraw the current coins and to reissue them with new stamps.¹¹ He wanted to change the inscription on the rupee and proposed that the new coins should either have on one side an impression of Her Majesty the Queen Victoria, similar to the British rupee current, and on the other his own name and year of reign—or have one side representing simply the year A.D. 1858, being the twentieth year of the reign of the Queen and the obverse having an inscription bearing his own name and the year since his accession.¹² Reporting this request to the Government of India, George Lawrence felt that this would be a fitting occasion to change the coinage of all the Rajput States that might hitherto have had the name of the Delhi Emperor on their coins.¹³

The Rao of Kutch and the Maharaja of Jaipur were the first rulers to replace the impression of the name of the Mughal Emperor by that of the Queen of England. The willingness of the Jaipur *Durbar* to inscribe the Queen's name on its coins was welcome to the Government of India. It was a voluntary decision on the part of an important Rajput State, which they thought would set a good example for other States of Rajputana, and it had been

9. Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department to Agent to Governor General, Central India: 18 Feb. 1858: For. Progs., 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 70.

10. Political Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 39: 15 Sept. 1859.

11. Eden to Lawrence: 28 Jan. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 146.

12. Eden to Lawrence: 28 Jan. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 146.

13. Offg. Agent to Governor General, Rajputana, to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department: 3 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 145.

effected without any political pressure. The change contemplated went further than the instructions the Government of India had just issued to the Agent in Rajputana, in the sense that, the Jaipur *Durbar* proposed not only to efface the superscription of the Emperor of Delhi from its coin, but also to inscribe in its place that of the Queen. The *Durbar* had even submitted the plan of the new superscription for the approval of the British Government. The Government of India, therefore, accepted the proposal of the Maharaja, both as regards the change of device in the Jaipur coinage, and the withdrawal of the existing currency.¹⁴ They however, preferred to leave the decision about the new device to the Maharaja and were willing to accept either of the two courses suggested by him.¹⁵ Jaipur decided to substitute the Queen's name on its new coin¹⁶ and submitted the impression of the new device for the approval of the Government of India.¹⁷

In the case of Bharatpur, Capt. Nixon had directed that the impression of the King of Delhi's name should be discontinued and that of the British substituted in its place.¹⁸ But being President of the Regency Council, owing to the minority of the Chief of Bharatpur, his authority was greater than was usual in a State. The Governor General wanted to be sure that the consent of the *Durbar* had been taken in arriving at the decision to change the superscription on its coinage.¹⁹ He felt it very necessary that all acts of authority should be done in unison with the *Durbar*.²⁰ It was only after the Government of India had been informed that Capt. Nixon acted entirely in unison with the feelings of the *Punch*

14. Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 149.

15. Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 149.

16. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 14 June 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 160.

17. The new device was:—One side: Zurb Siwae Jeypoor Sun 1858, Buahud Malikeh Mouzumeh Sultaneet Inglistan Victoria: Other side:— Sun Juloose — Memuneet Manoose Maharaja Dhuraj Ram Singh Jee Sun — 23. For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 160A.

18. Political Agent, Bharatpur to Offg. Agent to Governor General, Rajputana: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl. For. Prog. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 68.

19. Note by Lord Canning: 24 Feb. 1858: K. W. For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 149.

20. *Ibid.*

of Sirdars²¹ that they approved of the new device agreed to by them.²²

Capt. Nixon had also asked permission to efface the name of the Emperor from the Dholpur coin.²³ Dholpur, however, was under British management and Capt. Nixon was acting as its Superintendent. He was, therefore, informed that the British Government had no right to give orders on this matter, and that any assumption of authority by their agents in regard to the prerogative of coining, which the independent States of Rajputana and Central India so zealously maintained, was likely to defeat its purpose.²⁴ This attitude of the Government of India was due to the fact that they had in view the more important object of assimilation of coinage for which they might have to negotiate with the Native States.²⁵ They, therefore, wanted, for the present, that the Chiefs should be led to adopt the change in superscription themselves, rather than that the Political Agents should bring it about by their arbitrary action.²⁶

In the meantime other Native States conveyed their willingness to change the device on their coinage. The Baroda Government, whose current coinage bore the superscription of the King of Delhi, expressed their consent to abolish it.²⁷ They issued an order for its discontinuance and the preparation of another die substituting in its place the name and title of the Gaekwar.²⁸ The

21. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 26 Mar. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 152. The Sirdars were of the view that the coinage should bear the stamp of the British Government but solicited that the name of their Rajah should be impressed on the new rupee.

22. Edmonstone to Lawrence: 29 July 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 163

23. Political Agent, Bharatpur to Secretary, Government of North Western Provinces: 27 Jan. 1858: Encl. For. Prog. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 68.

24. Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 149.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Sir R. Shakespeare, Resident at Baroda to Secretary, Government of India Foreign Department: 13 Mar. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 88.

28. Sir R. Shakespeare, Resident at Baroda to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department: 13 Mar. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 88. The new superscription read:— Khande Rao Gaekwar Sena Khas Khel Shumsheir Bahadur — with the outline of a sword.

Nizam's Minister felt that there could be no object in continuing the impression of the name of the King of Delhi whose sovereignty had ceased to exist and that there should be no difficulty in its removal.²⁹ The Maharaja of Indore, Tukaji Rao Holkar, also expressed satisfaction at the proposition to alter the device on the coinage of the Native States and agreed to change the stamp on the Indore Rupee.³⁰ He wanted to adopt the name of Ahalya Bai and to retain the intrinsic value of the 'Halee Rupee' so that the change would not affect commercial transactions.³¹ Secunder Begum, the Regent of Bhopal, also readily agreed to change the superscription and forwarded a specimen of her coin with a new stamp.³² The Regent adopted the device "Zarubhool Bhopal"—coined at Bhopal — because it would serve during any reign and get rid of the difficulty which might be experienced from the names of the rulers of Bhopal being similar to those of the Kings of Delhi.³³ The Government of India accepted their proposals, both as regards the change of the devices in their coinage, and the withdrawal of the existing currency and approved of the devices proposed to be substituted.³⁴

No suggestion was made to any of these States—Baroda, Hyderabad, Indore and Bhopal—for substituting the name of the Queen of England for that of the Mughal Emperor; in the first instance, because the instructions of the Government of India in their letter of 18 February 1858 had made no mention of this proposition and secondly, because the Residents at Baroda and Hyderabad were, probably, not aware of the changes being introduced in Jaipur and Bharatpur.

29. Lt. Col. Davidson, Resident at Hyderabad to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department: 11 Apr. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 96.

30. Hamilton to Edmonstone: 11 Apr. 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 164.

31. *Ibid.* The new device was:— First side:— Long may live the name of Ahillia, a devotee of Shunkara. Second side:— coined at Holkar's city of Indore. (Cons. No. 166).

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, to Agent to Governor General, Central India: 29 July 1858: For. Progs. 6 Aug. 1858: Pol. A: No. 167.

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The report from Rajputana was more encouraging. The Officiating Agent was confident that any suggestion for the substitution of the superscription of the British Government in place of the Emperor's would be readily and eagerly accepted by all Chiefs in Rajputana.³⁵ The matter was placed before the *Vakils* in *Durbār*, who showed readiness to accept the proposed change in the superscription and replace it with such mottos as "Dosti London" or "Dosti Angrez", and were asked to ascertain the wishes of their Chiefs.³⁶ As a result, many States of Rajputana agreed not only to remove the name of the Ex-King of Delhi from their coins, but also to inscribe the name of the Queen of England in its place. In May, 1858 Alwar showed willingness to substitute any superscription the British Government considered proper, on its coins.³⁷ In June the officials of Bikaner became desirous of having the British name on their coins instead of that of Delhi.³⁸ Kotah expressed the wish, in August, to replace the superscription on its coins by that of the Queen.³⁹ But the Government of India did not feel satisfied with merely consulting the *Vakils* and instructed Lawrence that, in an important matter of this kind, it was necessary to communicate directly with the Chiefs themselves.⁴⁰

The Government of India reiterated their general policy about the changes in the superscription of the coinage of the Native States at this stage. It was once again pointed out that the British Government claimed no right to give orders in this matter and that the most they could do was to submit the proposal to the several Chiefs, leaving it to them, if they would consent, to determine the device which the future currency of their States should

35. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 26 Mar. 1858: For, Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 152.

36. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 26 May 1858: For, Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 159.

37. Khureeta from Maharaja of Alwar: 30 May 1858: For, Progs. 30 Dec. 1859 Supp: Pol. A: No. 1002.

38. Kyfeeut from Bikaner Vakil. (Encl. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 29 June 1859): For, Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 162.

39. Note from Kotah Vakil (Encl. Lawrence to Edmonstone: 20 Aug. 1858): For, Progs. 19 Nov. 1858: Pol. A: No. 449.

40. Secretary, Government of India to Agent to Governor General Rajputana: 29 July 1858: For, Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A: No. 163.

bear, and the time when, as well as the means by which, they should withdraw the current coins.⁴¹

This cautious approach of the Government of India was regretted by Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State.⁴² He felt that the ready acceptance, by the Rao of Kutch and the Maharaja of Jaipur, to strike their coins in the Queen's name, demonstrated that probably there would have been no difficulty on the part of other Princes also in adopting a similar course if it had been suggested to them.⁴³ An opportunity was thus lost, of denoting, by this procedure, the recognition of the great fact, that the sovereignty over India was now vested in the Queen of England.⁴⁴ He wanted the Government of India to bring the subject to the notice of the various Chiefs, as it was not too late to repair the omission.⁴⁵

A suggestion had been made to the Governor General, before the letter of the 18th February 1858⁴⁶ was drafted, that States which coined in the Mughal Emperor's name should now have the Queen's head or something else to show that the British were the paramount power and that the States which had their own coinage should continue to do so.⁴⁷ Lord Canning, however, wanted to know first as to which of the coining States bore the superscription of the King of Delhi, and, therefore, no mention was made in the letter about the desirability of replacing the Emperor's name by that of the Queen.⁴⁸ In their views on the question of the change of the superscription of the Dholpur State, the Government of India made their attitude clear.⁴⁹ They wanted to keep their special efforts reserved for the assimilation of the coins of the Native

41. *Ibid.*

42. Political Despatch from Secretary of State: No. 39: 15 Sept. 1859.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A: No. 70.

47. Office Note: 15 Feb. 1858: K. W.: For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A.: No. 67.

48. Note by Canning: 15 Feb. 1858: K. W.: For. Progs. 9 Apr. 1858: Pol. A. No. 67.

49. Edmonstone to Lawrence: 26 Feb. 1858: For. Progs. 24 Sept. 1858: Pol. A. No. 149.

States with that of the British coinage and did not want to exert for a mere change of the device.⁵⁰

The Government of India was even less anxious about getting the Native States to put the Queen's name on their coinage. Asking them to remove the name of the Ex-Emperor of Delhi from their coins might appear reasonable to the Native States, but, as the right of coinage was a vestige of sovereignty, any effort to replace it with the name of the Queen might be considered an attempt to interfere with their prerogative and might endanger the British influence in these States. The uprising of 1857 had not yet been suppressed and the Governor General, probably, did not want to take any step which would offend the Native States and make them suspicious of the British designs. It is also doubtful whether the Gaekwar, or the Holkar, or the Nizam would have accepted to print the name of the Queen on their coins, since they considered themselves as sovereigns and had signed treaties with the British as equals. The Government of India, therefore, took no steps to bring this subject to the consideration of the Native States.

By 1872, almost all the Chiefs and Princes, with the exception of Scindia, removed the superscription of the Mughal Emperor from their coins,⁵¹ but only two new Native States had decided to inscribe the name of the Queen.⁵² Jaisalmer conveyed its consent to put the Queen's name on its coin⁵³ in response to the circular *Khureeta* of 18 August 1858 from the Officiating Agent in Rajputana.⁵⁴ The Begum of Bhopal decided to issue a coin of purer silver and greater weight and, as a mark of allegiance to the British Government, changed its superscription by inscribing the

50. *Ibid.*

51. Note by Aitchison: 19 July 1871: K. W. For. Progs. June 1872: Fin. A. Nos. 15-24.

52. Kutch, Jaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur, Kotah and Bikaner had already inscribed the Queen's name on their coins.

53. *Khureeta* from Maharaja of Jaisalmer: 19 Mar. 1860: For. Progs. May 1860: Pt. B. No. 141.

54. Circular *Khureeta* to Chiefs of States in Rajputana—For. Progs. 30 Dec. 1859. Supp. Pol. A: No. 1005.

name of the Queen on the new coin.⁵⁵ The lack of progress, in the recognition of the suzerainty of the Queen, by having her head or name inscribed on the coins of the Native States, made the Secretary of State, Duke of Argyll, express his concern.⁵⁶ He felt that the mere removal of the name of the Ex-King of Delhi was not sufficient to signalize the assumption by the Queen of the direct government of India and recommended that the various Political Agents, accredited to different courts, should point out, by exerting legitimate influence, the advisability of some recognition of the Queen's suzerainty by the Chiefs.⁵⁷

The Government of India considered this question in detail and came to the conclusion that it would not be advisable at that time to adopt any measures of a general kind to secure that end.⁵⁸ They felt that if any of the States were to object to the suggestion, the effect would be harmful to the British interests.⁵⁹

A variety of factors contributed to this decision of the Government of India. They considered the British supremacy in India so universally and unquestionably admitted that any agitation of a mere form might do more harm than good.⁶⁰ Then, the Government had to use their authority so often in matters of real importance, that they would only weaken it by calling it into play in a matter of no great significance.⁶¹ They would only be catching at shadows when the British Government already possessed the substance.⁶² The Government of India was, however, most concerned about the possibility that some of the most powerful Princes like the Nizam or Scindia might refuse while others agreed to the

55. Yaddasht from Shah Jahan Begum of Bhopal: 16 Aug. 1870: For. Progs. May 1871: Fin. A: No. 14. The new inscription was:—On one side—Aheli Mulkai Mouzzamah-Sheen. On the 2nd side—Suni Hijri Koodsee 1287, Zurbi Darool-ikbali Bhopal.

56. Political Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 24: 16 Feb. 1871.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Political Despatch to Secretary of State No. 4: 17 June 1872: For. Progs. June 1872: Fin. A: No. 23.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Note by Aitchison: 19 July 1871: K. W. For. Progs. June 1872: Fin. A: Nos. 15-24.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

proposal.⁶³ The effect of such an eventuality might not be healthy. It would make the more powerful Chiefs feel superior to other Chiefs in India and claim special treatment from the British Government.⁶⁴ They would get a notion of distinction as to their position *vis-a-vis* the British and a recognition of this fact would not be in the best interests of the Government of India.⁶⁵ It was primarily this possibility which made the Government of India decide to leave the subject alone and use great care and caution in this matter. The object of having the Queen's name inscribed on the coins of the Native States was, therefore, not to be sought by a general directive to the Political Agents but was left to be attained gradually by the willing acceptance of the various Princes and Chiefs of India.

63. Note by J. F. Stephen: 2 Aug. 1871: K. W. For. Progs. June 1872: Fin. A: Nos. 15-24.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid*

Trial of Pindari Prisoners: A Legal Wrangle

BY

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The Pindaris were those lawless, rapacious bands of marauders who left a trail of blood and devastation in the 18th century India. Born in the general confusion and degeneration of the 17th century, the Pindaris gradually rose to power and strength in the closing years of the 18th century and offered a serious challenge to the rising British imperialist power in India. At first they formed a necessary adjunct to the Maratha army and played a vital role in supplying provisions to the Maratha soldiers in the battle-field. They generally came in the wake of the Maratha invasion of a state and looted and plundered the civilian population to enrich their Maratha masters. They, of course, used to get a part of the booty by which they could maintain themselves. As long as the Maratha power was strong enough to maintain their control over the Pindaris, these marauders could not assume a menacing role. They remained under the thumb of their Maratha masters. But, when the Marathas received a crushing blow in the battle of Panipat, 1761, that effective fetter on the Pindaries was removed. Virtually independent of the Maratha control, they converted loot and plunder into a regular, organised system in the latter half of the 18th century. In a word, they became a scourge to the peace-loving common folk of the country.

The Pindaris ravaged not only the princely states, but carried on deep inroads in the East India Company's territories. The menace of the Pindaris grew into such a huge proportion that the Company's authorities were provoked to adopt a general plan for their annihilation. Moreover, British imperialism in India stood face to face with the Maratha ambition to dominate over the Indian sub-continent in the first quarter of the 19th century. The suppression of the Pindaris became but a part of the English attempt to crush the Maratha power and establish their own *Raj*. Any-

way, since 1816 the Company began large-scale preparations for weeding out the Pindaris.

As the hostilities between the Company and the Pindaris increased and as more and more of them fell into the English hands, a very intriguing problem cropped up. The general question was what should be done with the Pindari prisoners? Were they entitled to the privileges usually enjoyed by the prisoners of war? If not, how could they be effectively brought to book? These were some of the questions that bothered the British authorities in India. A very interesting case occurred in Madras which may be referred to while discussing the above questions.

In 1816, several bands of the Pindaris crossed the Narmada, ravaged the Nizam's territories and then invaded the Company's territories under the jurisdiction of the Madras Presidency. They devastated Coimbatore and gradually proceeded upto Ganjam. At the time of that incursion a Pindari named Kalaram was apprehended by the Magistrate of Cuddapah in May, 1816. Kalaram was seized by three police peons near Markapur in the Dupad Taluk.¹ Kalaram was alleged to have confessed that he belonged to "the other side of the Narmada" and came along with those Pindaris who plundered Guntur, Kumbum and other places.² He was committed by the Magistrate of Cuddapah to be tried by the Court of Circuit. This proceeding on the part of the Magistrate was, however, adopted without a previous communication of his intention to the Government of Fort St. George.³ The *Futwa* of the Law Officer of the Court of Circuit having no doubt of his guilt, referred the case for final orders to the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat of Madras.⁴ Kalaram was charged "with having belonged to a body of predatory horse who carried the flag of no state, of having in March 1816 entered the territories of the Honourable Company when they were at peace with all neighbouring states and of having in conjunction with the said predatory horse plundered and burned houses and wounded and murdered and robbed different people.

1. Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 43 of 28th Feb, 1817.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.* No. 42 of 28th Feb. 1817.

4. Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal (Judicial), 8th May, 1822.

and violated women in the districts of Guntur, Mangalagerry, Dupad, Kumbum and in other places within the dominions of the said Honourable Company.”⁵

The prisoner in his defence stated that he was a *Harkara* employed by Jean Baptiste (the European commander of Sindhia’s forces) to carry a letter to Mr. Newnham, the Magistrate of Cuddapah. While on his way to Cuddapah, he fell in with the Pindaris near Nagpur and was plundered. Kalaram pleaded that for his own security he had to accompany the Pindaris subsequently to different places. But, ultimately, he had left them and was on his way to Cuddapah when he was apprehended.⁶ Having stated all these, the prisoner pleaded not guilty and by the *Futwa* of the Mohamedan Law Officer he was acquitted. The *Futwa* declared — “the prisoner Kalaram denies the charge — by the evidence — he is not convicted of highway robbery. Hence the prisoner is acquitted.”

The Madras Government was not satisfied with the proceedings in the case. Moreover, they were not sure about the status of the Pindaris. They instructed the Court “to suspend all similar proceedings and to consider the captured Pindaris in all cases as *Prisoners of War* until they shall be furnished with other instructions for their guidance.” For the necessary guidance, Mr. G. Strachey, Chief Secretary of Madras, wrote to his counter-part in Bengal, Mr. C. M. Ricketts, on 5th October, 1816.⁷ The Madras Government also wanted instructions on certain points of law relating to the case of Kalaram as there was a sharp difference of opinion between the Mohamedan Law Officer and the trying judge. While confirming the *Futwa*, Mr. W. E. Wright, Acting 3rd Judge of the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat did not agree with the interpretation of Mohamedan Law by the Indian Law Officer in Madras. Mr. Wright asserted, “He who acknowledges a crime and in exoneration offers a *plea* must prove it, — is the maxim of the Mohamedan Law.”⁸ According to Mr. Wright the *plea* was not proved. His arguments were mainly,⁹ —

5. Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 44 of 28th Feb. 1817.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.* No. 42 of 28th Feb. 1817.

8. *Ibid.* No. 44 of 28th Feb. 1817.

9. *Ibid.*

- (1) The prisoner had confessed that he had joined a body of Pindaris, accompanied them to different places, and received some clothes of Madras origin from those horsemen.
- (2) He did not pretend that he was forcibly detained by them.
- (3) He was apprehended when the plunderers were in sight and was endeavouring to escape with them.
- (4) He had not proved that his defence was true or had not shown any probable grounds for the belief that it was so. On these grounds, Mr. Wright had no hesitation to comment that "according to the Mohamedan Law he (Kalaram) should have been convicted on the strong presumptive evidence, which the proceedings afford of his guilt."¹⁰ In spite of this difference of opinion, Kalaram had to be released as the verdict of the Mohamedan Law Officer was final in the case of the interpretation of Mohamedan Law. Though the Judge had to acquiesce in the interpretation of the Law Officer, he gave a note of warning. "If this should be ascertained to be correct exposition of the Law as applicable to the case," Mr. Wright wrote, "I conceive the Government will see the necessity of enacting a Regulation for bringing to punishment foreign predatory freebooters caught within the territories under this Presidency; they are proper objects for the infliction of summary justice and should be declared liable to be carried before a military tribunal and to be put to death."¹¹

The Supreme Government was thus faced with two difficult questions:—

- (1) What should be done with regard to the Pindari prisoners in general?
- (2) How could the wheel of law be successfully operated against the Pindari offenders?

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

As to the first question, circulars were issued to the different Presidencies and Residencies informing the following decision of the Government:¹²

“With regard to Pindaris in general falling to our hands, the Governor-General in Council is decidedly of opinion that it would be competent to the Commanding Officer of any body of troops by whom they may be captured, and should be indicated as in most instances his duty to bring them to summary trial. On conviction immediate execution should follow the sentence in cases attended with aggravation, in others capital punishment may be commuted into prisonment and hard labour. The mode of proceeding above stated rests upon the principle and practice universally recognised in Europe of punishing capitally by summary process in the field all persons who unacknowledged by any sovereign band themselves in gangs and commit depredation by open force.

Looking forward, however, to possible cases where, from the circumstances of capture or from any other cause, resort may not be had to this summary proceedings and the person charged with having been one of the Pindaris may be reserved for more regular trial, it will be necessary to supply the defects of the existing law by a legislative enactment, calculated to provide for the due investigation and eventual punishment of such offences.”

In other words, the captured Pindaris would not be regarded as *prisoners of war*. The decision of the Company's Government in this case cannot be said to have been arbitrary. The Pindaris were actually a band of freebooters, and did not belong to a particular state, nor did they form a state themselves though having some kind of bandit organisation under different leaders. It is true they were divided into two broad groups owing allegiance to Sindhia and Holkar. But they were not subjects of those two Maratha leaders, and did not abide by the Maratha laws and regulation. With respect to Kalaram, who had been acquitted by the Court, the Governor-General in Council directed that he should be detained as *prisoner of state* until further orders.¹³

12. Govt. of India Foreign (Secret) Cons. No. 3 of 16th Nov 1816

13. Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 42 of 28th Feb. 1817.

To examine the legal aspect of the problem, the Supreme Government referred the case to the Sudder Nizamat Adalat. After going into the details of the case, the Sudder Nizamat Adalat could not, however, categorically opine that the exposition of Mohamedan Law by the Madras Law Officer was incorrect. Though the Indian Law Officer of the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat of Madras had no doubt about the guilt of Kalaram, he acquitted him on the ground that "the evidence of the witnesses against the prisoner was inadmissible, because they were police peons." The Law officers of the Sudder Nizamat Adalat did not agree with the Madras Law Officer on this point. They stated that "police peons in common with other officers of Government are competent witnesses according to the received authorities of Mussalman Law, provided their credit be not impeachable from their character and general conduct."¹⁴ But they could not say that the character and conduct of the police peons who seized Kalaram were unimpeachable and hence, could not annul the interpretation of the Law Officer of the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat of Madras.

The Governor-General and his Council were not satisfied with these explanations. They remembered the warning given by Mr. Wright, Acting 3rd Judge of the Sudder Fauzdari Adalat, and were now determined to plug the loop-holes of the legal system for punishing the Pindari prisoners. The Governor-General in Council still emphasised that the *Futwa* given by the Law Officer of the Fauzdari Adalat at Madras was "an erroneous exposition of the Mohamedan Law."¹⁵ They could not accept the contention that that evidence given by the police peons concerned was inadmissible, as they "could not be suspected of any other interest than that of showing the value of their own activity."¹⁶ In order to meet the defects of the legal system, the Governor-General in Council passed Resolutions on 28th February, 1817. Under those Resolutions it was proposed that "the Judges of the Courts of Circuit and of the Nizamat Adalat should be vested with the power of determining the guilt or innocence of prisoners charged with criminal offences, instead of leaving the sufficiency of the proof to

14. *Ibid.* No. 49 of 28th Feb. 1817.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

the judgement and discretion of the Muhamedan Law Officers.”¹⁷ This was proposed because the Governor-General in Council firmly believed that “the experience and knowledge which the judges of the Courts of Circuit and of the Nizamat Adalat must be supposed to possess, qualify them to decide on the sufficiency of evidence without the assistance of the Law Officers.”¹⁸ The suggestion of the Supreme Government was, however, referred to the Sudder Nizamat Adalat for opinion.

Surprisingly, the Sudder Nizamat Adalat could not recommend the adoption of the measure proposed. To them, the measure involved “a material alteration in the constitution of the principal criminal courts.” “Under these circumstances,” the Court wrote to the Supreme Government on 14th August, 1817, “so material an alteration in the Constitution of the principal criminal courts, which have now been established nearly 27 years, as that of discontinuing all participation on the part of the Mohamedan Law Officers in determining the guilt or innocence of persons charged with heinous offences, and leaving the conviction or acquittal of prisoners to a single judge holding the sitting of a Court of Circuit, or to the decision of one or more judges of the Nizamat Adalat in cases referable to that Court, should not, we think, be adopted without strong and manifest reasons of necessity or expediency.”¹⁹

The Supreme Government was now faced with a dilemma. In the letter to the Court of Directors, dated 29th October, 1817, the Government supplied all the details of the case for the Court’s necessary direction. Meanwhile, the political and military background in India had changed to a great extent. The Pindaris had been annihilated by an all-out effort of Lord Hastings, and they did no longer pose to be a serious threat to the British empire. Many of the Pindari leaders along with their followers, surrendered to the Company’s government on condition that they would be properly rehabilitated. Thus, the perspective of the case of Kalaram had changed quite a lot. The Court of Directors wrote to the Supreme Government on 8th May, 1822: “The propriety of

17. Letter to the Court of Directors from Bengal (Judicial), 29th October, 1817.

18. Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Cons. No. 51 of 28th Feb. 1817,

19. *Ibid*, No. 71 of 16th Sept. 1817,

confining a person, so situated, is at least extremely questionable and should have been accompanied by explanation: and at all events, as the necessity of Kalaram's detention must now have ceased, we direct that if he has not already been released, he be kept no longer in confinement, unless some satisfactory reasons should exist for the interference of your government, and for his subsequent detention which we desire, may be communicated to us without delay." But poor Kalaram was not destined to enjoy freedom any more in his life. He had died of cholera on 27th November, 1818, while he was still confined in the jail at Cuddapah. The controversy relating to the trial of the Pindari prisoners ended no doubt but the legal problem was not solved. It was only shelved for the time being, to be taken up later for decision. This controversy proves that the criminal law procedure as introduced by the Company's government was still in a fluid state. Another important feature is that the native law officer had still a prominent role in the administration of justice in British India.

Exploration along the Right Bank of River Sutlej in Punjab

BY

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The present exploration¹ was conducted by me and my colleague Shri H. K. Narain, on the right bank of the river Sutlej in District Jullundur, from Apra to Nurmahal, a distance of about 35 klms, and sites of different categories, namely, Harappan, Painted Grey Ware, Black Slipped Ware, Black-and-Red Ware, Grey Ware, Sunga-Kushan Red Ware, and Muslim Ware, were brought to light.

Before I discuss the archaēological potentialities of the exploration and assess their importance in furtherance of our knowledge, I would like to give in the first part, a brief account of the previous archaeological work done in this region, offering comments about the riverine courses of the Punjab rivers, commonly known as the rivers of the Indus system, as they have played an important role in building up the topographical features of this region suitable for the growth of cultures.

I

It appears that in earlier times the courses of the Punjab rivers were very different from what they are today. This article is concerned only with one of the rivers of the Punjab, i.e. Sutlej (Sanskrit. Satadru or Satudri) on the right bank of which the exploration was conducted. The course of this river has been studied historically and in relation to other systems of drainage. After crossing the Dhauladhar range near Rampur, Sutlej leaves the hills near Rupar and traverses the territories of Patiala and

1. I. A. — A Review, 1963-64, pp. I 51-52.

then in ancient times, there is evidence, that it passed by Malaut and Abohar (District Ferozpur) and joined the ancient Saraswati near Phulera, now known as Fort Abbas, in Bahawalpur (Pakistan) and then the combined rivers passed through the middle of Bahawalpur District. The river Beas also did not meet the Sutlej at Hari Ke Pattan near Sultanpur Lodhi as it does now. The ancient course of this river can still be traced near Patti, Kasur, Chunian and Dipalpur through Lahore and Montgomery Districts, now both in Pakistan, where it originally used to join the Chenab near Shujabad.²

The tract lying between Saharanpur and Ludhiana, about 274 metres above sea level, is the present water-shed which divides the drainage of the Ganges system from that of the Indus system.³ But there are also reasons to believe that in ancient times Yamuna was the river of the Indus system and shared its water with the sacred Saraswati, which was again connected with Sutlej. The dry stream connecting Saraswati can be traced north-eastward from Hanumangarh to Yamuna Nagar, but in the times of Manu and the Mahabharata the upper course of Saraswati had dried up probably because of the easterly diversion of the waters of Yamuna.⁴

The earliest culture within the chronological span on the Sutlej and its tributaries is represented by the occurrence of early palaeolithic tools of Sohan variety from Nalagarh⁵ and Bilaspur.⁶ The tools made on rounded pebbles include primarily choppers and scrapers. A late industry of Sohan tradition was also discovered.⁷ A few Harappan and other settlements of the early historical period were also noticed in this valley by M. S. Vats, Y. D. Sharma, Olaf Prufer, B. B. Lal, B. K. Thapar, R. P. Das, M. N. Deshpande and Chandigarh University.

2. Cunningham, A., Arch. Surv. of Ind. Vol. V, p. 147, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 143-44 and Krishnan, M. S., Geology of India and Burma, 1960, p. 24.

3. Wadia, D. N., Geology of India, 1953, p. 389.

4. Krishnan, M. S., Geology of India, and Burma, 1960, pp. 25-28.

5. Explored by Olaf Prufer in 1951 and Sen, D., Nalagarh Palaeolithic Culture, Man In India, Vol. 35 (1955), pp. 177-184.

6. I. A. — A Review, 1961-62, p. 1-56.

7. I. A. — A Review, 1954-55, p. 58.

EXPLORATION ALONG THE BANK OF RIVER SUTLEJ 563

The excavations at Kotla Nihang Khan,⁸ near Rupar in Sutlej Valley revealed matured Harappan occupation. At Rupar⁹, 95 kms. from Ambala, in the lower phase a late stage of matured Harappan culture was noticed, but in the upper phase a new ceramic tradition has been found. This upper phase is again represented at Bara,¹⁰ and is marked by the presence of new pottery shapes having horizontal or wavy incised lines completely unknown to the lower phase of Rupar. A few painted designs of Bara (I.A.-A Review 1954-55 Pl. X and XI) are similar to those on the cemetery-H Pottery (Vats, Harappa, Pt. II, Pl. LVIII b and c, LXII, Fig. 15 and LXV). The whole Harappan phase at Rupar is dated between circa 2000 and 1400 B.C., but it is now subject to revision. On the basis of recent C-14 dates available for the Harappan sites in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, it seems that the Harappans flourished only during circa 2300-1750 B.C.¹¹

The excavations carried out at Dher Majra,¹² 11 kms. north of Rupar, yielded pottery identical with cemetery—H at Harappa, besides the Harappa ware in the lowest levels.

The next period of succession is Painted Grey Ware. In this region, Painted Grey Ware folk occupied the deserted sites of the Harappan as revealed from the excavations at Rupar as well as new sites like Salaura¹³ and Dher Majra (Mound-2) after a gap of a few centuries. This period is dated between circa 1000 and 700 B.C. at Rupar and is succeeded by Northern Black Polished Ware and Sunga-Kushan periods. The last occupation in this region belongs to Muslim, as is evident by their standing monuments of that age.

The importance of this region lies in its position. Traditionally it forms the part of an ancient kingdom of Trigartta or Traigartta-

8. Excavated by Dr. Y. D. Sharma.

9. I. A. — A Review 1953-54, pp. 6-7 and Sharma, Y. D., Excavations at Rupar, Lalit Kala Nos. 1-2 (1955-56), pp. 121-129.

10. I. A. — A Review, 1954-55, p. 11.

11. Agarwal, D. P., Harappa Culture; New Evidence for Shorter Chronology, Science, Vol. 143, pp. 950-952.

12. Prufer, Olaf., Excavations at Dher Majra, Jamia Milia Univ. Publication, New Delhi.

13. I. A. — A Review, 1953-54, p. 38.

Desa,¹⁴ embracing the country between Sutlej and Ravi founded by Susarma of the Katoch dynasty, who fought against Arjun and retired with his followers to this region. Puranas, *Mahabharata*, historians of the Alexander's campaign, Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese traveller and *Rājatarangini*, all have referred to this region. It is also given as synonymous of Jalandhar by Hem Chandra; '*Jalandharas Trigartah Syuh.*' This region also falls on the important migrational route followed by different hordes from time immemorial from the passes in the north-west of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In the historical times it was well-connected by the caravan routes with ancient cities of India.

II

Coming to the details of explorations, Kat-Palon, a Harappan site about one and a half kms. from Nagar and 9 kms. from Phillaur, is situated on the right bank of river Sutlej, and contains a mound which is about 10 metres high and measures approximately 350 metres east-west and 150 metres north-south. An examination of rain gullies revealed ceramics of the different periods. The earliest group of ceramics, namely, Harappan is dominated by an incised pottery consisting of a series of horizontal lines over which oblique lines are drawn in sets of two, three or four dividing the whole surface into compartments, wavy lines in sets of two or three and other patterns as reported from Bara (I.A.—A Review 54-55, pl. No. XI B).¹⁵ This decoration is probably confined to large vases and is absent at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, but incised wavy lines can be noticed at the Harappan sites in Western Uttar Pradesh. The compartmented designs are at present only restricted to East Punjab. The other pottery of this group is a well-burnt sturdy painted and plain red ware with distinctive shapes, like dish-on-stand, a cylindrical vase, perforated jar, goblet etc. The painted motifs on the pottery are of leaf pattern and other miscellaneous designs. Some sherds also have rusticated surface with raised horizontal bands. An ochre-coloured sherd probably of dish-

14. Cunningham, A., Arch. Surv. of Ind., Vol. V, p. 148.

15. Recently Shri M. N. Desphande has also discovered a Harappan site of this pattern at Madiala Kalan, situated 27 kms. south on the main G. T. Road, in District Ludhiana.

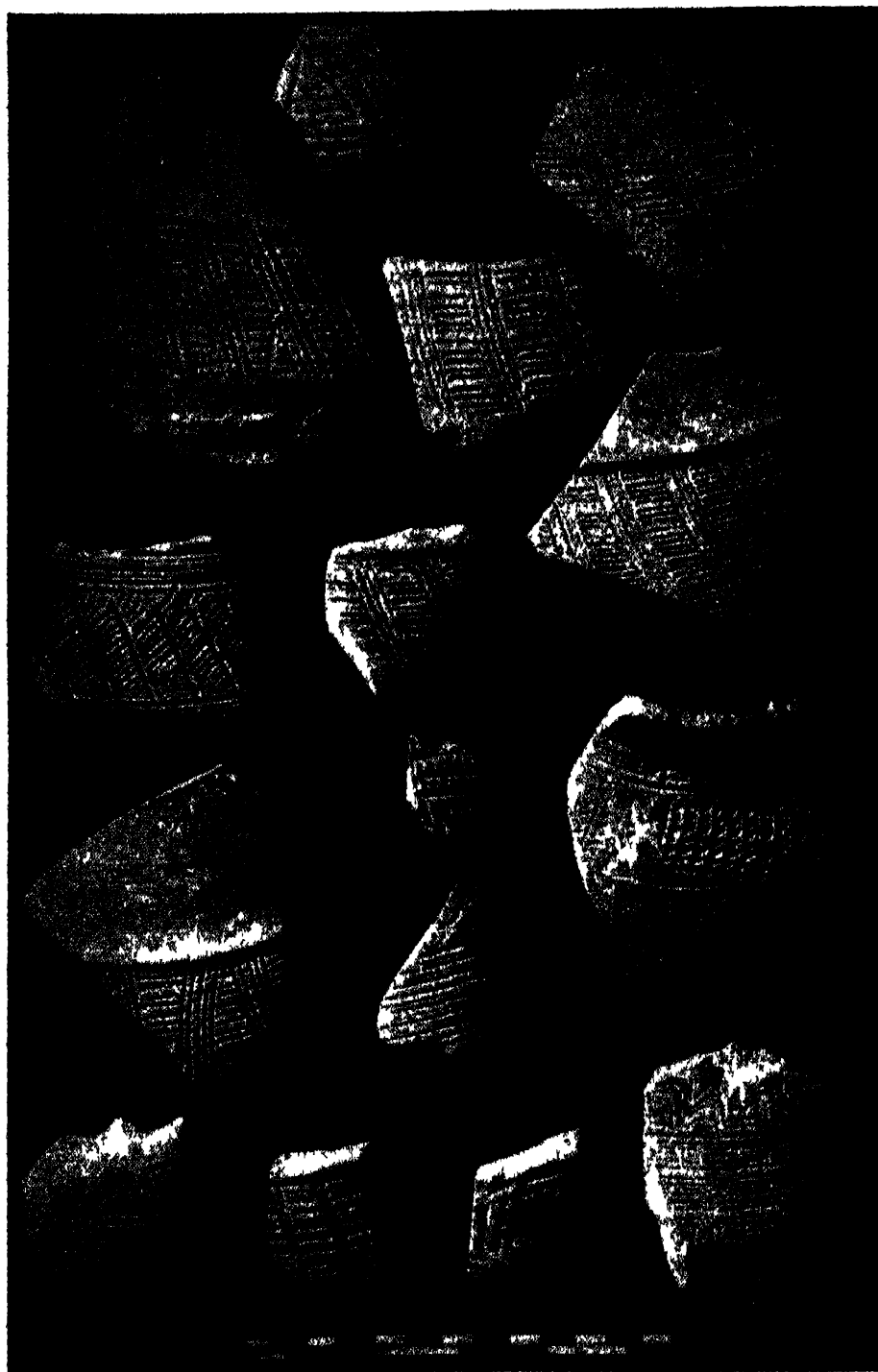


PLATE II. Kat-Palon Dist Jullundur Incised sherds (Surface Collection)

on-stand was also encountered. Specimens of the bowls and dishes of the Painted Grey Ware varying in fabric were also collected along with the black slipped and black-and-red wares. No sherds of the Northern Black polished ware was encountered in the exploration, except plain and coarse grey ware and other associated wares of this period. The next ceramic is exclusively a red ware industry assignable to the Sunga-Kushan period. The upper-most levels yielded Muslim glazed pottery.

The antiquities include fragmentary stone pestle, terracotta ball and dabber. Iron slags also have been seen.

The next Harappan site is Nagar¹⁶ already known for Painted Grey Ware, but its Harappan potentialities, however, require further confirmation. Traditionally this town is known as Dhanaura and its limits were extended upto Talwan near Nurmahal. In texture the explored pottery is similar to Harappan.

Another site near Kat-Palon, Asha' Ur is situated on the ancient Kagar of the Sutlej and extends upto the village Kariana. The site is partly under occupation and partly under cultivation. The earliest ceramic industry of the site is Painted Grey Ware, which varies in the fabric from coarsed to fine grained. The usual motifs are simple bands and rows of dots and dashes. The pottery of other successive periods like Grey Ware, black-and-red ware, Sunga-Kushan red ware and Muslim Ware, were also seen during the exploration. The next Painted Grey Ware site at Dhuleta is completely under occupation.

The mound at Apra covers an area measuring over quarter a km. in length and breadth, and is situated on the northern outskirts of the village with an occupational thickness of about 4 metres. It yielded pottery similar to Dhuleta but Painted Grey Ware is rare. A rain-gully has cut the mound into two parts and now it has become a regular path of the villagers. Bones, ashes, charcoal, mud and burnt bricks can be noticed frequently in the exposed sections. A prominent burnt layer, reddish in colour, running in the middle of the exposed sections seems to overlie the Sunga-Kushan deposits. Probably the city was completely burnt

16. Lal, B. B., *Ancient India* Nos: 10 and 11, p. 140.

and plundered towards the end of the Sunga-Kushan period. It was reoccupied in the Muslim time as is evident by the late Muslim graves.

The mounds at Bir Basian and Saprota, both about 4 metres high have become the target of villagers as they are cutting it actively for want of fertile soil. In a 3 metres section at Bir Basian exposed by rain and villagers, mud-brick structures and burnt bricks were noticed. The pottery included specimens of the plain grey, black slipped and black-and-red wares. A red ware industry of Sunga-Kushan period was also noticed.* The last occupation is characterized by Muslim pottery and a standing tomb of the late medieval period. The mound at Saprota, which is by the side of G.T. Road has yielded only one sherd of the Painted Grey Ware. The other ceramic industries are similar to those at Bir Basian.

The mound at Haripur (near Phillaur) is about 5 metres high, but it has yielded only Sunga-Kushan and Muslim red wares.

III

An assessment of the explored Harappan material revealed that Harappa culture in Sutlej Valley belongs to a late mature phase in comparison to the mature phases of that culture in Indus and Ghaggar basins.¹⁷ An unique feature of this culture in this region is the introduction of incised decorations on the pottery, but how, when and wherefrom this new trait penetrated is a matter still to be decided, for at the mature sites like Mohenjodaro and Harappa incised pottery was not used and the Harappans living in northern Rajasthan from where they possibly migrated to Upper Sutlej basin also did not like to use the incised pottery of their ancestors (Sothi people)?

The area of eastern Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh was not a cultural vacuum before the arrival of the Harappans, but the position of the other pre-Harappan or contemporary cultures is yet to be determined. A few isolated cultural pockets like the users of the incised ochre-coloured-ware in their early stages as witnessed

17. During my recent visit to Europe, I had an opportunity to discuss 'Harappa Culture' with Dr. J. M. Casal in Paris. He is of opinion that the site of Harappa itself represents the late mature stage of Harappa Culture.

at Atranjikhhera,¹⁸ possibly representing an indigenous culture uninfluenced by the late Harappa, and neolithic implements recently explored from the foot of the Siwalik in District Kangra at Ror,¹⁹ were already in existence whose economy was not much advanced. The tract lying between Saharanpur and Ludhiana is the only outlet for the people living in upper Ganga Doab to exchange the cultural thoughts with the people living in the Indus system of rivers and it is not unlikely that this area was the meeting point of various cultures, and incised decoration technique is probably the outcome of this fusion.

Recent excavations and explorations in the upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab²⁰ confirmed that Harappans survived in this region for a longer time and came in contact with the post-Harappan cultures like Cemetery-H, whose presence had been already noticed in the excavations at Dher Majra in the Sutlej valley and at Bargaul (Distt. Saharanpur) in the Yamuna valley. Now the time has come when more sites of the Cemetery-H culture should be explored in the tract lying between Yamuna and Sutlej in order to arrive at a definite conclusion.

The presence of a solitary sherd of Ochre-coloured Ware at Kat Palon in Sutlej valley has posed a new question because similar pottery had been also reported from the left bank of the river Yamuna and its tributaries but in texture this Ochre-Coloured Ware is different from that of Ganga valley.

The exploration has revealed a number of sites with black-and-red ware which has been previously reported in excavations from the different chronological horizons in North India. In this direction a systematic exploration corroborated by excavations in East Panjab should be taken up in order to trace the migrational

18. Gaur, R. C., Proto-historic Industries at Atranjikhhera, Poona Seminar, 1964. Now it is no more an isolated pocket. In recent years, a few sites of this ware but devoid of incised designs, have been reported in excavations and explorations from the Ganga-Yamuna doab. Sometimes these sites are associated with late Harappan material also.

19. Sahani, M. R., and Mohapatra, G. C., The First Record of small flake tools and polished stone celts in District Kangra, East Punjab, *Current Science*, Vol. 33, No. 6, March 20, 1964, pp. 178 to 180.

20. I. A. — A Review 1963-64, pp. 1-84. See also the comments of Shri M. N. Deshpande on Shri A. Ghosh's lecture: The Indus Civilization, Poona, 1964.

route of these people in North India. If possible the cooperation of West Pakistan Government may also be sought for solving this problem.

The foregoing discussion shows that this region had been under continuous occupation right from the beginning of the palaeolithic times upto the present, but in spite of this there are still some gaps in the chronology which require the spade of the archaeologist to go into action.

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The photographs in the article are by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

LIST OF THE EXPLORED SITES

Tehsil Phillaur, Distt. Jullundur. H—Harappan, OC—Ochre Coloured, PG—Painted Grey, G—Grey, BS—Black Slipped, BR—black-and-red, SK—Sunga-Kushan Red Ware, and M—Muslim.

S.No.	Name of site	Wares
1.	Apra	PG, G, BR, SK, and M.
2.	Asha 'Ur	PG G, BR, SK, and M.
3.	Bir Basian	G, BS, BR, SK, and M.
4.	Dhuleta	PG, G, BS, BR, SK and M.
5.	Haripur	SK and M.
6.	Kat-Palon	H, OC, PG, G, BS, BR, SK and M.
7.	Laliana	M.
8.	Mulla-Walan	M.
9.	Nagar	H, PG, G, BS, SK and M.
10.	Nir	SK and M.
11.	Rajpura*	SK and M.
12.	Saprota	PG, G, BS, BR, SK and M.
13.	Tehang	M.
14.	Nurmahal	M.

* A fragmentary sculpture was also reported from this place about 20 years ago. It looks as if it was an upper part of a big slab. The figure which is in fragment looks like a flying Gandharva having a beaded necklace. Artistically it belongs to the post-Gupta period.

Indian Studies in Russia

BY

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Afanasi Nikitin in the XVth century was probably the first Russian to have carried first-hand information about India to his homeland.¹ The interest which he kindled did not die down. Throughout the XVIth, the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries the Russian Government continued to collect information about India from Indian traders, who had from the mid-XVIIth century formed colonies in Russia, or from Persian or Central Asian merchants with whom the Russians came in contact.² Meanwhile, the growth of international trade from the XVIIth century and the Russian desire to participate in it by promoting direct commerce with India prompted Russia to try to learn as much as possible about India. Russian interest in India grew with the development of her eastern trade from the XVIIth century onwards. By the second half of the XVIIth century the first book in Russian on Indian manners, customs and morals appeared. It was translated from French and within a quarter of century it underwent four editions.³ Fragments from classical Sanskrit text translated from Western European languages were also printed. The Russians thus made acquaintance with the *Bhagavad Gita* and Kālidāsa's *Sākuntalā*.⁴

1. Afanasi Nikitin was in India during 1469-1472.

2. *Russko-Indiiskiyе otnosheniya v XVIIv.*, ed. by K. A. Antonova, N. M. Goldberg, T. D. Lavrentsova, Moskva, 1958; *Russko-Indiiskiyе otnosheniya v XVIII v.*, ed. by K. A. Antonova and N. M. Goldberg, Moskva, 1965.

3. The translators were Igor and Pavlov Tsitsianiv. The first edition was published in 1765 from Moscow and the fourth came out in 1791. Quoted in E. Y. Lyusternik, *Russko-Indiiskiyе ekonomicheskkiye, nauchniye svyazi v XIX v.*, M., 1966, p. 109.

4. Lyusternik, *Russko-Indiiskiyе—v XIX v.*, p. 109. A. A. Petrov translated fragments of *Gita* and N. M. Karamzin from *Sākuntalā*.

Gerasim Stepanovich Lebedev was the real founder of Indian studies in Russia. He had lived in India for twelve years (1785-97) of which he spent ten (1787-97) in Calcutta. Here he learnt Bengali, Hindustani and Sanskrit and translated two plays from English into Bengali and put them on stage in 1795. This marked the beginning of the modern Bengali theatre. Gerasimov left India in 1797 and published in 1801 a comparative grammar of Hindustani, Bengali and Sanskrit. Soon after his return to homeland he began agitating for the introduction of the study of Indian languages and also setting up of a typography. He published another book on India which dealt not only with religion, morals and customs of Indians but also with the British rule in India.⁵ Lebedev's efforts were rewarded. In 1802 he was appointed the Professor of Oriental languages, elected a member of the Russian Academy and a Press for Indian languages was also set up. This was the first Press in Europe with Indian letters.⁶ Before his death in 1817, Gerasimov had securely laid the foundations of Indian studies in Russia.

While Lebedev was busy promoting Indian studies, certain other facts strengthened his hands. The campaigns of Napoleon when the French had been expected to attack India and the consolidation of the British rule had focussed European attention on this eastern country. Indian studies had become popular in western Europe. So the Russians could not ignore India. Academician Pallas did some fieldwork about Indian languages among Indians living in Astrakhan. The Russians also knew something about regional Indian languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Hindustani and Bengali. Some Tamil manuscripts had found their way into the library of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.⁷

Thus till the twenties of the XIXth century Russian interest was confined to the study of Indian languages, particularly, Sanskrit. Academician F. P. Adelung wrote a book about similarities between Sanskrit and the Russian language. It was hailed by the scholarly world. He prepared a list of 270 languages and dialects of India, Afghanistan, Burma and other countries of South-East

5. *Russko-Indiiskiyе—v XVIII v.*, p. 21. Lebedev's book came out from Petersburg in 1805.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiyе—v XIX v.*, p. 100.

Asia. In another manuscript completed about 1830 he described, in the first part, the ancient Indian languages and, in the second, the modern. However, these were mainly philological studies, guided by the desire to look into the comparative structure of different languages. A change soon came about, and there began independent studies of Indian languages and literature.⁸

An important step in this direction was the appointment of Muhamad Khalil ibn Gafran Ally of Peshawar as correspondent of the University of Kazan in 1827.⁹ The University hoped to procure through him Indian manuscripts for its library and other academic information. Academician Adelung published a bibliography of ancient Indian works.¹⁰ At the same time some of the Universities and institutions of Russia became members of the Oriental Translation Fund published from London, half of whose publications were devoted to India. All these efforts resulted in the publication of some papers on Indology by Russian scholars in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, which marked the international debut of the Russian Indologists.¹¹

A systematic teaching of Sanskrit began in Russia when Academician Lenz started delivering a course of regular lectures on Sanskrit from 1836 at the Petersburg University.¹² From these class-rooms went out famous Russian Sanskritologists and Indologists of the XIXth Century. The most honoured name among them is that of P. Y. Petrov (1814-1875), who translated the first part of the *Rājataranginī* into Russian and came to be respected as the greatest Sanskritologist of his age.¹³ Petrov published a part of the *Mahābhārata* into Russian and Zhukovsky brought out the story of Nala-Damayanti.¹⁴

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 16. Prominent Russian Orientalists who published their papers were Prof. A. Kazem-Bek of the University of Kazan and Prof. Dorn of the University of Kharkov.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 117. Lenz had published a long review of the first volume of Sanskrit Dictionary, compiled by Raja Radha Kant Deb of Calcutta, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London in 1835.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 128. The translation was commented upon by the famous Russian critic Belinsky.

The work of the Russian Indologists soon came to be recognised. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal sent to Petersburg 28 volumes of its publications and requested Petersburg to send them the works of the Russian Orientalists.¹⁵ The Russian Government in its turn honoured the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by conferring upon it a gold medal.¹⁶

Indological studies were getting popular in Russia, and the teaching of Sanskrit was started in the Moscow University in 1851. Petrov came over from the University of Kazan to take over this assignment. Kossovich, another noted Russian Indologist, was in charge of the teaching of Sanskrit at the Petersburg University.¹⁷ Kossovich published a Russian-Sanskrit dictionary in 1854. In 1852 a big Sanskrit-German Dictionary had already been planned by Russian scholars. The decision to bring out the Sanskrit-German Dictionary was taken so that it would be useful to scholars even outside Russia.

The growing interest of Russians in India began to be reflected in the fact that Russian scholars started investigating the problem of Russo-Indian relations in the past. The narrative of Nikitin was published with extensive comments. Articles devoted to Russo-Indian trade and trade-routes began to appear in the journals of learned societies.¹⁸

The great uprising of 1857 in India against the British rule found its echo in the contemporary Russian Press. Vehement debates raged between the apologists and the antagonists of the British Raj. Long articles were published analysing the nature and causes of the events taking place in India. Writers denied any Russian instigation or involvement in Indian happenings. India had become the burning topic of the day.¹⁹

15. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 119. In 1856 the Petersburg Academy of Sciences conferred upon Raja Radha Kant Deb of Calcutta its membership for his seven volume dictionary of Sanskrit "*Śabda Kalpadruma*". He was the first Indian to have been so honoured. The second Indian to receive this honour was R. G. Bhandarkar.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

19. See L. I. Yurevich, "*Indian Peoples' Uprising in the Assessment of Contemporary Russians*" in *Narodnoye Voostaniye v Indii, 1857-59*, M., 1957.

The Russian society realised the necessity of studying India in all its aspects. The Russian expansion in Central Asia had brought it nearer to India. Therefore, an important step towards the systematic study of Indology was taken in 1858 when the Oriental Section of the Academy of Sciences was established, headed by Otto Betling. The newly organised section vigorously took up the compilation and publication of the monumental Sanskrit-German dictionary. Its final volume came out in 1875 and between 1879-1889 an abridged edition was also brought out.²⁰ Thus by mid-fifties of the XIXth century Indian studies in Russia had been established on a firm footing. The Indian scholarly world also began to take note of Russian efforts in the sphere of Indological studies. The Rev. John Long wrote a paper "On Recent Russian Researches" dealing with the work of Russian scholars in the field of Indology for the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1860.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 provided further impulse to the development of Indian studies in Russia. For the first time direct sea-trade between the two countries, for which the Russians had been striving for nearly three centuries, was rendered possible. Trade increased and so did the contacts. Russian missions were opened in India and business houses established their branches. So the Russians got interested not only in India's hoary past but also in the preceding few centuries and contemporary situation. To the list of languages, literature, philosophy, history and religion were added geography, botany, agronomy and other subjects. Indian studies in Russia became more comprehensive and diversified.

An example of this new development is the mutual exchange and appreciation of ideas between the thinkers of the two countries. The Russian political thinker Prince Kropotkin and Swami Vivekananda met in Paris. Y. P. Popov translated some of

20. Lyusternik, *Russko-Indiiskiy—v XIX v.*, p. 120. Belting was helped by many Russian and German Sanskritologists such as F. Knauer, I. I. Sreznevsky, N. I. Veselovsky, R. Rot etc. Knauer was sent to Western Europe in 1881 for two years to study under Prof. Rot of Tubingen University and Prof. Buhler of Vienna University. He was to visit London, Paris and other centres of Sanskritology in Europe to acquaint himself with the manuscripts lying there. Knauer made some corrections in the big Petersburg Sanskrit-German Dictionary (*Ibid.*, p. 150).

Vivekananda's writings.²¹ The great Russian savant Leo Tolstoy was deeply admired in India and he influenced the thinking of many Indian leaders of the freedom movement. His personal library at Yasnaya Polyana contained a large number of books and journals sent to him by his Indian admirers in and outside India.²²

Minaev, Schroeder, Oldenberg and Tscherbatsky are the outstanding names in the field of Indian classical studies during this period. A great scholar of Sanskrit and Pali, Minaev visited India many times. He was present at the first session of Indian National Congress held at Bombay in 1885.²³ His travel diaries still remain a valuable source for the study of Indian society in the last quarter of the XIXth century.²⁴

Schroeder, a teacher at the University of Tartu (1877-1884) in Estonia, devoted his attention to Sanskrit and Vedic studies. His analysis of the laws of Manu was hailed by his contemporaries. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal offered to publish his works in India. The plan could not mature owing to the weak financial position of the Society. Schroeder was considered to be an authority on Vedic studies in Europe along with Max Muller and others.²⁵ Incidentally another Estonian, Arnold Nerling, lived in South India during 1862-66 and picked a fine knowledge of Tamil.²⁶

Oldenberg and Tscherbatsky were ardent students of Buddhist philosophy and their contributions are still valued by students of Buddhism all over the world. Together they planned and published more than hundred volumes in *Biblioteka Buddhica*.²⁷ In fact, the greatest achievement of Russian Indology was in the field of Buddhology.

21. *Prakticheskay Vedanta*, Moscow, 1912; *Bhakti-Yōga*, Petesburg, 1914; *Karma Yōga*, second edition, Petersburg, 1916.

22. N. M. Goldberg, *Ocherki po istorii Indii*, M., 1965, pp. 159-85.

23. Lyusternik, *Russko-Indiiskiy—v XIX, v.*, p. 147.

24. I. P. Minaev, *Dnevnik pyteshestvii v Indii i Birnu, 1880 i 1885-86*, M., 1955. Its English translation is now available. Minaev wrote other books also on India of the XIXth century.

25. Lyusternik, *Russko-Indiiskiy—v XIX v.*, pp. 150-51; Some of Schroeder's works were published in German from Leipzig.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-75.

The growing contacts between the two countries were reflected in the visit of a host of Russian artists to India. Some of them drew inspiration for their creative work from the local scene. Among these artists the name of Vereshagin stands out. He came to India twice—1872-74 and 1882-83 and drew 150 sketches. He completed 34 pictures, some of which now adorn the famous art galleries of the world. His painting "Hanging by the British", drawn after the suppression of the Namdharis in 1872 portrays the hatred of the Indians for the alien rule and the cruelties perpetrated by the foreign masters.²⁸ When the Indian revolutionaries abroad published their journal "*Free Hindustan*" its front page carried this painting by Vereshagin.

Teams of Russian geographers, agronomists and doctors continued to flock to India for purposes of study.²⁹ On return some of them published travel impressions, and thus the knowledge about Indian affairs continued to grow in Russia.

An important feature of the opening decade of the present century was the establishment of contact between Russian revolutionaries and Indian freedom fighters. Gorky hailed Shyamji Krishna Varma as the 'Mazzini' of India and invited him to contribute to his journal, an article on the contemporary situation in India.³⁰

Thus before the outbreak of the great November Revolution Indian studies in their manifold aspects had become a part of the Russian intellectual life. The Revolution gave a new turn to the study of Indology in Russia.

28. I. I. Petrov, *Za Gimalayami*, M., 1958, pp. 92-101. His other famous paintings on Indian subjects are, "Himālayan Height" and "Tāj Mahal". Other famous Russian painters to visit India were Saltikov, N. Karazin, N. Samokish and V. Batagin.

29. *Ibid.* Pashino published a travelogue "*Po Indii*" from Petersburg in 1885. Geographer Voyeykov arrived in Bombay in 1875. He published a book on agricultural products of India in 1898. A Russian expedition of agronomists headed by I. N. Klingen visited India in 1895. Krasnov also visited India to study the cultivation of tea, jute and other tropical products. Among medical men to visit India were V. K. Vysokovich, D. K. Zabolotny, Haffkine etc.

30. *Lyusternik, Russko-Indiiskiy—v XIX, v., p. 178.*

After the Revolution on account of factors such as the philosophy of international solidarity of the new regime and the important events taking place in India, Indian studies in the Soviet Union received great encouragement. But a significant change in method, technique and perspective had come about. The Soviet scholars adopted the Marxist philosophy and hence, the study of socio-economic history became their first concern. The history of Indian freedom movement and the role of the masses now engaged the attention of Soviet Indologists. Consequently, a vast amount of contemporary Indian literature began to be looked into and translated into Russian. In addition to ancient and modern periods, the study of medieval Indian history was undertaken. Thus the range of Indian studies was widened.

Marx's writings on India were published in Russian. The travel account of Bernier, the French traveller in India in the XVIIth century, was brought out in Russian version, because Marx had described it as a great book on socio-economic life of Mughal India.

Among the Soviet Indologists of this generation mention should be made of Reisner and Goldberg. Most of the present-day Soviet Indologists have been trained and nurtured by them. Reisner concentrated his attention primarily on the mass movements in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries. His book, *"Peoples movements in India in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries"*, while analysing the causes of the Maratha, the Jat and the Sikh uprisings, also tries to determine the level of economic development attained by the Indian society. He did not agree that the germs of capitalism had appeared and the Indian society had crossed the stage of feudalism.³¹

Goldberg studied the freedom movement in India in the last quarter of the XIXth century. He evaluated the role of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.³² Several other studies of contemporary Indian society were made. The study of contemporary Indian languages was started in Soviet Institutions. Academician Barannikov

31. I. M. Reisner, *Narodniye dvizheniya v Indii v XVII-XVIII vv.*, M., 1961.

32. N. M. Goldberg, *Ocherki po istorii Indii*.

specialised in Hindi and Urdu and also translated the *Rāmāyaṇa*³³ of Tulsidās. Oldenberg and Tscherbatsky continued their studies in the field of Buddhism.

The Second World War somewhat interrupted the development of Indian studies because the country was then fighting for its very existence. However, Indologists at Tashkent kept the torch burning. After the war ended and as life returned to normalcy, Indian studies in the Soviet Union were revived.

Meanwhile, India had also become independent, and it was natural that these two big neighbours should try to understand each other. Indian studies in the Soviet Union were now undertaken on a much larger scale than ever before. Together with Moscow and Leningrad, Tashkent emerged as a centre of Indian studies, which also found place at some other cities such as Dushanbe, Yerevan and Tartu. The latter had a fine tradition of Sanskrit studies in pre-1917 Russia, it is being revived under the guidance of Prof. Nurmekund.

Indian studies in the Soviet Union now cover almost every subject, History (ancient, medieval and modern), Art and Architecture (ancient, medieval and modern), Philology and Literature (ancient, medieval and modern), Philosophy (ancient, medieval and modern), Anthropology, Economics, Geography etc.

As regards ancient Indian history, the most valuable contribution of the Soviet scholars has been the publication of the results of archaeological finds in Soviet Central Asia, which throw a flood of light on India's contacts with the region. In this connection Masson's book "*Central India and the ancient East*" is worth mentioning.³⁴ It is primarily based on archaeological discoveries in this part. It is now evident to scholars that the Kushana period in Indian history cannot be properly assessed without taking into account the evidence unravelled in the plains of Soviet Central Asia. Certain ancient Indian manuscripts have also come to light in this area, and some of these are being prepared for publication by G. M. Bongard-Levin and his colleagues in the Institute of Peoples of Asia. Bongard-Levin has to his

33. A. P. Barannikov, *Rāmāyaṇa ili Ramcaritmānas*, M-L, 1948.

34. V. M. Masson, *Sredneyaya Aziya i Drevnii Vostok*, M. L., 1964.

credit important papers on social, economic and administrative history of ancient India.³⁵ Professor Tolstov, Osipov and Ilyn also have made valuable contribution.

A large number of manuscripts bearing on medieval Indian history are lying in the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. The Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent has been publishing since 1952 descriptive catalogues of manuscripts in its possession, which total about 1,00,000. Some of these manuscripts pertain to the history of our country.³⁶ Russian translations of a few of them such as those of ibn Shahryar's *Wonder of India* (M., 1959), Gyasuddin Ali's *Diary of Timur's March to India* (Moscow, 1958), Muhammad Kazim's *March of Nadir Shah to India* (excerpt from *Tarikh-i-Alamara-i Nadiri*) (M., 1961) etc. are available. Other medieval Indian primary sources which are now accessible in Russian are Alberuni's *India* (Tashkent, 1963), *Babur Nama* (Tashkent, 1958), and Gulbadan Begum's *Humayun Nama*. Moreover, two volumes of documents edited by K. A. Antonova on Russo-Indian relations in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries also have been printed.³⁷ They tell us a lot about the activities of Indian merchants in Russia, Persia and to some extent in Central Asia.

Some light on medieval Indian history has been thrown by the study of Armenian sources by Soviet scholars. The Armenians have known India at least from the VIIth century, and the Library at Yerevan "Matendran" contains an unspecified number of documents and manuscripts dealing with India. Abramyan has translated into Russian eye-witness Armenian accounts of events in Bengal in the second-half of the XVIIIth century and Haidar Ali's fight with the English. He has also written some articles on Indo-Armenian relations on the basis of Armenian documents but much still remains to be done.³⁸ He has recently discovered a text-

35. G. M. Bongard-Levin, "Some features of the system of government of the Mauryan empire: sources and problems" in *Istoriya i Kultura drevney Indii*, M., 1963; "Parisad v sisteme gosudarstvennogo upravleniya imperii Mauryev"; "Istoricheskiye osnovy drevneindiiskikh avadan (Legenda o lishenii Ashoki vlasti i edikt tsartsy)"; "Drevneindiiskiy raja-sabha i parisad v "Indica" Megasthenese" etc.

36. To my knowledge five volumes have been published so far.

37. Quoted earlier.

38. R. Abramyan has published in 1963 a summary in Russian (Moscow).

book of Sanskrit written in the Armenian language in the XVIIIth century.

Apart from making primary sources available in Russian, the Soviet scholars have published some books on medieval Indian history. The central theme has been the level attained by the Indian economy. Another point at issue has been the nature of village community. Reisner's conclusions have been supported by K. A. Antonova in her monograph *Socio-Economic life in India in Akbar's time* and in various other papers on Indian economic history in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries.³⁹ Ashrafyan,⁴⁰ Alaev,⁴¹ Chicherov,⁴² Pavlov⁴³ and Komarov⁴⁴ have controverted this thesis. Alaev and Chicherov have shown by their researches on Indian economy in the XVIIth and the XVIIIth centuries that elements of capitalism in the feudal Indian society had already appeared in the form of detailed division of labour, specialisation, emergence of manufactories where the craftsmen worked for wages for their masters and in the form of their inability to get out of this situation because they were left with no other means to earn a living. Alaev has also worked on village communities and has concluded that the Marxian-type was not the universal one and money economy had penetrated the village-economy. Pavlov and Komarov have confirmed Alaev and Chicherov by drawing upon the facts of Indian economy in the late XVIIIth and the early XIXth centuries. The results of their researches have been adopted by the editors of the "*New History of India*", which covers the period from the second half of the XVIIth century to the First World War.

39. K. A. Antonova, *Ocherki obshchestvennykh otnoshenii i politicheskogo stroya mogolskoi Indii vremeni Akbara (1556-1605)*, M., 1952; "O genezise kapitalizma v Indii"; "K voprosu o vvedenii sistemy raiyatwari v Indii", etc.

40. K. Z. Ashrafyan, *Deliiskiy Sultanat*, M., 1960; *Agrarnoi stroi severnoi Indii*, M., 1965.

41. L. B. Alaev, *Yuzhnaya Indiya*, M., 1963. He has written a number of articles on village community in India.

42. A. I. Chicherov, *Ekonomicheskiye razvitiye Indii*, M., 1965. He has also written articles on production-relations in the XVII-XVIII century India.

43. V. I. Pavlov, *Formirovaniye Inditskoi Burzhuazii*, M., 1958, and some articles. The book is now available in English.

44. Komarov, *Bengalskaya derevniya i krest'yanstvo v vo vtoroi polovine XVIII v; K voprosu ob ustanovlenii postoyannogo oblozheniya po sisteme zamindari v Bengali*, etc.

The establishment of Portuguese supremacy in the Indian waters in the XVIth century had been the object of research by Antonova, Lyusternik and Bregel, who have shown its harmful effect on Indian economy chiefly on the basis of contemporary sources in Portuguese, Latin and other European languages.

Two books that have come out from Tashkent are of special interest to students of medieval Indian history. The first by Azimzanova is on Babur's early life and career⁴⁵ and the second by Baikova is on the role of Central Asia in the Russo-Indian trade in the medieval era.⁴⁶ The latter discounts the theory that Persia was the main link in the Russo-Indian trade during this era.

A strong point in favour of the Soviet historians has been their proficiency in several languages. This has enabled them to tap and analyse a wide range of primary and secondary sources.

Coming to the XIXth century India the Soviet scholars have tackled specific problems and specific regions. Nina Simeonova has extensively written on the history of the Sikhs and the Panjab.⁴⁷ Kuzmin has produced a monograph on the agrarian relations in Sindh in the XIXth century. Bankim's socio-political ideas have been commented upon by Paevskaya and Novikova in a number of articles. Novikova is at the moment preparing a monograph on Bankim Chandra. Some articles and monographs have as their subject plantation industries, labour-relations and labour-laws, the land system, the rise of capitalism and the penetration of foreign capital in India. Important social and political movements of the late XIXth and XXth centuries have been widely studied. Researchers working in these fields are Balabushevich, Dyakov,⁴⁸ Osipov, Ilin, Kotovsky, Levkovsky, Ulyanovsky, Gordon-Polonskaya, Gankovsky, Gurevich, Sofia

45. S. A. Azimzanova, *K istorii Fergany vtoroi poloviny XV v.*, Tashkent, 1957.

46. N. B. Baikova, *Rol sredny Azii v Russko-Indiskikh torgovikh svyazey*, Tashkent, 1964.

47. N. Simeonova, *Gosudarstvo Sikhov*, M., 1958; *Panjab v period narodnogo vosstaniya v Indii 1857-59 gg.*, etc.

48. He has written a number of books and articles on India. He has also edited several works by Soviet scholars on varied aspects of Indian life. He is one of the oldest living Soviet Indologists. His most recent book, "*Natsionalny vopros v sovremennoi Indii*" has been translated into English.

Melman, Gordon, Babkina,⁴⁹ Aleksander Melnikov,⁵⁰ Pavlov, Komarov, Medvedev, Wafa, Litman, Drobishev, Sergei Levin etc. Deviatkina's researches on the activities of Indian revolutionaries in the Soviet Union are of special interest to students of Indian freedom movement abroad.

Lyusternik has published two books on Russo-Indian relations (economic and cultural) in the XIXth century, which reveal some unknown facts about Indian history; they are mainly based on Russian sources.

The Soviet scholars have also taken care to keep their readers informed of what the Indian historians write. For this purpose they have translated into Russian Panikkar's "*A Survey of Indian History*", D. R. Chanana's "*Slavery in Ancient India*", Luniya's "*Culture of India*", N. K. Sinha and A. C. Banerji's "*History of India*" etc.

In the field of literature and philology the Soviet scholars have been quite busy. Many ancient Sanskrit texts have been translated. The *Mahābhārata* has been rendered in verse form. Kalyanov has prepared an abridged prose version of the *Mahābhārata*, and has also translated Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. A short text of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* has only recently come out.⁵¹ Śūdrak's "*Clay Cart*", and the *Pancatantra*, have been made available in Russian. At the moment some of the Upaniṣads are being translated. Grintser has written a monograph on ancient Indian prose.⁵² Similarly, some Buddhist texts such as the *Dhammapada* are to be found in Russian. In fact the tradition of the study of ancient Indian literature founded in Russia in the XIXth Century is being maintained and developed.

Some work is also being done with regard to the Persian literature as it flourished in India during the Muslim rule.

49. She writes on folk culture. Her book is "*Narodny Teatr Indii*", M., 1964.

50. He writes on peasant movement in India in the XXth Century. Kotovsky has specialised on agrarian problems of India and has edited a bibliography of books on India in Russian and by Russian scholars—*Bibliografiya Indica*, Moskva, 1965.

51. Erman and Temkin, *Ramayana*, M., 1965.

52. Grintser, *Drevney inditskoy proza*, M., 1963.

As regards modern Indian literature the Soviet scholars have been working in practically all the regional languages of India. They have taken up both the language (its grammar and structure) and literature. They have touched Hindi, Urdū, Bengālī, Marātī, Panjabī, Telugū, Tamil, Malayālam, Kannaḍa, etc. Short histories of Sanskrit,⁵³ Hindi, Urdū, Panjābī⁵⁴ and Bengālī⁵⁵ literatures have been published. In order to facilitate the task of research workers dictionaries of some of the major Indian languages have been compiled.

Works of modern Indian writers of different Indian languages are regularly appearing in Russian. The list of Indian writers who have been translated into Russian is too long to be enumerated here. Rabindra Nath Tagore's complete writings have been twice published, and he is one of the most widely read foreign authors in Russia. It may be said that the translation of important Indian literary works is a characteristic of Indian studies in the Soviet Union. Some of the important researchers in the field of Indian languages and literature are — Chelyshev, Akseonov, Beskrovny, Novikova, Zogrof, Balin, Chernyshev, Pytagorsky, Pyotr Barannikov, etc.

In short, Indian studies in the Soviet Union are well established, and they cover many fields. In order to have indigenous specialists there are arrangements for imparting instruction in Indian subjects at all levels of education.

53. I. D. Serebryakov, *Drevneindiiskaya literatura*, M., 1963.

54. Serebryakov, *Penjabskaya literatura*, M., 1963.

55. Novikova, *Ocherki po istorii Bengalsk oi literaturi*, M., 1965.

King Nasir ud Din Haider of Awadh (1827-37)

BY

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Nasir ud Din Haider ascended the throne on the death of his father, Ghaziud Din Haider on 20 October, 1827. A little before his accession the Resident at Lucknow had required him to sign an agreement binding him to introduce in his kingdom a better system of administration to be carried on according to the advice of the Company's Government. But at the minister's suggestion he refused to do so.¹ Of course, he obeyed the Resident when the latter asked him to drop "the objectional title of Ghazi" from the royal seal.²

He assumed the title of Shahjahan to which the Resident made no objection considering it "words merely metaphorical." But the Governor General objected to it suggesting a change of title from Shahjahan to Shah-i-jaman. This was done because the title of Shahjahan had been borne by one of the ancestors of the then Delhi Emperor, Akbar II and its assumption by the King of Awadh, once a hereditary vassal of the Mughul house, was likely to hurt the feelings of "that unfortunate and fallen prince."³ But Nasir ud Din insisted on retaining it. At last a compromise was made and he was allowed to bear the title within his kingdom but not to use it in his dealing with the Company's Government.⁴

After this episode his succession to the throne was publicly recognised by the Company's Government and a public dinner was given him in honour of the occasion. Mr. A. Sterling, the

1. Foreign Political Consultation (F.P.C.) No. 38, the 2nd November, 1827 and also F.P.C. No. 15, the 16th November, 1827.

2. F.P.C. No. 39, the 2nd November, 1827.

3. F.P.C. No. 32, the 7th December, 1827.

4. F.P.C. No. 33, the 7th December, 1827.

Persian Secretary to the Government at Fort William, wrote to him:—

“I entertain a well grounded hope that under your Majesty’s auspices the affairs of the country will flourish, and the welfare and interests of the ryots will be studied and promoted; and your majesty may rely with confidence that in the furtherance and enforcement of all such just and beneficial objects of policy the British Government..... will ever be ready to afford its most zealous and cordial assistance.....”⁵.

Nasir ud Din Haider in his turn assured the Resident that he would govern his kingdom according to the pleasures of the Company’s government.

“This state (i.e., Awadh) is indeed.....a fragment of the British empire and its interests are inseparably interwoven..... with those of Great Britain”, he wrote to the Governor General.⁶

Nasir ud Din Haider commenced his reign by calling back to the durbar his uncle, Nasir ud-Dowla, who had been in disgrace for some time. He and Badshah Begam, the Queen Mother had suffered indignities from the late King at the instigation of the Minister, Aga Mir. The popular expectation was that on being King he would avenge himself on Aga Mir but contrary to it he retained him in the ministerial office informing the Resident that he was fully satisfied with his conduct.⁷ He sought the Governor General’s approval but the latter was aware of Aga Mir’s bad conduct and of misrule and contempt of law which had prevailed in Awadh during his long and nearly absolute administration as King Ghazi ud Din Haider’s Minister. Though he did not like that a man of Aga Mir’s character should hold the rank of a Minister yet he preferred to give the King of Awadh freedom in the selection of his principal officers. He, therefore, simply recognised Aga Mir’s official status and tried his best to prevent the idea from gaining ground among the people that he and his government had a hand in it.⁸ Simultaneously, the Resident was advised to bring to the

5. F.P.C. No. 61, the 9th November, 1827.

6. F.P.C. No. 23, the 16th November, 1827.

7. F.P.C. No. 21, the 16th November, 1827.

8. F.P.C. No. 25, the 16th November, 1827.

King's notice the disordered state on his country's frontier and the outrages committed within the Company's Districts by banditti which found refuge in Awadh and to ask him to arrest the progress of these evils.⁹ It was also clarified that if he failed to do so the Company's government would intervene.¹⁰ Moreover, the appointment of an efficient officer who would listen to the complaints made by the Company's sepoys against his guilty subjects,^{10a} the reform of the police establishment, the cessation of illegal levy of custom duties and a change in the mode of revenue collection in his kingdom were proposed and he was asked to fill the principal offices of the State with experienced and respectable persons.¹¹

After all these were communicated to the King of Awadh. Lord Combermere, the Company's Commander-in-chief, visited Lucknow on 11 December, 1827.¹² His Lordship's visit indirectly brought about the dismissal of Aga Mir. Nasir ud Din Haider had not stopped with reinstating Aga Mir in the Minister's office. He had shown an increasing regard for him by granting to him and his heirs in perpetuity a *jagir* yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 5,82,210-14-0.¹³ When Combermere paid his visit to the King the latter chose the occasion for performing the ceremony of Aga Mir's investiture. He asked Combermere to assist him in decorating Aga Mir with a robe of honour which was refused outright.¹⁴ Nasir ud Din Haider's real feeling towards his Minister was not one of regard for or confidence in him but of fear and hatred which he concealed possibly because he thought that Aga Mir enjoyed the favour of the Company's government and could do him harm. But Combermere's refusal opened his eyes and he complained to him that the Minister had assumed all powers; all were his creatures and yet nobody obeyed his orders. He further said that the Minister had dishonoured his seraglio in a manner

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

10a. Quite a large number of the Company's sepoys in Bengal hailed from Awadh. Sometimes they were involved in quarrels with their fellow-villagers or Zamindars and petitioned against them to the resident for redress.

11. F.P.C. No. 30, the 7th December, 1827.

12. F.P.C. No. 18, the 4th January, 1828.

13. F.P.C. No. 31, the 7th December, 1827.

14. F.P.C. No. 18, the 4th January, 1828.

that he was ashamed to mention.¹⁵ Asked by Lord Combermere why he did not dismiss him Nasir ud Din replied that he was inexperienced and knew not how to do it telling further that he could do the same within two months provided he got help from the British. Whether Nasir ud Din received such help from the Company's government or from any other quarter is not known. But within less than two months he threw Aga Mir out of office putting him under arrest and demanding from him a satisfactory account of the receipts and disbursement of public revenue.¹⁶ This attitude of Nasir ud Din brought about a controversy between him and the Company's government; for the late King, Ghazi ud Din Haider had placed Aga Mir under the protection of the Company's government by his Deed of Agreement on the loan of a crore of rupees he had given in perpetuity to them in August, 1825. Besides, by his last will he had absolved him from accountability for all acts done by him in his ministerial capacity.¹⁷ The Governor General in Council, therefore, argued that Nasir ud Haider could not with justice and equity hold him responsible for his acts done during the regime of his father nor could he demand from him an account of the receipts and disbursement of public revenue of the former regime.¹⁸ But Nasir ud Din Haider was of opinion that Aga Mir was responsible to him for all acts done by him during the past as well as the present regime, and that the Deed of Agreement did not exempt Aga Mir from rendering accounts for the receipts and disbursement of public revenue nor did it stipulate that he was not to satisfy private claims. He further argued that the true intent and spirit of the Agreement was that the English Company should protect him, if any body were to unjustly attempt to disgrace him or seize his property.¹⁹ The controversy continued for some time and at last the Company's government stood forth as his protector and Aga Mir escaped to Kanpur with their assistance.^{19a} Nasir ud Din Haider as Dr. Spry

15. F.P.C. No. 26, the 11th January, 1828.

16. F.P.C. Nos. 35 & 36, the 11th January, 1828. Also F.P.C. No. 13, the 18th January, 1828.

17. F.P.C. Nos. 15 & 18, the 18th January, 1828.

18. F.P.C. No. 20, the 18th January, 1828.

19. F.P.C. Nos. 6 & 7, the 16th May, 1828.

19a. Foreign Political letter to the Court of Directors, the 4th March, 1831, para 170-72.

(Aga Mir's family physician) puts it, demolished Aga Mir's mansion at Dowlatpura to vent his spleen on him.²⁰

After Aga Mir's dismissal his friends and accomplices were arrested. Amrit Lal, a favourite Arz Begee of King Ghazi ud Din Haider, was disgraced and tortured; he committed suicide as a result.²¹ Mufti Khalil ud Din, the King's ambassador at Calcutta, was replaced by Munshi Ashiq Ali.²² The old exiles and the enemies of the ex-Minister were recalled to the court and honoured. Mir Fazl Ali was raised to the office of Minister and the title of Itimad ud Dowla was conferred upon him.²³ He was bold, well-intentioned and anxious to introduce that system of reform in the police and revenue administration of the country which had so long been unavailingly pressed upon the King of Awadh by the Company's government. It was perhaps under his influence that Nasir ud Din Haider agreed to reform the civil administration of his country and wished to adopt the measures proposed to his father by the Company's government in 1222 Fasli (roughly 1815 AD).²⁴

Accordingly Awadh was to be divided anew into districts; over each district an officer (Called Nazim) with judicial and police powers was to preside. He was to be assisted by such subordinate officers as Tahsildars and Darogas. The judiciary and the police were to be reorganised. Zamindars and revenue-farmers were to be responsible for crimes committed in their respective jurisdiction. Negligence on their part in the detection and prevention of crime was to be punished with confiscation of their property. Immediately on receipt of information that robbers had taken shelter in his division a Tahsildar was to arrest and send them to the Nazim under proper guard. He was also to seize and send to the Nazim such men who earned their livelihood by dishonest means and who had no ostensible means of livelihood. Tahsildars and Darogas were to be rewarded for apprehension of criminals. Female infanticide, prevalent among the Rajputs of

20. Modern India by Dr. Spry, p. 257.

21. F.P.C. No. 30, the 8th February, 1828.

22. F.P.C. Nos. 32-33, the 8th February, 1828.

23. F.P.C. No. 17, the 22nd February, 1828.

24. F.P.C. Nos. 31 & 32, the 10th April, 1828.

Awadh, was to be stopped. As a preliminary step towards the adoption of these reforms Nasir ud Din Haider introduced the Amani^{24a} system of revenue-collection in the District of Mullawan, Bangur mau, Sandi-Pali, Shahabad, Bahraitch and Gonda, making a quinquennial settlement with the landlords. But it failed on its objective and the Ijara²⁵ system of revenue collection was resorted to in those districts.²⁶ No effort was made by the King to adopt the reforms detailed above. This was because the young King of Awadh soon allowed himself to be dominated by a party of counsellors who were worthless flatterers, vicious and selfish; their aim was personal aggrandizement rather than the betterment of the country's internal condition and administration. Their hold over the King was so strong that the Minister, Itimad ud Dowla, became unpopular with him. His powers, functions and responsibilities as a Minister were successively curtailed and he found the office irksome.²⁷ The royal favourites were not satisfied with it. They wanted his removal and the disgusted Minister himself resigned his office.²⁸ But his resignation was not accepted and he continued as a titular Minister too eager to be relieved of his office and too afraid of being arrested after his relief.

Nasir ud Din Haider was mortally afraid of having a Minister whose power might eclipse his own. His grandfather, Saadat Ali Khan, had no Minister to assist him. He pretended to emulate him though he had not even the shadow of his talents. He was encouraged in his pretension by his worthless companions whose

24a. Under this system land was put in charge of a trustee who collected revenue on behalf of the government.

25. Under this system land was farmed out to the highest bidder for revenue collection.

26. F.P.C. Nos. 33 and 34, the 10th April, 1829. Also F.P.C. No. 34, the 18th September, 1829.

27. F.P.C. No. 18, the 6th March, 1829.

28. *Ibid.* The immediate cause of his resignation, as the resident put it, was somewhat ludicrous in nature. Nasir ud Din Haider along with his attendants had gone for an outing in the Gomati; Itimad ud Dowla was also with him. A European servant of the King who was in a state of drunkenness, lost his hat and nearly lost his life in an accident but was saved. The King who watched this incident asked the man to supply his lost hat with the turban of any of his attendants. The drunkard—possibly at the mischievous direction of the King—transferred to his head Itimad ud Dowla's turban who felt badly insulted and resigned his office.

interest it was to prevent the appointment of a strong and responsible man as Minister.²⁹

Nasir ud Din Haider constituted some of his associates into a committee of advisers "originally for the professed unobjectionable purpose of ameliorating the fiscal and judicial government of his country." The members of this committee were Iqbal ud Dowla, son of Fatah Ali, the faithful treasurer and an emancipated slave of the royal family, Ram Dayal, a banker of Lucknow, and Raja Mewa Ram who some time before Ghazi ud Din Haider's death had succeeded his father to the Diwan's office. Iqbal ud Dowla was His Majesty's companion during his festive moments, Ram Dayal a great personal favourite but completely unlettered. Only Mewa Ram had some administrative experience. Thus the committee was incapable of improving the administration.³¹ Soon after its formation the King drove Itimad ud Dowla out of office and himself assumed the reins of administration leaning on Ram Dayal for assistance.³¹

Nasir ud Din Haider was fickle, wayward and completely given up to pleasure and amusement. He was "very young, very uneducated and from his long seclusion in the recesses of a zenana" was utterly ignorant of the world and all its concerns. Moreover, there was no man of character and ability to "advise him or to conduct the ordinary details of public affairs." His associates were a handful of worthless intriguing domestics and mercenary sycophants who were despised by everybody in the country. Under such a King the administrative power slipped into the hands of a powerful junta.³² The members of this faction were five in all, Captain Fatah Ali being the most influential; he held the office of treasurer. Other members were his two sons and two sons-in-law. His eldest son, Iqbal ud Dowla, was the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal army, his second son, Majid ud Dowla, their paymaster. His first son-in-law, Muhammed Mir, was the head of the two courts of civil and criminal justice and his second son-in-law, Mir Ali Akbar was in charge of the third park of artillery. Of these

29. *Ibid.* Also F.P.C. No. 34, the 18th September 1829.

30. F.P.C. No. 34, the 18th September, 1829.

31. F.P.C. No. 44, the 18th September, 1829.

32. F.P.C. No. 51, the 18th September, 1829,

five persons none could speak or write Persian possibly with the exception of Fatah Ali.

Fatah Ali had the reputation of being an honest man and had never been accused of abusing his trust. But his sons were heavy drunkards, notorious for profligacy of manners, low propensities and debauchery and devoid of all sense of shame. They sent their wives to one of the royal palaces and allowed them to live in open adultery with the King in order to gain power and high offices of the State. Such was the great court cabal, as the Resident pointed out, which made use of the King's name and power to promote its own schemes of ambition and in which was actually vested the supreme authority of the State. Associated with this cabal were two equally vicious persons, namely, Muzaffar Ali Khan, the Daroga of *Diwankhana* and his son, Jafar Ali Khan, the commander of *Topkhana*. The latter frequently acted as a pimp to the King and was as much debauched though not so degraded in character as the two sons of Fatah Ali. There were also two boon companions of the King-Qamar Ali who as *Daroga* of the kitchen, supplied him with wine and Mumun who was in charge of his dancing girls.³³ The influence possessed by these degraded persons over the King was absolute, and under their control the policy of the court of Awadh soon came to be based on a system of intrigue, bribery and corruption which gradually extended itself to every department of the State and to almost every individual in it. The King himself and all acting under his authority practised this without any attempt at concealment. There was not perhaps a single individual attached to the Residency who did not come under its influence and was not in the constant habit of receiving bribes from the King, the Queens or some of the intriguing parties at the court. Many of the Residency servants were in the regular receipt of fixed monthly salaries from the court of Awadh. Ghulam Hasan, the Head Munshi of the Residency, and Indra Narayan, the treasurer were deeply implicated in these corrupt transactions. Mr. Hare who had been appointed Persian translator in the Residency fully admitted that he had received small sums of money from one of the Begams.³⁴

33. F.P.C. No. 56, the 18th September, 1829.

34. F.P.C. No. 51, the 18th September, 1829.

Ram Dayal, the chief among the King's advisers, believed in the omnipotence of bribery. His ambition was to be the King's Vakil or representative at the Residency. In order to achieve his end he offered to Mr. A. Lockett, the acting Resident of Lucknow, a bribe of 20 lacs of rupees which was refused. He was by no means competent for such an office; he was illiterate but had a peculiar talent for intrigue, sycophancy and pimping. He had gained royal favour by sending his sister to the palace who became a concubine of the King and was honoured by the name of Raj Mahal. Possibly as a result of Raj Mahal's entreaties the King consented to appoint Ram Dayal his Vakil at the Residency but Mr. Lockett refused to admit a man of Ram Dayal's character into the Residency. Soon after this the King found that Ram Dayal had taken large sums of money on false pretences.³⁵ He changed his mind and informed the Acting Resident that Ram Dayal was dishonest and should not be trusted. But Ram Dayal was too clever for the King. Apart from the support he derived from his sister, Raj Mahal, he won over to his side the favourite wives of the King. He contrived to identify his own interests with those of the King's favourite Begams by convincing them that it was through him that they received their large allowances and that their vakils were all his relations.³⁶ The King was perhaps pressed hard by these ladies to accommodate Ram Dayal in the office of his representative at the Residency and "the united influence of such a female phalanx over a mind so constituted as the King's" produced the desired result. The King suddenly changed his mind and appointed Ram Dayal his representative at the Residency. But Mr. Lockett remained obdurate and the controversy continued for some time during which every corrupt art was tried to make the Resident receive Ram Dayal. Even a direct offer was made by the King to send to the Residency two of the most beautiful public women of Lucknow but he remained unmoved.³⁷

The result of all these was the speedy decline of the internal administration of the country. The system of administration degenerated into one of rapacity and extortion. Its object came

35. *Ibid.* Also F.P.C. No. 50, the 18th September, 1829.

36. F.P.C. No. 38, the 2nd October, 1829.

37. F.P.C. No. 18, the 27th November, 1829.

to be to collect as large a revenue in as short a time as possible. The good name and character of the government were matters of secondary importance. The revenue-farmers or the Chakledars on whose vigilance and activity depended the efficiency of the police were men mostly unqualified for such charge "some of them being of the lowest extraction and others military adventurers and all holding the farm as a speculation" which they were determined to make as profitable as possible. Besides, the Chakledars were all powerful within their jurisdictions and the King was best satisfied with those who most punctually paid their rents. The state of their districts was never made the criterion of good or bad management. The King from time to time issued *Farman*s to them at the Resident's request for apprehension of criminals but they paid scant attention to such mandates.³⁸ The country's finances were also in a disordered state. Mr. T. H. Maddock, the Resident at Lucknow, wrote to the Deputy Secretary to the Government at Fort William on the 26th March, 1830: "..... the expected income of the remainder of the current year is not likely to amount to more than one-fourth of the demands upon the treasury during the same period. The pay of the large portion of troops is still greatly in arrears and as a natural consequence, great discontent prevails among them."³⁹ In the Revenue Department the resources were so much diminished by exactions and mismanagement that several Districts had to be farmed at reduced rates. The police in Awadh was hopelessly inefficient. The Kotwal of Lucknow was an active officer but his control was not allowed to extend over the King's personal servants. The Begams' and the King's favourites frequently resented the Kotwal's action against their guilty domestics. Consequently his efforts for the prevention of crimes were fruitless and there was an unprecedented increase in lawlessness.⁴⁰ The King's officers in the country's interior and their retainers became extremely oppressive to the people. They and the talukdars of Awadh trespassed the frontiers and crossing into the Company's districts forcibly seized persons

38. F.P.C. No. 12, the 7th May, 1830

39. F.P.C. No. 17 the 7th May, 1830.

40. *Ibid.*

and their property.⁴¹ A tribe of free-booters, called "Siyār Murwahs" came out of its jungle-abode in the Districts of Bahraitch, Balrampur and Atrawla and carried on their depredations in the neighbouring British Districts. There were also robbers of a different class entirely unconnected with the "Siyār Murwah" tribe. They went as far as the British District of Patna to commit robbery. They were, as Mr. J. B. Elliot, the Judge of the Patna Court of Circuit observed, of much more serious annoyance to the district. They lived in the Pargana of Bahmani in Awadh and comprised all classes of persons, the majority being Ahirs. The heads of the gang were generally three or four relatives who employed five or six servants at a small monthly salary for the purpose of dacoity.⁴²

Coming back to the description of the court of Awadh we find that though Lockett, the Acting Resident and Maddock, the Resident had refused to admit Ram Dayal into the Residency as the King's representative yet his star had continued to be in the ascendant. The title of Mukhtar ud Dowla had been conferred upon him by the King and he had been appointed along with Raja Mewa Ram to the charge of Diwani. His power went on increasing till he became the *de facto* Prime Minister. Mr. Maddock, the Resident at Lucknow, informed the Deputy Secretary to the Government at Fort William:

41. Jodhram Misir, a servant of the Tahsildar of Pratapgarh (Awadh) forcibly seized the person of Ishwari Prosad, the Qanungo of Mirzapur, and kept him confined at Dalip Pur in Awadh. The collector of Kanpur complained that the Tahsildar and some Zamindars from Awadh forcibly seized alluvial lands belonging to the pargana of Bithur, and with a body of armed men, cut down and carried off the kharif crop. The commissioner of Fategarh informed the Resident at Lucknow about a dacoity which had been committed by a gang of robbers from Awadh at the house of Dilkush Roy, banker of Etawah. Mohkum and Sheodeen, two zamindars of Mouja Piyari in Awadh, were charged with having cut loose and carried off a ferry-boat from Bithur. Gulap Singh Thakur, a subject of the King of Awadh, with a body of armed men made a violent attack on the village of Katri in the District of Kanpur and illegally collected the rents from the ryots of that village. Moreover, some horsemen in the service of Incha Singh, brother of Raja Darshan Singh (Tahsildar of pratapgarh), attacked the village of Sangampur in the Allahabad District and plundered several houses.

42. F.P.C. No. 64, the 30th May 1830.

"~~Ram~~ Dayal has in fact become Prime Minister and the Government of Oudh must be considered vested solely in him."⁴³

But Ram Dayal could not long retain the favour of the King. The latter's eyes were at last opened to his demerits. He was caught red-handed while breaking open some confidential letters addressed to the Resident and dismissed by the King from his court.⁴⁴

After Ram Dayal's removal the King decided to form a new Ministry. At first his choice fell upon Akbar Ali Khan, the eldest son of late Haider Beg Khan (a distinguished Minister of former times), Kunwar Ratan Singh and Ghulam Murtaza Khan. He wanted to employ Akbar Ali Khan and Ratan Singh in the Department concerning correspondence with the Company's government and Ghulam Murtaza Khan in the Department of Accounts.⁴⁵ But soon he changed his mind and summoned Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan to serve as his Minister. Hakim Mehdi Ali reached Lucknow on the 14th June, 1833 and assumed the reins of administration.⁴⁶ He desired to reform the administration with the help of British functionaries and enquired of the Resident whether the Company's government would depute ten or twelve British officers for that purpose. The Resident told him that as the proposal did not come from the King with a confession that no other method than the deputation of the Company's officers would succeed in establishing law and order in Awadh, the Company's government would not grant it. He was further told that the Company's government would be better pleased to see the reform of Awadh administration effected by the King with the help of his own officers.⁴⁷ But this did not daunt Hakim Mehdi who prepared a comprehensive plan of reform.

The plan envisaged an entire reform in the revenue management of the country, reduction of army then maintained by the

43. F.P.C. No. 17, the 7th May, 1830.

44. F.P.C. No. 20, the 7th May, 1830.

45. *Ibid.*

46. F.P.C. Nos. 38-39, the 28th May, 1830. Also F.P.C. No. 28, the 2nd July, 1830.

47. Foreign Political Letter to the Court of Directors, the 9th October, 1830, para 18.

King of Awadh, resumption of *jagirs* held by the royal ladies, revision of the custom-house regulations, establishment of a fixed scale of expenditure for the King's household, privy purse, construction and repair of palaces and other public buildings. The plan was aimed at abolishing the system of revenue-farming in Awadh. Hakim Mehdi wanted the zamindars and the Talukdars to contract direct with the Government for the rent of their lands and receive from the Government *pattas* for a term of years. Since Nawab Saadat Ali's death every branch of Awadh army had been greatly augmented both as to its number and expense, and in 1830 A.D. more than 70,000 soldiers were being maintained at an annual expense of nearly 60 lacs of rupees. Hakim Mehdi Ali proposed to halve this expense by reducing the army to the number maintained by Nawab Saadat Ali. As for the *jagirs* held by the royal ladies, three of the King's wives, namely Mulka zamani, Taj Mahal and Muqaddar Aulia possessed big *jagirs* the income of which along with that of Badshah Begam's amounted to 26 lacs of rupees *per annum*. But their *jagirs* were wretchedly mismanaged, their agents being of the lowest origin and totally incompetent for the duty assigned to them. Hakim Mehdi proposed to resume their *jagirs* and to make suitable provisions for them.

The commercial treaty of 1788 concluded by Lord Cornwallis with the Nawab of Awadh had become obsolete by the year 1830. All its provisions in favour of British merchandize had been disregarded and duties had been levied on them in the King's name all through Awadh in open violation of the treaty. The government of Awadh had failed to prevent the zamindars from exacting whatever sum they pleased from the British merchants passing through their estates. Between Lucknow and Kanpur duties were illegally collected from the merchants by more than twenty landholders. The British merchandize arriving at Lucknow paid duties according to an arbitrary valuation which doubled the prices of British goods in the Lucknow market. Moreover, the commercial treaty of 1788 required some modifications. The partition of Awadh in 1801 A.D. had altered the frontier and many of the places fixed for chowkies by the treaty of 1788 had been included in the British Districts. Hakim Mehdi Ali proposed to remove these anomalies and prevent the zamindars from levying unauthorised duties from merchants passing through their domains.

It is not difficult to see that Hakim Mehdi Ali's scheme of reform referred to above was radical in nature and against the vested interests at the Court of Lucknow. With little chance of success, it was likely to make him unpopular. The Resident who was full of misgivings on this point doubted very much whether the Minister would at all launch his scheme. He even suspected the Minister's sincerity. "He is aiming at the Niabut (Deputyship) and till he arrives at that long cherished object of his ambition, will so govern his language and his actions as to satisfy the British government of his intentions to effect every measure which we have to recommend....." he observed.⁴⁸ Whether the Minister sincerely wanted a reform in the administration is very hard to ascertain. But this much is certain that he had great difficulties in implementing the plan of reform. The arrears in the pay of all the royal establishments were huge. He had to raise funds for discharging the same and to relieve his master and himself from this pecuniary embarrassment.⁴⁹ How he tided over this difficulty is unknown but he did not implement his plan of reform and contrary to its provisions gave some Districts in farm.^{49a} Hakim Mehdi Ali failed to usher in an era of good government immediately after he took the reins of administration when all his energies were directed towards the destruction of his sworn enemy, Aga Mir, the ex-Minister, then under duress at Lucknow.^{49b}

48. F.P.C. No. 41, the 23rd July, 1830

49. *Ibid.*

49a. The District of Banswara which yielded an annual revenue of 18 lacs was given in farm to Raja Bakhtawar Singh who already held all the eastern Districts of Awadh and who in consequence had become the sole revenue farmer of nearly half of Awadh having contracted for the payment of an annual revenue of nearly 55 lacs. The other big divisions of the kingdom held by Mendu Khan, the principal Risaladar in the king's service, were left in his hands. The revenue farmers of Derownabad, Fatehpur and Mahmudabad who were in prison for non-payment of revenue, were freed and reinstated in their farms without any settlement of their accounts and with no prospect of the outstanding balances being extracted from them for reason unknown. The large district of Khairabad in the north western part of Awadh was likewise retained by Gobindan Das though he had not paid the previous year's revenue of six or eight lacs of rupees and though his imbecility and incompetence were well-known.

49b. F.P.C. No. 40, the 13th October, 1830.

In the interior of the country lawlessness remained as before, and violence and organized robbery were committed in the most open and audacious manner. Lt. Davis of the Company's 62nd Regiment of Native Infantry was attacked and plundered by a gang of 50 or 60 robbers on the road between Sitapur and Lucknow. Mufti Khalil ud din's residence at Kakori was raided by a gang of nearly 400 men resulting in the loss of several lives. A subadar in the Company's service sought redress for the murder of his children and plunder of his house by some marauders. Mr. Maddock, the Resident at Lucknow, wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government at Fort William, on the 30th September, 1830: "..... the police was never more inefficient than at present time.....In some parts of the country the authority of the government is barely acknowledged; bands of marauders fearlessly traverse the country and the most complete anarchy and confusion prevail."⁵⁰

In addition to these evils, manufacturers of counterfeit coins became active in Awadh. They forged bad coins and regularly sent them to the Company's Districts for circulation.⁵¹

Anarchy and misrule in Awadh at last drew the attention of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. His Lordship, therefore, met the King and his Minister, Hakim Mahdi Ali at Lucknow and solemnly warned them that any further continuance of misrule in Awadh would be followed by direct assumption of the reins of administration by the Company's government.

Bentinck's remonstrance and warning were seriously attended to by Hakim Mehdi Ali and in right earnest he tried to improve the administration. He had already discharged the arrears of pay due to the troops, had arranged for regular periodical payments and had disbanded 8000 men in order to effect economy in public expenditure.⁵² He now made further retrenchment and brought down the number of troops to 42,000 men. Under his supervision and control the kingdom of Awadh became well-governed. The finances were enhanced and the total revenue for the year 1832 A.D. amounted to nearly Rs. 1,40,00,000/-. The government budget

50. *Ibid.*

51. F.P.C. No. 25, the 2nd April, 1831, para 11.

52. *Ibid.*, para 8.

showed a surplus of nearly Rs. 13,56,070/- over the total expenditure.⁵³ But in the flush of success Hakim Mehdi Ali went out of his way and behaved in an indecent fashion. He forced some wealthy and respectable men of Lucknow to send to the royal harem women whom they had kept for several years as their mistresses under the pretence of their having been originally dancing girls, a description of persons who in Awadh were regarded as private property of the sovereign. Moreover, he monopolised the lucrative trade of supplying articles of luxury of every description required in the royal palace. The Hindus had been chiefly engaged in this profession; they were in consequence thrown out of employment. Hakim Mehdi Ali further alienated the Hindus by prohibiting them from attending the court with presents and "Gulal" during their spring festival of Holi and forcibly took from them arbitrary sums as *Nazarana*. Mr. Maddock the Resident at Lucknow, informed the Government at Fort William on the 14th March, 1831 that "the Holi a season of universal festivity which had always been distinguished at Lucknow for the gaiety with which it had been celebrated, had this year passed in comparative silence, a sure indication.....that the Hindu inhabitants at least were neither happy nor contented but were filled with alarm and dissatisfaction at the measures of the government."⁵⁴

Hakim Mehdi Ali resumed the jagirs belonging to the royal ladies which were wretchedly mismanaged under unscrupulous revenue-farmers. He himself wrote in his *Memoir*:

"The jagir appropriated to the support of the ladies of His Majesty's Muhal were made over in Amanee to Amils....and during the period of my administration the collections made therefrom were regularly paid to the parties entitled to them.....these tracts of country were before my coming to office, accustomed to be farmed out by the ladies of the Muhal to individuals who abused their trust by the greatest acts of tyranny and oppression towards the unfortunate ryots. In consequence of the measures adopted by me in making over these tracts.....as Amanee and giving triennial leases to each of the Amils I selected the jagirs began in a short time to assume a prosperous appearance."⁵⁵

53. F.P.C. Nos. 60-61, the 27th December, 1831..

54. F.P.C. No. 26A, the 2nd April, 1831.

55. Mufassil Akhbar quoted in Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its dependencies, December, 1833.

He also curtailed the profligate expenditure of the zenana. Badshah Begam, the Queen Mother, was as much powerful as the King himself, if not more. She celebrated certain religious rites which were her own innovations and foreign to the original canons of Islam, being somewhat idolatrous in nature; for instance, she celebrated every year "Chhatti" ceremony of Imam Mehdi on the sixth day of his birth. She had procured and kept at the palace eleven beautiful Saiyad girls whom she designated as the wives of the eleven Imams (She was an eleventh Shia), and who were called "Achootees" (i.e., persons too pure and sacred to be polluted by human touch and not allowed to marry.)⁵⁶ The Begam spent lavish sums for the comfort of these girls. Possibly Hakim Mehdi Ali curtailed these wasteful expenditures which offended her and she caused his dismissal from the ministerial office in the month of August, 1832. *The Calcutta Courier* of 18th August, 1832, published in its news column the following: "Various letters from Lucknow announce the disgrace and imprisonment of the celebrated minister.....The cause is reported to be some unpardonable offence to the dignity of the chief personage of the zenana (Badshah Begam)."

Another contemporary newspaper, *John Bull*, in its issue of 21st August, 1832, stated: "We understand that the minister has been displaced chiefly in consequence of the intrigue of the queen mother....."

After Hakim Mehdi Ali's dismissal several ambitious persons aspired for the Minister's office but it was filled by Nawab Roshun ud Dowla. Roshun ud Dowla was the son of Ashraf Ali (father-in-law of Nawab Wazir Ali who had been replaced by Nawab Saadat Ali and who had cut down Mr. G. F. Cherry, the Governor General's Agent at Benares, in 1799 A.D.). Heretofore he was known by the name of Mirza Nathu.⁵⁷ He was less competent for the Minister's office but shrewd enough to perceive that Ministers were made and unmade by the King at the dictates of the Queen Mother. In order to safeguard his position he decided to breed bad blood between the King and the Queen Mother, Badshah Begam. Providentially he was soon favoured with an opportunity. One of

56. *Tarikh Badshah Begam* by Abdul Ahad, pp. 6-7.

57. *Calcutta Courier*, 1st September, 1832.

the King's concubines namely Khudsia Banu Begam to whom he was deeply devoted misunderstood him and killed herself by taking arsenic. The King became extremely morose and abstained from food. He also ordered the members of his household to put on mourning. But Badshah Begam deemed it unjust and disgraceful to the legally wedded wives of the King. She would not allow them to obey him and tried to justify her stand by arguing in the following manner: "My late husband (Ghaziud Din Haider) also entertained large female establishment but always concealed them from me and it is well known to everybody that all kings and Viziers keep up the same establishment but they never allow any disgrace or dishonour to be reflected upon their khās mahals."⁵⁸

At this the King became highly displeased with the Queen Mother. His relationship with her became all the more strained when he desired to marry one of the concubines of his late father and the Queen Mother gave shelter to that unfortunate and fugitive woman disapproving of such a marriage.⁵⁹ The King naturally became furious. Roshun ud Dowla and his accomplices fanned the flames of his fury till he resumed the Begam's jagir of Salone asking her to vacate the palace she was occupying. But she was of no meek spirits. She refused to vacate her palace whereon the King adopted every nefarious means for her ejection.⁶⁰ Consequently she left the palace and took shelter at Almas Ali Khan's garden ten miles away from Lucknow. Soon she organised an army, demanded restoration of her *jagir* and intended to attack Lucknow. The inhabitants of Lucknow became panicky. But at last she was persuaded by the Resident, Colonel Low to disband her men and give up belligerent motives.⁶¹

58. F.P.C. No. 33, the 24th October, 1836.

59. Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register etc. April, 1835, pp. 237-38.

60. Strangers were posted on the roof of her palace to disturb her privacy. Impure objects and filth were thrown at her place of worship and at last food and water were prevented from reaching her palace. When in the agony of hunger and thirst her maids in attendance approached the palace gate in search of victuals, the King's sepoy from outside hurled brickbats at them. The aggrieved also threw bricks at the Sepoys who in the most unmanly manner fired their musket and the thirsty, hungry girls as the Begam herself wrote, "drank the cold drink of death". (F.P.C. No. 33, 24 Oct. 1836).

61. F.P.C. No. 30, the 24th October, 1836.

During this internecine conflict the improvements made in Awadh administration by Hakim Mehdi Ali were lost to the people. Sedition and unrest increased in the interior of the country. The King spent his hours in revelry. His inattention to the work of administration finally forced Lord William Bentick to hold out to him the example of Mysore Raja who in consequence of the mismanagement of his territories had been stripped of all his regal powers. A solemn warning was also given to the King of Awadh that if no speedy improvement was visible in his administration, the Company's government would take similar steps against him.

Bentinck's warning at last awoke the King of Awadh to the defects of his administration. He decided to curtail his wasteful expenditure and put an end to his extravagant habits. The *Mufasssil Akhbar* of 21st February, 1835, published in its column: "As Don Quixote would have expiated his sins by the self-inflicted stripes of his squire, so His Majesty is determined to repair his own extravagance by curtailing the allowances of some of his servants and dismissing others."⁶² Besides this, he desired to form a new ministry and abolished the custom of money-lenders' seizing the person of the debtor and those of his family members which then prevailed in Awadh. Household furniture, clothings and agricultural implements were no more to be seized in distraint for arrears of rent. Forced labour under any pretext was no longer to be exacted from individuals. Self-immolation of widows was strictly prohibited and four commissioners were appointed⁶³ for the enforcement of these regulations. Moreover, the King of Awadh prohibited the practice of kidnapping of male as well as female children and their sale as slaves.⁶⁴ Order was issued for the foundation of a college at Lucknow for the spread of western education among the people.⁶⁵ Finally he gave to the Company's government a sum of 3,50,000 rupees as a loan for the establishment of an hospital and a school of medicine at Lucknow.⁶⁶ But

62. Quoted in *Asiatic Journal & Monthly Register* etc., September, 1835, part II, pp. 11-12.

63. *India Gazette*, the 30th May, 1833.

64. *Asiatic Journal & Monthly Register* etc. October, 1833.

65. *Delhi Gazette* quoted in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* etc., December, 1833.

66. *Political Letter to the Court of Directors*, No. 18, para 211, 1834.

this course of action could not be long pursued by the King who once again gave himself up to the pleasures of his harem. His Minister, Roshun ud Dowla and his friends began amassing wealth by measures tending to impoverish the country. The administration of justice totally broke down. Judges took bribes under the very eye of His Majesty. The revenue farmers in the country's interior rack-rented the zamindars and the ryots. The stronger zamindars refused to pay the high rentals, fortified their villages and gave armed resistance to the revenue farmers. The King's servants and sepoys did not receive their salaries and eked out their livings through improper means.⁶⁷ These deplorable things drew the attention of the Board of Directors in London who empowered the government at Fort William to place the kingdom of Awadh under the management of British officers if necessary.⁶⁸ But Bentinck gave to the King of Awadh one more chance of improving his administration and warned him that the authority thus given, would be acted upon without any further warning if he were to fail in improving his administration.⁶⁹

The Court's directives and the Governor General's warning produced wholesome effect specially on the conduct of the King's Minister's who fearing that they would lose their lucrative posts under the management of their country by British officers, began to pay more attention to administrative work than they had done before. As a result the country again wore an orderly and prosperous appearance.⁷⁰ But after some time the feeling of alarm wore off and the Ministers became lax in their exertion.

The King went on with his habits of dissipation and extravagance. Huge sums of money were spent from the hoard of treasures left by Nawab Saadat Ali over and above the country's revenue, and as the Resident pointed out, during a reign of not quite nine years King Nasir ud Din Haider squandered, in addition to the public revenue, six crores of rupees in cash.⁷¹ In one day he spent one

67. Delhi Gazette, the 1st July, 1835.

68. Foreign Political Letter from the Court of Directors, the 16th July, 1834.

69. Foreign Political Letter to the Court of Directors, the 19th February, 1835.

70. F.P.C. No. 92, the 6th March, 1837.

71. F.P.C. No. 62, the 26th September, 1836.

lack of rupees — 50,000 on two head dresses and 50,000 in making dresses” for the celebration of the birth of some imaginary prophet.”⁷²

Moreover, like the Queen Mother, the King too had established “some absurd ceremonies” which he called “Achhoota” the forms of which the Muslims of the city regarded as idolatrous and which caused a heavy expenditure.⁷³

Nasir ud Din Haider had a strong predilection for the company of lowly persons. He never expressed the slightest desire for the society of respectable men. His most intimate associate, both European and Indian, were menials in his service. His principal favourite for a considerable time was Mr. Derusett who held the situation of his barber. There were also three or four Anglo-Indians—both male and female—who sat at wine with him, danced with him in masquerade dresses and committed all sorts of indecent follies. His revels and dinner parties began daily at sunset and generally did not terminate till 3 or 4 O’clock in the next morning when he was “led off to bed in a state of complete intoxication” from which he arose in the afternoon to recommence “the same round of dissipation.” His love of wine was great and he never concealed this bad propensity. Accordingly he was frequently seen intoxicated “in his evening drives about the city.” Sometimes, he even came on foot in a state of drunkenness to the marketplace, bought things of trifling value, articulated nonsense, asked ridiculous questions to the shopkeepers and sadly lowered his dignity by conduct totally unworthy of his situation.⁷⁴

The worst trait in his character was his uncontrolled lust for women. He had already married ten or twelve girls of low birth and loose profession and still he was ever in search of them. The panders to his vices procured from the city fair-looking female children as well as young women and sent them to the royal palace. Consequently, many wives and daughters lost their honour and many a family its peace and reputation. He forcibly separated a respectable man from his devoted wife, turned him out of the

72. F.P.C. No. 92, the 6th March, 1837.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*

city and insisted on marrying his wife (then pregnant) without even waiting for a divorce.⁷⁵ To him the young Anglo-Indian females were things of greatest attraction and the Christian female school at Lucknow was his target. In the early part of the year 1836, he enticed two Anglo-Indian girls away from their studies and enrolled them among his concubines. The system of procuring young girls was extended from the city to the country and finally to the British District of Kanpur.⁷⁶

The effect of this continued debauchery by Nasir ud Din was bad for the country's administration and worse for his own physique. His strength and vigour ebbed out. He remained for some time an exhausted husk of a man and on the 7 July, 1837, sank into the grave.

75. *Ibid.*

76. F.P.C. No. 62, the 26th September, 1836.

Elphinstone's Mission to Kabul

BY

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Situated beyond the North-Western frontier of India which was the expected route of Napoleon Bonaparte's advance towards the East, Kabul's strategic importance was realised by Lord Minto I who did not think it feasible to leave it out of the chain of his political missions sent abroad. The ruthless plan of military and territorial aggrandizement of Napoleon towards the East made the British Government in India conscious of the apparent danger.¹ The presence of the envoy from France, General Gardanne in the Court of Persia and his diplomatic manoeuvres ultimately resulting in a Treaty of Alliance between the two countries on 4 May, 1807, were also seriously viewed by the British Government. They feared that Afghanistan like Persia might fall an easy prey to the French political snare and thus prove instrumental in injuring and jeopardizing British interests in India.

Lord Minto viewed the prevailing situation seriously and thinking that the establishment of the British influence in Afghanistan would interpose a strong barrier to the French manoeuvres against India, he decided to court the friendship of Shah Shujah, the King of Afghanistan by possible diplomatic measures. To achieve his objective, he decided to despatch a mission to Kabul, in order to negotiate a defensive Treaty of Alliance with the Afghan monarch.² The choice for this gubernatorial post fell upon Mountstuart Elphinstone,³ a young talented member of the Company's Civil Service who had risen rapidly by giving proofs of his great ability and resources as British Resident at the Maratha Court of

1. Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 7 Feb. 1808.

2. Persian Secy. to King of Kabul, 19 Aug. 1808. Foreign Department, Secret and Separate, 23 Aug. 1808, Con. No. 3.

3. *Ibid.*

Poona. Besides, he was fairly conversant with the language, manners and customs of the native Princes.⁴

• The mission reached Peshawar on 5 March, 1809. By this time, Shuja-ul-Mulk's position in Afghanistan had become critical. Though he was still the *de jure* monarch of Kabul, he had lost his hold over it. The British mission was received at Peshawar and not at Kabul, his lost metropolis, as a serious internecine conflict was raging between Kabul and Kandahar and further advancement of the mission into the mainland of Afghanistan was not without grave risks both to the British Mission and the interests of the reigning monarch.⁵

After a 'tedious' ceremony of introduction, the King accorded the British envoy a cordial reception. The British envoy apprized the Afghan monarch of the intelligence his Government had received regarding Napoleon's alleged programme of expansion towards India through his territory; and his diplomatic manoeuvres to seek the military co-operation of the Government of Persia in this adventure on the basis of the previous alliance⁶ with it. Napoleon was said to have promised Persia the whole of the Afghan monarch's territory and a part of India as the price of its co-operation with him in the conquest of the East. The envoy suggested to the King that in the face of a strong combination of this kind endangering both Afghanistan and India, he and the British Government should unite against the common danger and thus put a stiff resistance to the sinister designs of the French Proconsul.⁷

Shah Shujah evinced interest in British envoy's disclosure of the French designs in the East and frightened by the fear of a new impending danger to the integrity of his state, he responded favourable to Elphinstone's proposal for checkmating the French menace.⁸ Notwithstanding these outward appearances of an apparent desire of the King to agree to Elphinstone's proposals, the Court of Kabul entertained doubt and distrust in the British

4. *Ibid.*

5. Elphinstone to Minto, 5 March, 1809, FDSS. 29 March, 1809, Con. No. 1.

6. Refer to the Treaty of Finkenstein, 4 May, 1807.

7. Elphinstone to Minto, 8 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 Apr. 1809, Con. No. 2.

8. *Ibid.*

plea and apprehended British designs in Afghanistan.⁹ Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Sya, was most critical of the British objects and designs in Afghanistan.¹⁰ These whisperings against the British mission crystalized into prejudices and the King was strongly advised to be cautious.

These prejudices could not remain long hidden from Elphinstone's notice. He discovered that of all the Afghan ministers at the Court of Kabul, Akram Khan, the Ameen-ool-Mulk wielded greatest influence, power and authority and no effective friendly alliance could be possible without his concurrence. He, therefore, approached him and after acquainting him with the aims and objects of his mission in a convincing manner, asked for his advice on the possible basis of the negotiations to be conducted between the two Governments.¹¹

After meeting Shah Shujah and Akram Khan separately, Elphinstone began negotiations with the entire Court with a view to allaying doubts and suspicions in the minds of the ministers, thus furthering the cause of his mission. At one of these meetings, Abdul Hussan Khan and Moolla Jaffar, two prominent ministers, endeavoured to persuade the envoy to supply some pecuniary assistance to Shah Shujah to enable him to suppress the internal rebellion of Shah Mahmood, one of the contestants to the throne of Kabul who had strongly defied the authority of the reigning monarch and raised the banner of revolt against him.¹² In support of this proposal, they impressed upon the British envoy that the Afghans were a powerful people to cope with all foreign invaders and in the event of a Franco-Persian attack on Afghanistan, they would not require British assistance.¹³ They tried to convince him that if Shah Shujah was replaced by another rebellious Afghan Chief before the probable Franco-Persian interference, British assistance to him "would cost the British millions, what might now be done for thousands."¹⁴ By way of elucidation, they stated that

9. Elphinstone to Edmonstone, 10 March, 1809, FDSS., 3 April, 1809, Con. No. 20.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. Elphinstone to Minto, March 15, 1809, FDSS., Apr 29, 1809, Con. No. 5.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

the Franco-Persian invasion would by no means be formidable, unless aided by internecine divisions.¹⁵ They were also candid enough to admit that the war with these countries concerned them as much as it did the British.¹⁶

Mountstuart Elphinstone had definite instructions from the Governor-General to confine his activities strictly to a Defensive Alliance with the Afghan King against the Franco-Persian move. He, therefore, did not show any inclination to deviate from the policy laid down for him and refused to take any part of the fratricidal conflicts of the Afghans.¹⁷

To achieve his end, he apprized the Afghan ministers of the vastness of the French military power and resources and of the danger to which their State would be exposed, if they remained unprepared to meet their 'artful and insidious policy'. These arguments of Elphinstone had only little effect on the minds of the Afghan ministers who continued to harp on their old tune, making it somewhat difficult to reach an agreed settlement.¹⁸

During the course of negotiations at Peshawar, virtually the entire Afghanistan became ablaze with internal rebellions that caused disorder and confusion everywhere.¹⁹ Shah Mahmood, Shah Shujah's son, Prince Camran and a number of other Princes of the Afghan royal family, made common cause with Fateh Khan, the Chief of a 'very considerable tribe,' and raised the standard of revolt against Shah Shujah at a time when more than half of his army had gone on an expedition to Kashmir. The remnants of the army at his disposal could hardly be a match for the rebels.²⁰

Apart from his weak military resources Shah Shujah's position was unsound on account of the existing political pattern in Afgha-

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

19. Elphinstone to Minto, 10 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 3.

20. Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

nistan, a major portion of which practically belonged to and was inhabited by a congress of tribes. These tribes owed only nominal allegiance to their King to whom they were obliged to render military service and pay only a small revenue. They were a war-like people and by nature and temperament brooked no superior. Only a person stronger and more resourceful than Shah Shujah could have ridden rough-shod over them and kept them under his iron heels. This was the dismal picture of the tribal tracts which constituted the mainland of Afghanistan.

Another cause of Shah Shujah's weak position was that the major revenue-yielding areas of the Afghan kingdom which were the conquered parts outside the tribal land, had nearly thrown off his yoke and gone out of his control, making the King financially resourceless. Thus at this juncture of serious internal political disturbances, Shah Shujah found his position militarily and financially weak, the only ray of his hope being the possibility of the return of his main troops from Kashmir.²¹

On 16 March, 1809, Moolla Jaffar invited Elphinstone to spend the day with him in the tents, pitched in one of the King's gardens. The British envoy was accompanied by his advisers, Alexander and Strachey; and Moolla Jaffar by his colleagues, Cauzee Sher Muhammad Khan, Sheikh-ool-Islam and Meer Abool Hussan Khan.²² At this meeting, the British envoy explained to the Afghan party the feasibility of a treaty of defensive alliance between the two Governments which would in effect checkmate the probable French advance towards the East and remove, with British assistance, the danger to which Afghanistan was exposed.²³ But the Afghan diplomats insisted on an alliance of offensive and defensive nature not only against France, but also against all their enemies.²⁴ This proposal did not find favour with the British envoy who expressed the inability of his Government to enter into such a league as the British Government did not want to embroil itself in the

21. Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

22. Elphinstone to Minto, 19 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 6.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

internal squabbles of Afghanistan, because it was not physically possible for the Afghan monarchy to afford its military assistance to the British in their wars in various parts of the world.²⁵

Having gauged the moods and sentiments of the King and his ministers, the British envoy prepared the draft of a Treaty²⁶ in which he stated in the first instance that friendship would subsist between the two Governments; secondly, the Government of Kabul would not allow passage to the French army through its territory; and, thirdly, the British Government would help the Government of Kabul in case of an attack on it by the French. When these proposals were presented to Shah Shujah, they did not meet with his full concurrence as they did not serve the purpose.

Moolla Jaffar also informed the British envoy that his proposals would not serve the purpose of his Government and asked him to introduce 'something more enticing' to his monarch than what he had offered.²⁷ After the exchange of these views, he presented the draft of a treaty to Elphinstone in which he expressed his King's willingness to establish friendly relations with the British and his assurance not to allow passage to the French through his territory. With this preamble, he solicited British help both in men and money to quell the internal disturbances in Afghanistan.²⁸ But the British envoy objected to the last proposal and made it clear to Moolla Jaffer that it would be inconvenient, perhaps impossible, for his Government to assist Shah Shujah with troops. He, however, gave a vague verbal assurance of pecuniary assistance to Afghanistan, but did not collaborate it in another draft of the treaty which he presented to Shah Shujah at a later date under changed circumstances, when the danger of Napoleon's advance towards India became remote and the critical internal situation in Afghanistan enhanced the importance of British financial help to the Afghan monarch.²⁹

25. Translation of a letter from Elphinstone to the Afghan Council of Ministers, 11 April, 1809, FDSS., 27 May

26. *Ibid.*

27. Elphinstone to Minto, 19 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 6.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

The subsequent events made Shah Shujah revise his attitude. His troops sent to Kashmir met with severe reverses. Not more than two thousand of them could return safely, though dismounted, disarmed and wholly disorganized. Taking advantage of this weak military position of the Kabul Government Shah Mahmood immediately resumed the offensive, occupied Kandahar and threatened the gates of Peshawar.³⁰ The King's army was not in a position to checkmate such an advance.³¹ His exchequer was almost depleted and his means of mustering any considerable force were utterly deficient.³²

In this crisis, Shah Shujah urgently solicited pecuniary assistance from the British Government as it was thought to be the only way to ensure the stability of his throne.³³ He asked for a grant of rupees fifteen lacs.³⁴ Considering this demand to be too heavy for the Company's resources, Elphinstone recommended only rupees three lacs.³⁵ By promising this financial aid, he hoped to gain certain advantages for his Government such as command of the Northern route from Persia to India; control over navigation of the Indus; British influence over the Chiefs of Seestaun and Mekraun and over the hilly tract between their States and the Indus. The Chiefs of all these places were, in different degrees, subject to the King of Kabul.³⁶

Actually pressed by the need for more money, Meer Abool Hussan and Moolla Jaffar made an overture to Elphinstone offering Sind to the British Government in mortgage for a sum of rupees two lacs per annum.³⁷ But this proposal was rejected by the British envoy as its acceptance would have spoilt British Government's relations with the Ameers of Sind.³⁸

30. Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 20 April, 1809; Calcutta Monthly Journal, June, 1809, pp. 683-85.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Elphinstone to Minto, 22 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 9.

34. Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 20 April, 1809.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Elphinstone to Minto, 28 March, 1809, FDSS., 13 May, 1809, Con. No. 4.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Elphinstone to Minto, 15 March, 1809, FDSS., 29 April, 1809, Con. No. 5.

But unhappily for Shah Shujah, events in Europe took such a turn that the policy of the British Government underwent a change. Napoleon had to suspend the execution of his designs upon India on account of his involvement in the Peninsular War. The danger of a French invasion having thus become remote, the British Government changed its mind and did not think it necessary to purchase the goodwill and co-operation of Shah Shujah at a heavy price,³⁹ as it could hope for no advantages from Kabul. This decision of the British Government was applauded by the Court of Directors⁴⁰ as the disbursement of the financial aid to the Afghan King might have unnecessarily involved the British in the internal complications in Afghanistan and jeopardized the chance of establishing friendly relations with the future Government of Kabul in the event of the subversion of Shah Shujah's authority.

Notwithstanding his disappointment at the marked change in the attitude of the British and loss of hope of extracting advantageous terms from them, Shah Shujah considered a friendly alliance with a big power as of some gain to him. He, therefore, became inclined to accept the terms which Elphinstone offered soon after. In these terms, it was stipulated that Shah Shujah would oppose the Franco-Persian march towards India through Afghanistan; that the British Government would defray the expenses of such opposition and both the parties would act on these articles till the Franco-Persian confederacy continued; that the contracting parties would not interfere in each others' internal affairs; that the Shah would not allow the French to enter his territories; and, that friendship and union would ever subsist between the two countries.

This treaty was intended to establish friendship between British India and Afghanistan with an assurance of complete non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. By it the British Government was assured of the co-operation of the Court of Kabul in checkmating the probable French advance towards India without incurring any reciprocal obligation to render assistance to Shah Shujah against his deadly internal enemies. The promise of the Afghan monarch in regard to the prevention

39. Secret Letter to Court of Directors, 20 April, 1809.

40. Secret Letter from C. D., 6 March, 1812.

of any future French establishment in Afghanistan relieved the British Government of its constant headache on the North-Western Frontier of India for some time. Besides, the British Government got in Afghanistan a buffer state between India and Persia, although its potentiality and stability were uncertain. These were the solid advantage desired by the British from this Treaty.

But to Shah Shujah this treaty hardly proved to be of any great advantage, besides his friendship with the rising foreign power in India. It simply assured him of the British financial assistance against the apprehended Franco-Persian incursion into his country with the ultimate object of invading India. This gave Shah Shujah a partial sense of security against an external danger from the Western side.

The successful mission and the advantageous treaty were very much applauded in the British press. In India, the Governor-General put his signature on the treaty on 19 June, 1809.⁴¹ Before its ratified copy could reach Peshawar to be handed over to Shah Shujah, neither the King nor the British envoy could be found there to exchange its authentication.⁴² All of a sudden, the affairs in Afghanistan took a very serious turn. The King was obliged to take the field with the small disorderly army against the rebels under Shah Mahmood. In this critical situation, Elphinstone considered the continuance of his mission at Peshawar extremely risky and on the 14 June, 1809, he began his return towards the Indus, accompanied by his retinue.⁴³ Soon after, he received the unhappy news of the reversal of the fortunes of Shah Shujah.

41. Elphinstone to Minto, 27 July, 1809, FDSS., 5 Sept. 1809, Con. No. 26.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

Reviews

KHAJURAHO, (A Study in the Cultural Conditions of Chandella Society): By Vidya Prakash, M.A., Ph.D., 1967. Taraporevala Sons & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., 210, Dr. P. Naoroji Road, Bombay.

Any study of Khajuraho, with its rich variety of sculptures, is bound to provoke very keen interest. Now a small village, Khajuraho had, at one time, been the capital of the Chandella Rajputs of Bundelkhand who rose as the feudatories of the Pratiharas of Kanauj in the ninth century and continued in power until the end of the thirteenth century. Appearing on the scene of history from 200 B.C. it had its cultural efflorescence under the Sungas and the Guptas. Its artistic excellence reached its climax during the time of the Chandellas. The local temples in different stages of preservation have their distinctive features and their construction, inspired by the Chandellas must have spread over more than two centuries.

Particular aspects of the art and culture of this region have been studied in the past by recognised experts. The present work which is the enlarged version of the thesis submitted by Dr. Vidya Prakash for the Doctorate degree of the Lucknow University in 1964 attempts to give a complete picture of the materially prosperous social life in Central India during the period 800-1000 A.D. It is based on a critical study of sculptural representations, supplemented by that of inscriptions and literary works wherever necessary.

The author introduces us to the local temples; and deals with dress, ornaments, hair-styles, cosmetics; furniture and household articles; music, dance, painting; games and amusements; education and learning; and religious conditions of the period. No chariots are seen in the military scenes and though the presence of armed women is noticed one cannot say whether they used to serve in the army. We are introduced to a people who, with a remarkable knowledge of folding technique, used tables, bedsteads, foot-stools, pillows and cushions, flower vases, caskets and jewellery boxes. From the tenth century onwards some of the temples served as

centres of advanced education and there was training in arms and fine arts. Jainism, Buddhism and Brahmanism prevailed, the last being dominant. The co-existence of temples dedicated to different gods points to a period of religious toleration. Blacksmithing, goldsmithing, wood-carving, stone-carving pottery, weaving and tailoring, rope-making, and manufacture of cosmetics, oil and liquor were popular trades. Agriculturists, cattle-rearers, hunters, teachers, physicians, surgeons, barbers, washermen, domestic servants, labourers, musicians, government servants and others plied their respective professions. In short the sculptures reveal every aspect of social life to an observant scholar.

As for the erotic sculptures which have attracted popular attention most, they are in small number, hidden in inconspicuous corners. Were they intended to avert the evil eye? Or to attract the common man to the House of God? Or to test the concentration of the devotee? Or to arouse a feeling of disgust against the objectionable practices of the Digambara monks? Were they portraying the religious rites of some of the ascetics like the kapalikas? The author's attempt is to study these sculptures from a historical perspective. Indians, no mere philosophers, considered *kama* as one of the ideas to be pursued and never frowned upon it. Sex had its place in religion and literature, general and technical; woman and voluptuousness formed the theme of art to some extent. The artist, brought up in this tradition, could never have ignored sex. He adopted *mithuna* motif as a symbol of material prosperity and worldly contentment. The single sculptures depict the life of the upper strata of society while the *mithuna* motifs were inspired by *Kamasutra*. Just as the writers on erotics, the artists too emphasised uncommon *bandhas* "as if only through the unknown and the abnormal can sexual frenzy be fully conveyed" and through the unnatural they tried to "impart thrill and arouse curiosity." The mediaeval Indian erotic literature, the author adds, was more a pleasant reading, a pastime, than "a guide for married couples." He interprets that the portrayal of *bandhas* relating to animals might have been to show that the basic urges of animals and men are the same. Sex and religion were inter-linked from early times and in the early mediaeval period when moral degradation set in and royalty and nobility kept large harems and found drinking pleasant, when the *Kamasutra* and its interpretations served to satisfy the "jaded appetite" of the decadent age and when sexual

intercourse got the status of a sacred ritual, the artist, the product of his age who developed a positive attitude to life, could not have helped portraying, without any inhibition, what he saw around him. "The artist was bound to carve them. His age demanded it; his society approved of it; his religion sanctioned it; he was equipped for it by his age-old artistic tradition....."

The author's interpretation, correct or otherwise, merits our serious attention. Independent and critical judgment and freedom from philosophical prudery, characteristic of those who stress India's spiritual other-worldliness to the utter disregard of the material, are refreshing features of the book. From the threads of sculptural details the young scholar has woven, for the first time, a pleasing fabric of mediaeval Indian social life in all its variety. 110 photographs and 350 line drawings make the work really attractive. As Nihar Ranjan Ray indicates in the Foreword, a reference to the grand economic resources that sustained much artistic activity over such a long period would have made the study complete. We warmly welcome the book, the product of very earnest effort.

P. K. K. MENON.

PHITSUTRAS OF SANTANAVA: Ed. by G. V. Devasthali, University of Poona, Poona, 1967.

The work under review has been issued as No. 1 in the class C publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Poona, under the general direction of Dr. D. N. Dandekar. This book which may be succinctly described as "a short manual of Sanskrit accentuation" naturally arouses great expectations as it has been prepared in an institution which "at present is concentrating on advanced study and research in the field of Veda and Vyākaraṇa."

The present edition is equipped with a comprehensive Introduction dealing with the abstruse theme of Phitsūtras and Vedic accentuation; a readable translation of the original sūtras, and elaborate and thought-provoking notes of a critical and exegetical character amply repaying careful perusal. It has been justly claimed on its behalf that it resuscitates, with novel features of its own, Kielhorn's edition of the same work brought out in 1866.

Whereas Kielhorn's edition included Bhaṭṭoji's commentary as found in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, Nageśa's as found in the *Laghuśabdenduśekhara*, and a *Vṛtti* by an unidentified author, the present work undertakes the edition of the text of 'Sāntanava's *sūtras* only, based mainly on three MSS procured from the Curator of the BORI, Poona. It may be noted that the text of the *Phīṣsūtras* offered by Prof Devasthali has been determined with reference not only to the three MSS mentioned above, but also to other works like the *Svarasiddhānta Candrikā*, the *Laghuśabdenduśekhara*, the *Praudhamanoramā*, the *Svaraprakāśa*, the *Svaramañjarī*, and the *Kāśikā*. In the circumstances, it is doubtful whether any significant gains in regard to textual clarity would have been made by collating other MSS of the *Sūtras* known to exist in MSS collections like those of the University of Kerala.

The aim of composition of the *Phīṣsūtras*, i.e., *sūtras* dealing with the accents of *Phīṣ* or *Prātipadikas*, was to stem the deterioration and prevent the threatened disappearance of the phenomena of accents in the sphere of *Vaidika* and *laukika* Sanskrit. This fact lends colour to the theory that Sanskrit in all its phases had been a spoken language in which accent played an important part. In upholding this view, Prof. Devasthali disagrees with Kielhorn who had remarked "that for 'Sāntanava the language was a dead (one), while for Pāṇini it was a living ones." The difficulties of elucidation facing the editor of the *Phīṣsūtras* may be appreciated from the fact that in 87 or 88 aphorisms the author has attempted to lay down rules relating to the accents not only of *Prātipadikas* or underived 'crude words' but also of *Kṛdantas*, *taddhitāntas*, and *samāśas*. Divided into four *pādas* or parts, the *sūtras* deal, as a rule, with *antodāttas*, *ādyodāttas*, *madhyodāttas*, and *nityasvaritas*. A certain amount of overlapping has, of course, been unavoidable, but the resulting confusion has been cleared up with exemplary thoroughness and notable acuteness by the present editor in his bold and copious comments on every one of these *sūtras*.

As an illustration of commendable editorial work may be mentioned the critical examination of II. 17 (p. 99) where it is concluded that the expression *viśeṣa* occurring in the *sūtra* cannot be placed at its end as has been done by the *Vṛttikāra*. Again, as examples of useful comments may be commended the editor's remarks on *sūtras* II. 21 to II. 26 while his observations on III. 16

(pp. 124 ff) bear witness to the thoroughness with which he has discharged his editorial duties. In fact the quality and sweep of the exegesis offered in this book may be gauged from the fact that it is based on a vast field of relevant grammatical literature including the Nirukta, the Mahābhāṣya, the Pradīpa, the Kāśikāvṛtti, the writings of Bhaṭṭoji and Nageśa as well as the works of modern scholars like Macdonell.

Among the editor's more striking deductions may be listed the following:

- (1) Śāntanava had a gaṇapāṭha different from Pāṇini's;
- (2) He belonged to a school of grammarians different from Pāṇini's;
- (3) At least in one case the author has deviated from his avowed stand that Prātipadikas are *avyutpannas*;
- (4) The phenomena of accentuation were not confined to the language of the Vedas.

Besides the index of *sūtras* and the index of words, a small list of errata might also have been usefully included in this work; for, words like 'only' on p. 3 are redundant, and others like "eccentuation" (p. 5) 'hese' (p. 15), 'from' (p. 16), 'Premises itself' (p. 41), *matā* (p. 62), *Vastasara* (p. 69), *Prayajanaṃ* (p. 82), etc., are wrongly spelt. The omission of the symbol KV from the list of abbreviations may also be rectified.

There is no doubt whatsoever that Prof. Devasthali has rendered a signal service to the world of grammatical scholarship by bringing out this volume on the subject of accentuation which has long, too long, been neglected by Sanskritists in India and abroad.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

THE SPHOTANIRNAYA: Edited by S. D. Joshi, 1967.

This is book number 2 in Class C Publications of CAS, Poona, edited with Introduction, Translation, and Critical and exegetical notes by Sri S. D. Joshi. The edited text forms the XIVth Chapter of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* of Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa traditionally considered to have been a nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the cele-

brated author of the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā*. The last 14 verses of Bhaṭṭoji's work together with *Kaunḍabhaṭṭa*'s comment on them have been singled out by Sri Joshi for translation, critical examination and elucidatory comments in the work under review. The immediate inspiration for the work seems to have been the editor's conviction that, in view of the steadily increasing interest in the study of Indian semantics, "highly abstruse texts dealing with the theory of meaning — such as *Kaunḍabhaṭṭa*'s work — require to be rendered into English intelligibly" (P. ii). The claim of this particular section of the *Bhūṣaṇasāra* for translation is grounded in the fact that "it is an excellent epitome on (sic.) the Sanskrit Grammarians' theory of language-meaning" (Ibid.).

The general Introduction in 91 pages attempts a critical and historical review of the inception, growth, and final ramifications of the theory of *Sphoṭa* in the writings of outstanding Sanskrit grammarians. While the editor's attempt to set forth ancient Indian theories of expression and meaning through the medium of modern linguistic terminology is laudable, it may be pointed out that in several instances his understanding of the theories in question and some of his main conclusions may not find ready acceptance. For example, it is true 'that the later grammarians identify the significative level of language with the *sphoṭa* concept' (P. 4); but it may not, by any means, be taken for granted that the earlier writers like *Bhartrhari* were unaware of the bearing of *Sphoṭa* on the problem of meaning. From among these verses in the *Vākya-pādiya* (V. P.) where this intimate bearing is brought out, one calls for special notice, viz., I. 44 — *dvāvupādāna śabdeṣu*, etc. Here is an indisputable reference to "the linguistic sign, the two-sided entity, which has a Janus-like perspective in two directions" pointing to expression and content, sound and sense. (Vide *Indian Theories of Meaning*, pp. 118 ff, Dr. K. K. Raja, Madras, 1963). It is significant that Sri Joshi has not referred in his Introduction to this verse, presumably because the term *Sphoṭa* does not find a place in it. But the relevant problem is the elucidation of *Bhartrhari*'s concept of *Sphoṭa*, and, therefore, all verses in the *Vākya-pādiya* concerned with it merit equal attention.

Again, Sri Joshi emphatically asserts that "*Patañjali* never shows implicitly or explicitly any relation between *Sphoṭa* and the single indivisible meaning-bearing word" (p. 20). The Editor's

opinion is that Patañjali does not regard Sphoṭa as the meaning-bearing entity. It is true that Patañjali does not *explicitly* ascribe to Sphoṭa the function of communicating the sense of words and that in his comment on Pāṇinisūtra 8.2.18 Sphoṭa is not used in the sense of meaning-bearer. But in his definition of 'śabda' as *yenoccāritena sāśnālāṅgūla sampratyaḥ bhavati sa śabdaḥ* the later notion of Sphoṭa as meaning-bearer may be held to be *implicit*. Thus may be appreciated the relevancy of Nāgoji's remark 'idamekaṃ padamekaṃ vākyam iti pratyayaḥ sphoṭasattve tadekatve ca pramāṇaṃ' (Udyota, P. 18, MBhā. Vol. 1).

Apart from points such as these admitting of various interpretations and evaluations, it may be pointed out that no pains have been spared to make the Introduction and the notes as comprehensive and helpful as possible. These bear eloquent testimony to the editor's familiarity with an immense stretch of literature on the subject, both in Sanskrit and English. Among the more lucid of his expositions are the remarks on the *Prākṛta dhvani* and *Vaikṛtadhvani* (Pp. 25 ff) and those on *kāraka* 64 (Pp. 141, ff). On the other hand, inaccuracies in expression have not been wholly avoided. On P. 30 with reference to VP. I. 75, the editor speaks of 'the act of repeated perception of the sphoṭa', while Bhartṛhari is speaking of "distinctions in the manifesting sounds" being falsely ascribed to sphoṭa. Similarly, notes on VP. 1.97, printed on pp. 32 and 33 do not easily make sense. Is colour exclusively inherent in the sense of vision? Are sounds imperceptible entities? The phrase *pākānukūlaviklityāśraya* (P. 129) proves confusing, and may be a misprint for ".krtyāśraya."

A list of errata as well as a list of abbreviations used in the book might have been usefully included.

A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER.

CONGRESS AND CONGRESSMEN IN THE PRE-GANDHIAN ERA (1885-1917): By Bimanbehari Majumdar and Bhakat Prasad Majumdar. Publishers: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta-12, Price Rs. 35.

Many books have appeared on the history of the Indian National Congress. The book under review seeks to provide an account of the Congress and Congressmen in the pre-Gandhian era.

The year 1917 is taken as a landmark, because thenceforward Mahatma Gandhi dominated the Congress for these decades. It is undeniable that the dynamic personality of Mahatmaji converted the Congress into a powerful agency of mass movement.

Part I of the book contains 14 chapters which trace the genesis of the Congress and its progress down to 1917. The earliest epoch was an era of faith in and prayers to the British Government for the grant of various privileges. Lord Dufferin at first had welcomed the formation of the Congress, though later, he resented the demands made by the members. In July 1889, the British Committee of the Congress was constituted and an appeal was made to raise the age fixed for taking the I.C.S. examination, so that Indians also could have chances for entry into the service. On the whole, during its early career the Congress was content with a mendicant attitude praying for various privileges.

By 1906 the Extremists emerged with the valiant Bal Gangadhar Tilak as their permanent leader. The Moderates were for constitutional methods, and soon there appeared discord between the two wings of the Congress. With the Partition of Bengal and the consequent agitation, the Extremists assumed a formidable position. Many leaders were imprisoned. The services of the Extremists as well as of the Moderates are impartially assessed by the authors of the book. They write: "In every age and in every country the sympathy of the people goes to those who undergo sufferings rather than enjoy a life of ease and comfort. But it would be rank ingratitude to forget the services rendered by Moderate leaders in shaping public opinion in India and in preparing the country for the struggle for freedom." (p. 79).

A separate chapter is assigned for the consideration of the part played by the Muslims in the early stages of the national agitation. Sir Ahmed Khan was, from the outset, vehemently opposed to the Congress. He held that representative government was unsuited to India, because of the fundamental religious and social differences. But, in spite of him, many Muslims joined the Congress.

However the tension between the two communities ran high after the Partition of Bengal. The number of Muslim delegates to the Congress fell to 18 at the Varanasi session of the Congress in 1905. The creation of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with a majority of Muslim population and the encourage-

ment of the demand for special weightage for the Muslim community from persons in high authority in the Government of India made it possible to organise the Muslim League in 1906. But the League soon declared itself in favour of self-government, and the Congress warmly welcomed this move.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was an enthusiastic member of the Congress, and in 1913, he proclaimed. "I say I am proud to belong to the Congress Party." It is, however, a great pity that he was not elected as President of the Congress. 1921, he left the Congress.

Part I contains also interesting details regarding the leaders who formed the inner circle of the Congress. In addition, it provides an account of the Indologists and Litterateurs who participated in the national organisation. The part played by persons like Ranade, Sachchidananda Sinha, Sarojini Naidu and Bepin Chandra Pal and above all by the members of the Tagore family is indicated.

The reforms suggested in the Congress included those concerning the improvement of education, freedom of the Press, separation of the Judiciary from the Executive and eradication of poverty. Part I of the book provides also an historical survey of the Congress, but there is a lack of cohesion among the Chapters.

Part II furnishes biographical sketches of the Congressmen during the period. The names are arranged alphabetically indicating the dates and the subject matter of their speeches. This is a valuable part of the book since it provides a source of ready reference regarding the role played by the various members.

Part III recounts the resolutions passed by the Congress from time to time and a short bibliography is provided at the end. On the whole the work is a successful attempt at presenting an objective history of the Indian National Congress during the first three decades of its activities. The authors have made a careful use of the annual report of the Congress memoirs, contemporary anti-Congress propagandist literature, journals and newspapers as well as unpublished diaries. But the work is incomplete so far as the history of the Congress is concerned. It should have been brought down to 1947, when the Congress achieved its primary objective.

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nately neither of these two fiery leaders lived long enough to witness the final fruits of their labours. Jyotindra Nath died in 1915 and Rash Behari Bose in 1945.

The book is in the main based on original sources and records, both official and non-official. Wherever there are conflicting views in the assessment of events, a judicious view has been taken, weighing in the balance all the available sources.

Though in several places of the book mention is made of Subhas Chandra Bose, an account of the Revolutionaries should have been widened in order to include a full treatment of that great figure. In several respects he stands out pre-eminent among the stalwart heroes of modern India.

K. K. PILLAY.

BRITISH BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN INDIA 1793-1837: "The History of Serampore and its Mission: By E. Daniel Potts. Publishers: Cambridge University Press. Price: 57s. 6d. net in U.K.

This is an account of the activities of the founders of the Baptist Mission, William Carey, Joshua Marshman and William Ward at Serampore in Bengal during the period, 1793 to 1837. The book is based on the sources available in the Baptist archives and libraries.

The founders of the Mission at Serampore were remarkable men, though they were of humble birth. William Carey had started life as a shoe-maker, Joshua Marshman as a school teacher and William Ward as a printer. Perhaps their humble beginnings helped them to undertake social reform earnestly as a preparation for the introduction of Christianity.

It is undeniable that the social conditions and moral standards were deplorable in India at the time. It is equally true that England of the 18th century was notorious for its corrupt politics, outrageous penal laws, grave economic injustices and most deep-rooted religious and social bigotry. But the Indian conditions were much worse, as admitted by writers like V. A. Narain and Nemai Sadhan Bose. However, it is unfair to state, as R. C. Majumdar has done,

that missionaries criticised Indian social wrongs without being at all 'provoked by similar abuses in their own society and religion'.

The expansion of the Missionary activities in Berhampore and the winning over of converts is described, followed by an account of the noble services done to the cause of education, journalism, and publication and translation of mostly religious works. By far the most important activity was in the field of social reform. The Missionaries did tangible service in trying to discredit and remove the practices of *Sati*, slavery, infanticide, self-torture, exposure of the sick and the dying and the aggressive exclusiveness of caste. The real motive of the Missionaries in attempting social reforms has been often discussed. Primarily the object could well have been to win over converts by drawing lurid pictures of the existing social evils and trying to remove them. Even if this is granted, it is absolutely undeniable that the ultimate result was beneficial to the people. One has to admit that these Missionaries germinated the seed of social reform and helped the advent of the 'Indian Renaissance.'

A separate Chapter is devoted to the examination of the relations of the Baptist Mission with the Government of India. The Government of the day at first co-operated with the Missions, but at times had to restrain their activities, when they felt that social upheavals might follow. For instance, Wellesley was concerned with the effects of the Baptists' Biblical publications. But by and large, the Missionaries maintained cordial relations with the Government. Lord Hastings officially visited Serampore and often lent moral and financial support to Serampores' work, especially in the field of education.

Finally, the question is considered as to why the Baptists did not succeed in converting much larger number of people than it did. The inborn conservatism of the people was an important fact. Secondly, both Hinduism and Christianity rested their claims on superficially much the same grounds: revelation supported by miracles, the accounts of which were handed down in books and by oral tradition. The habit of drinking wine, the failure of some Missionaries to move freely with the people and the severity of their criticisms of the social and religious practices were other causes. The most important fact was that some Hindu reformers,

influenced by the work of the Missionaries, tried to effect some desirable changes in the old customs and belief. "Without a Ram-mohan Roy, Christianity very probably would have made much more rapid formal progress than it did". (p. 227).

There have been several categories of Missionaries in India. They have done some good work in their cause; but, quite often, too, they were tempted to abuse their privileges and transgress their limits. However, the author's estimate that the Baptists were 'the architects and builders of a richer, broader concept of a missionary work' than the preceding and contemporary Missionaries, seems unsustainable, at least with reference to South India.

K. K. PILLAY.

PANJAB, PAST AND PRESENT, Vol. 1, Part 1, April 1967:
Edited by Ganda Singh. Published by the Panjab University,
Patiala-4. Price Rs. 5/-.

This Journal, intended to be bi-annual, is edited by the well-known scholar, Ganda Singh. The Panjab, the cradle of Indian History, is taken to denote the "geographical unit, the inheritor, in fact a synonym of the Sapt-sindhu and not the Panjab of the medieval ages or modern times with its boundaries changing with political upheavals". The objective of the Journal is to study the history and culture of the Panjab in all aspects and of all ages, by analysing the socio-political factors that decided great military issues in the past, the religious movements that profoundly influenced the people and the freedom struggle of the Sikhs who practically have made the Panjab of today. Apart from scholarly articles, a delightful feature of the Journal is the publication of a number of rare historical papers which are not easily accessible to research scholars and the existence of which might have been forgotten by the present generation. The journal will evoke considerable interest and the series, in course of time, would serve to offer ample useful material for reference and research. We congratulate Ganda Singh on his sincere venture and heartily welcome the new publication.

P. K. K. MENON.

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY, Vol. IV, by V. V. Mirashi, published by Tara Publications, Varanasi, 1966; pages 239 (with Index) and 13 Plates; price Rs. 20.00.

The work includes twentytwo papers (previously published in periodicals) from the erudite pen of one of our most distinguished scholars. The matter has been divided into two Sections, the first consisting of articles on Sanskrit literature and the other of those on ancient Indian history (mostly on Epigraphy and Numismatics). Of the nine papers in the first Section, two deal with the date of Kālidāsa (who is believed to have lived in c. 400 A.D. at the court of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, 376-413 A.D.) and another two with the location of the Rāmagiri (identified with modern Ramtek near Nagpur). Among the articles included in the second Section, the biggest is the one dealing with the Gaṅga era which is supposed to have started in the expired Śaka year 420 (498-99 A.D.).

The papers on epigraphic records include those dealing with the Ahraura rock inscription of Aśoka, Pawni pillar inscription of 'Mahākṣatrapa Rupiamma', Devnimori casket inscription of the reign of Rudrasena (Year 127), Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī grant of Rāṣṭra-kūṭa Avidheya and Gwalior Museum inscription of Paṭaṅgaśambhu. In the article on the date of Nahapāna in the second Section support is given to the view that the dates in the records of the said ruler are to be referred to the Śaka era.

The papers included in the volume are well-written and thought-provoking, though we had occasions to differ from the views expressed in some of them. Thus, while editing the Ahraura inscription of Aśoka in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, Part VI, April 1966, pp. 239 ff., we referred to Mirashi's paper on the inscription appearing in the *Bhāratī*, Part I, No. 5, pp. 135-40, and pointed out that the words *om mañce Budhasa* (*yat mañcam Buddhasya*) had been wrongly read by him as *Sammaṃsambudhasa* (*Samyaksambuddhasya*). Likewise, our views on the Devnimori and Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī inscriptions were published elsewhere.

There are some points raised in the articles included in the present volume, on which we had no occasion to offer any com-

ment previously even though we do not agree with the learned author. One such point of disagreement is offered by the Pawni (Bhandara District) pillar inscription of Rupiamma. Mirashi correctly reads the inscription as—

Sidham Mahakhattava-kumārasa Rupiammasa chāyā-khambho (*siddham Mahākṣatrapa-kumārasya Rūpyammasya chāyāstambhaḥ*), but wrongly interprets it as referring to the memorial pillar of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rupiamma and speaks of his rule over Vidarbha. In our opinion, Rupiamma was clearly a *Mahākṣatrapa-kumāra* (i.e. 'the son of the *Mahākṣatrapa*') and not a *Mahākṣatrapa* himself and, since the pillar merely shows that he breathed his last at Pawni, it offers no clear evidence regarding the inclusion of the Pawni region in the Śaka dominions of Western India, because the prince's visit to the place may have been the result of a Śaka expedition against the Pawni region or matrimonial relations with the local ruler's family or some other reason.

D. C. SIRCAR.

THE CHRONICLE OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA, 581-960 A.D., by Jan Yün-Hua, published by Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 1966; pages 189 (with introduction, bibliography, indexes, etc.); price Rs. 20.00.

The work under review contains the author's translations from Monk Chih-p'au's *Fo-tsu T'ung-Chi*. It is divided into four fascicles dealing with the periods of the Sui (581-617 A.D.) and T'ang (618-906 A.D.) dynasties as well as of the rulers who flourished in 907-59 A.D. Besides a small introduction (pp. 1-10) and bibliography (pp. 119-26), there is an Index of Chinese characters. The notes to the translation are generally erudite and instructive. The author and the publishers deserve congratulations for bringing out this valuable work which is of special importance because the Sui-T'ang age represents the Classical or Golden Age of Chinese Buddhism.

The learned author says that several of his Indian friends helped him in making his English readable. But there is still some scope for improvement in this field. Thus the sentence "Wang

Yen-Chüing, the ruler of the Min kingdom, who had long believed in Buddhism" (p. 114) suffers from the absence of a verb. The defect could have been rectified by deleting the word "who". In the sentence "There had an inscription [which recorded]: 'Made during the sixth year of Ch'ui-kung (690 A.D.?) age at the monastery of Ching-fu-szu' (p. 115), at last 'had' is a mistake for 'was'. There are also misprints not included in the 'Corrections'; e.g., *Sikṣānanda* (p. 45, line 28) and *Sikṣananda* (p. 47, line 4) for *Sikṣānanda*.

The book is a valuable addition to the list of works on the history of Buddhism published from our country.

D. C. SIRCAR.

INDIAN NUMERALS: By Shobhana Laxman Gokhale, published by the Deccan College and Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1966, pp. 48+16 (index and bibliography) and 23 charts; Price Rs. 20.00.

Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Laxman Gokhale's monograph is No. 43 of the Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series. The work is meant to trace the chronological as well as regional evolution of the numerals during the period between 300 B.C. and 700 A.D. There is a brief introduction (pp. 1-3), which is followed by a discussion on the forms of the Brāhmī numerical signs in 21 sections. The first of the sections deals with 1-3, the following sections dealing with the signs for the unit figures from 4 to 9, the tens from 10 to 90 and the hundreds from 100 to 500. The subject is extremely interesting and its choice by the authoress is happy.

The Brāhmī numerals have been treated in well-known works like Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* (published in 1896), G. H. Ojha's *Prācīn Bhāratīya Lipimālā* (the 2nd edition of which appeared in 1918) and J. Filliozat's chapters contributed to the recently published *L' Inde Classique* edited by L. Renou and himself. Numerals in epigraphic records and manuscripts, written in Brāhmī and its derivatives and discovered outside India, not discussed by Bühler and Ojha, have been dealt with by Filliozat. Dr. (Mrs.)

Gokhale has made an attempt to add new forms to those previously recognised by Bühler and Ojha from a study of the epigraphic records not known to those authors but published at later dates, the latest volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* consulted by her appearing to be Vol. XXVI (1941-1942). Some of the new forms noticed in the book under review are quite interesting.

While recommending the book to the students of Indian palaeography, we request the young authoress to make it more comprehensive whenever an opportunity to revise it for another edition offers itself to her. In order to make the book more useful to the students of the subject, the learned authoress may kindly follow the lines indicated below.

In the first place, the published epigraphic and numismatic records should be assiduously examined so that no important item escapes attention; cf. the form of 4 occurring in the Orissa State Museum plates of Sainyabhīta II Mādhavavarman (one of whose records is dated in the Gupta year 300=619 A.D.) published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff. and Plates (text line 46). The same sign also occurs in other records like the Jangalpadu plates of Śatrubhañja (see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 250-51).

Secondly, numerals in the documents in Kharoṣṭhī and those in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī found particularly in Central Asian sites should be paid the attention they deserve. Likewise, fraction symbols as found in the charter (592 A.D.) of Viṣṇuṣeṇa (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXX, pp. 163 ff. and Plates) should not be ignored. Thirdly, the errors and inaccuracies that have crept into the present edition should be eliminated as far as possible; cf. the sign for 8 wrongly represented as that for 80 (p. 36, No. 10); the publication of the Gadhwā stone inscription of Candargupta II wrongly referred to 'EI, XVI, 15' (p. 35, note 264) instead of CII, III.37; confused discussion on the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī forms of 4 (p. 4); address of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* wrongly quoted as 'Oriental Press 9, P. O. Lane, Calcutta' (p. xi) in place of 'Calcutta Oriental Press, 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta-9; etc.

D. C. SIRCAR.

THE ŚAKTI CULT AND TĀRĀ. Edited by D. C. Sircar. University of Calcutta, 1967. Price Rs. 10.00.

Seminars, when properly organised, enable scholars to study a chosen topic from different angles. At the second series of seminars organised in April 1965 by the University Grants Commission Centre of Advanced Study in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, the Origin and Evolution of the Cult of Śakti and Iconography of Tārā were the two subjects chosen for discussion. The Cult of Śakti, as Dr. T. V. Mahalingam observes, was the result of "fusion of several cults with their local ramifications, but based on similar mythological conceptions." Dēvī, says A. K. Bhattacharya, "is a composite conception of the adorable female principle in which different ethnic and regional ideas and beliefs have combined in a manner in order to make it acceptable to both the Non-Āryan and the Āryan population of the country". According to D. C. Sircar who read the paper on "Śakti Cult in Western India", the later phases of Buddhism do not appear to have influenced Tantricism there in any appreciable degree whereas in East India Brāhminical Tantricism and the late phases of Buddhism became "inextricably mixed up." The link that connected Vaiṣṇavism with Śaktism, says B.C. Raychaudhuri, came from the conception of Dāvi as Yōga Nidrā of Viṣṇu and Vaiṣṇavism desired to ally itself with the Durgā cult. The remaining papers deal, among others, with the Śakti cult, its origin and evolution and its prevalence in different parts of India as well as the Ardhanariśvara concept as depicted on a Tripura coin.

K. K. Dasgupta's paper deals with the Iconography of Tārā, popular goddess in the Buddhist Pantheon, adopted from the Brāhminical concept of the Dēvī. N. N. Bhattacharya writing about the Chinese Origin of the Cult of Tārā expresses the view that the vamācāra practices connected with the worship of Tārā were brought from China. Two papers deal with the Mahāmāyā Vijayavāhini and Trailōkyavijayā concepts. D. C. Sircar refers to Tārā of Candradvīpa, worshipped in eastern India considerably earlier than the date of the Ellora sculptures while A. K. Bhattacharya dwells on Tārā as a serpent deity and its Jain counterpart, Padmāvatī. On the whole the papers read are interesting and instructive.

P. K. K. MENON.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUNJAB:* By Ganda Singh. Published by the Punjabi University, Patiala, 1966.

This work was started as early as 1919 by the author who collected a large number of volumes from England and other European countries and travelled throughout India, Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan in search of rare manuscripts, books and periodicals stored in important libraries and research institutions and written in English, other European languages, Persian, and some of the Indian languages. The author has not ignored the proceeding and transactions of learned bodies but made use of them to the extent possible. Valuable material now obtainable in West Punjab and that which lies in the custody of ignorant and superstitious owners could of course not have been fully included. The list of work, on the Punjab is arranged authorwise under different languages with mention of the names of publishers and places and dates of publication. In the case of manuscripts, the accession numbers and the particular section in the libraries where they are preserved are also given. More details are given of Mughal and modern periods. The topical treatment of the subject would have been more convenient to the research scholar but it would have perhaps implied duplication and consumed more space. If Ganda Singh's useful book serves as a source of inspiration to similar concerted efforts in regard to other regions in India he can congratulate himself on that account as well.

P. K. K. MENON.

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The Evolution of the Śiva-Buddha Cult in Java

BY

PROF. HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

The migration of Buddhism to the lands of South-East Asia, including Indonesia, is a phenomenon of the highest importance, as it not only powerfully affected the life and thought of the vast concourse of humanity living in this region, but is even now a living force in a large sector of South-East Asia. Hinduism now flourishes in limited areas of Indonesia, but it is a spent force in other places of South-East Asia, though vestiges of its past grandeur are discernible in all important places of this vast terrain.

We do not have any faint idea regarding the religion professed by king Tiao-Pien of Ye-Tiao, even assuming that the place refers to Java or Java-Sumatra. So far as present evidence goes, it appears that the first Indian religion which took root in Javanese soil was Hinduism, as the inscriptions of the West Javanese king Pūrṇavarman would demonstrate. It was possibly followed by the spread of Hīnayāna Buddhism of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-school, but the latter had to make room for Mahāyāna. It may be recalled that Fa-hien, on his way to China, had reached in A.D. 414 a country called Ye-Po-Ti in the Chinese annals. If Pūrṇavarman's inscription may be dated in the middle of the fifth century A.D., and if Ye-Po-Ti be the same as Java, it is reasonable to hold the view that Fa-hien set his foot on the kingdom of Pūrṇavarman's father or grandfather, provided they were ruling princes. In this country he saw that "various forms of error and Brāhmaṇism are flourishing while Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning".¹ The unsatisfactory condition of Buddhism in Indonesia seems to have continued for sometime more, till Prince Guṇavarman of Kāśmīra came. He rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism in countries outside India. From a Chinese work compiled in A.D. 519 we learn that the Prince came to Cho-p'o and converted the king

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1. Vide Giles, *The travels of Fa-Hsien* (1923), p. 78.

and the queen of that country to Buddhism. Guṇavarman had translated a work of the Dharmagupta sect of Mūlasarvāstivāda; we can accordingly postulate that Guṇavarman had propagated the doctrine of Hīnayāna Buddhism, which enjoyed a spell of popularity in some isles of Indonesia.² From A.D. 424, when Guṇavarman finally left Cho-P'o, to the time when Ho-ling emerges into the full light of history towards the middle of the seventh century,³ Hīnayāna Buddhism must have held some sway in some parts of Java. Ho-ling had an importance of its own, because in the seventh century, it was already famous as a centre of Buddhist scholarship. We learn that the Chinese pilgrim Hui-ning *en route* to India broke journey here in A.D. 664-65 and stayed here for three years. In collaboration with the native scholar Joh-na-poh-t'o-lo, corresponding to the Sanskrit name Jñānabhadra, he translated here some Buddhist texts,⁴ which reveal great divergences from the Mahāyāna-doctrines,⁵ and are accordingly to be classed under the Hīnayāna. It is obvious that Ho-ling had developed as a centre for Buddhist studies and that there were competent native scholars to deal with the subject. This Buddhism of Ho-ling and other places of the Archipelago appears to bear the stamp of Hīnayāna, although there were minor exceptions, because there were some people who subscribed to Sammiti, Mahāsaṃghika and Sthavirāṇikāya.⁶ In this context one can understand why the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa enjoyed such wide popularity in the islands of the Southern seas.⁷ The predominance of Hīnayāna Buddhism gradually wanes and makes room for Mahāyāna Buddhism, which shortly starts on its astonishing career under the Śrīvijaya and the Sailēndra monarchs.

As part of the Śrīvijaya empire, south-eastern Sumatra, with its headquarters at Palembang, came into the limelight of history as one of the main centres of Buddhist learning. I-tsing studied śabdavidyā (grammar) here in A.D. 671 and during A.D. 685-689



2. Regarding the missionary activity of Prince Guṇavarman, vide Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires*, pp. 274 ff and I-tsing, *Record*, pp. 10 ff.

3. Vide Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, pp. 13 ff; Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1931, pp. 103 ff.

4. I-tsing, *Memoire*, pp. 60 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 61; Krom, *op.cit.*, pp. 107 ff.

6. I-tsing, *Record*, pp. 10 ff.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 165 ff.

he was engaged in copying and translating Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese. In one of his trips, I-tsing brought from India 500000 stanzas of the tripiṭaka texts, on which he did considerable work at Śrīvijaya. The Biographies of Chinese pilgrims to India, as compiled by I-tsing,⁸ reveal the interesting fact that many Chinese pilgrims, such as Yun-ki, Ta-tsin, Tcheng-kou, Tao-hong, Fa-lang and others, made prolonged stay in this international centre of Buddhist scholarship, learnt Kouen-louen⁹ (a kind of archaic Malay or Proto-Malay) and Sanskrit. It is not for nothing that Buddhist scholars and students congregated in Śrīvijaya, because Śākyakīrti, one of the seven greatest masters among the contemporaries of I-tsing lived in Śrīvijaya. Eminent Buddhist scholars of India and Indonesia, according to the testimony of I-tsing, were proficient in studying authoritative Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts, as there were so many common links binding the two. One same school, for instance, could subscribe to Mahāyāna in some place and Hīnayāna in another place.¹⁰ This spirit of enlightened scholarship was sedulously encouraged by the University of Nālandā. The Tāntrik contents of East Indian Buddhism, fostered in the Nālandā school of thought and in Pāla-Bengal, reinforced by Buddhist missionaries like Dharmapāla, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Kumāraghoṣa and others from Southern, Eastern and even Western India, powerfully affected Indonesia.

This emergence of Tāntrik Buddhism was almost concurrent with the development of Śaiva Tāntrism in Eastern India and as these constituted the two most important religious systems in contemporary India, both their rivalry and spirit of accommodation gradually led to approximation between the two religions. The religious background was quite favourable for such approximation. It may be recalled that while Bainyagupta of East Bengal (507-8 A.D.), Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (first half of the seventh

8. I-tsing, *Memoire*, pp. 60, 63, 159, 182, 187. See also in this connexion, Krom, *op.cit.*, pp. 115 ff; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnavāṇa* I, pp. 141 ff; Coedes, *Les états Hindouïses etc.*, pp. 138-148; K. A. N. Sastri, *History of Śrīvijaya*, pp. 30 ff.

9. Regarding the language see Chavannes in *BEFEO* 3 (1903), pp. 438 ff; Krom, *op.cit.*, pp. 109 ff; Coedes, *op.cit.*, pp. 26 ff with literature cited therein. According to Ferrand, it was known, not only in Java but also in Campā, Kambuja, Malay Peninsula, Burma and some other places.

10. I-tsing, *Record*, pp. XXII ff.

century A.D.), Śaśāṅka of Karmasuvārṇa in West Bengal (617 A.D.) and Lokanātha (seventh century A.D.) were Śaivas, the Khadgas (later part of the seventh and earlier part of the eighth century), the Pālas (c. 750-c. 1095 or 1125 A.D.), the Candras (tenth century) were Buddhists. The co-existence of these two systems led to an approximation which is clearly discernible in some of the contemporary records of Bengal.

The same approximation between the two religious systems is discernible in the records of Central Java, but it is most pronounced in the records of Eastern Java. Had we substantial literature from the period of political hegemony of Central Java, the point could have been studied in greater details. Even as it is, unimpeachable evidence from the inscriptions of Central Java tells the same tale. Apart from the construction of the temple of Tārā, a goddess revered by both the Śaiva and Buddhist Tāntriks, in A.D. 778, the Kēlurak inscription, issued four years later, clearly states in verse 15: "He, the Wielder of Vajra, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; he is full of gods and is praised as Mañjuvāk".¹¹ The identification of the Buddhist God of Learning with the Hindu Trinity could not have been more complete. These are broad indications of the process of approximation which had already started both in Bengal and Java. If we link up Nālandā-Śrīvijaya-Śailendra-Barabudur set-up with the Canggal-Dinaja-Lara Jonggrang complex, we shall arrive, on theoretical and general considerations, to the eighth and ninth centuries when this religious synthesis was working out. The supposed Buddha on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur on the one hand and the Vukir-hill liṅga of king Sañjaya and the Śiva of Prambanan must have provided the appropriate religious climate for the synthesis and ultimate evolution of the Śiva-Buddha cult. The circumstances must have been complex both in Eastern India and Java, but the broad pattern was not perhaps much different. The *gurvāda* of the Śaiva Tāntriks, who could take *guru* or preceptor from any caste not necessarily Brāhmaṇas, the casteless Buddhists and the basically caste-less tribal organisation of the Javanese people, which did not yet substantially conform to the rigours of the caste system of India, might have provided the matrix for the foundation of the Śiva-Buddha cult. There was another element which facilitated this evolution. The

11. *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.* 68 (1928), pp. 1 ff.

Pre-historic menhirs were venerated by the Ur-Indonesian people and their descendants; the inscriptions also testify to the high respect commanded by the Susu-kulumpangs. When the crafty Brāhmaṇas identified them with the (Śiva-) liṅgas, the first great hurdle for the introduction of Śaivism in Java was over. When this liṅga served to be the palladium of the reigning family, its future was assured. The installation of Śiva-liṅga on the Vukir-hill in A.D. 732 seems to reflect this phenomenon.

This stream of Śaivism, Tāntrik or otherwise, seems to have flowed to Java from Bengal, even as Tāntrik Buddhism did. It would be interesting to know from which sect of Bengal did the Śaivas of Java derive their inspiration. If we study the Bhāgalpur plates¹² of king Nārāyaṇapāla of Bengal (c. A.D. 854-908), it would appear that the prevalent form of Śaivism in contemporary Bengal belonged to the Pāśupata-school, which seems to have been founded by Śrīkaṇṭhanātha, author of *Piṅgalāmata*¹³, and Lākuliśa, who might have been his disciple. The four disciples of Lākuliśa were Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya,¹⁴ who were Pāśupatas and are often mentioned with Patañjali in the imprecatory formulae of the Old-Javanese inscriptions. The sages Kuśika and others were conversant with Pāśupata Yōga, used ashes, wore dress of tree-barks and had matted hair. At the time of Hiuen-tsang, they were naked and used to tie their hair in knots, but other Pāśupatas had red clothing, as represented in the *Kādambarī*, a work written by Bāṇa, a contemporary of Hiuen-tsang (middle of seventh century).¹⁵ Since the Pañcakuśikas (Five kuśikas) make their first appearance in the copper-plates of Kañcana, dated A.D. 860,¹⁶ we may perhaps hold the view that the Pāśupata form of Śaivism, which was the oldest form of sectarian Saivism of India, came to Central Java from Bengal at some unspecified date before A.D. 860. The exact date cannot be determined now, but Kern thought

12. Plate 2, 14. Vide *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 304.

13. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems*, pp. 165 ff. This is a Tāntrik work preserved in Nepal in a manuscript from A.D. 1174.

14. Lākuliśa and his disciples are mentioned in an inscription from the time of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty.

15. Regarding the origin and diffusion of the Śaiva sects, see R. G. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 165 ff (Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV).

16. Kern, *Verspr. Geschr.*, VII (1917), pp. 17-53.

that the Pāśupata sect might have been present in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. when Fa-hien visited Java. It may be recalled that the Chinese traveller had found "heretics and Brahmins" (another translation is: heretical Brahmins) in Java. Kern thought that the use of the term "heretics" in the compound "heretics and Brahmins" by Fa-hien may refer to the sect of the Pāśupatas, because Hiuen-tsang, who often used the compound "heretics and Brahmins", meant, at least once, the Pāśupata-sect by the word "heretics".¹⁷ From the nature of the case, the evidence is unsatisfactory, because apart from the distance of time which separates the two travellers, the status of the Pāśupata sect might have undergone changes during those two and quarter centuries. In the middle of the seventh century A.D., it was already an important sect because Hiuen-tsang refers to the Pāśupatas twelve times in his travels. It is extremely doubtful if this sect at all flourished in the Pallava-tracts and adjoining territories at the time when the first influx of Indians to Java-Sumatra started. Under the circumstances, we may hold the view that the Pāśupata sect flourished in Java at least in A.D. 860. Shortly before this date, the Pāla emperor Devapāladēva (c. 810-850 A.D.) had ceased to reign, but his contact with Suvarṇadvīpa had already been established by the Nālandā charter.¹⁸

Buddhism had already developed a distinct class of literature and mode of sādhanā in the seventh century A.D. common features developed in Buddhist and Śaiva Tāntrism between the eighth and tenth centuries A.D., though the symbols utilised by each was different. The mystic elements in Buddhist Tāntrism, such as Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna, of which the philosophical background was provided by the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika systems of philosophy, went under the generic name of Mantranaya, which was reflected in an Old-Javanese tract from the ninth-tenth century. In spite of some common features among them, the Śaiva and Buddhist Tāntrikas used separate symbols to explain their intricate mode of Sādhanā. In this way, the two principal deities, in some of their manifestations, became identical, without, however, losing their separate individuality. If the Buddhism of Barabudur represents the philosophy of the Vajra-

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 137 ff.

18. *Ep. Ind.* XVII, p. 318.

dhara sect and the Śaivism of Prambanan that of the Pāśupata sect, the two Tāntrik lords of the two schools must have first fused in Central Java sometime during the ninth century A.D. The Śaivism of Prambanan is sometimes described as belonging to the Śaiva-Siddhānta school, which can be traced at least to the middle of the ninth century A.D., but it is doubtful if it could have been powerful enough to lay the theological matrix of the Prambanan-complex. If the extant Śaiva Tāntrik literature of Java be any guide, the special field of activity of the Siddhānta-school was East-Java, perhaps from the twelfth century, when it became prominent in Southern India. In any case, the development of the Pāśupata and the Śaiva Siddhānta systems from a historical and doctrinal perspective and story of their inter-relation have to be further worked out in India before the problems of Śaiva Tāntrism of Java can be finally cleared up. This seems to be necessary in spite of the remarkable works of some scholars.¹⁹

Indian Tāntrism, both Buddhist and Śaiva, has laid great stress on the psychic or supernatural power. The Buddhist texts indeed speak of such power involving capacity "to project mind-made image of oneself, to become invisible, to pass through solid things, such as wall, to penetrate solid ground as if it were water, to walk on water, to fly through the air, to touch Sun and Moon, to ascend into the higher heavens, etc."²⁰ Such ideas do not appear to be a late development, because as early as the days of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, Buddha's own disciple Bharadvāja was reported to have risen up into the air miraculously and brought down the begging bowl which was held aloft by a Setṭhi.²¹ Belief in such supernatural powers is also reflected in Old-Javanese literature. People living in 1365 A.D. in the Majapahitan kingdom believed that the division of the kingdom of Airlangga was effected by "Mahāyānabrata, a past master in Tantra, a Yogi master" called Bharaḍa. He has been described as flying over the sky, demar-

19. Notably, Zieseniss: *Studien zur Geschichte des Sivaismus; die Sivaistischen systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur in Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 98 (1939) and International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, and C. Hooykaas in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. 118, pp. 309 ff.

20. Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali Dictionary* s.v. Iddhi.

21. *Vinayaka Piṭaka* (SBE, Vol. XX, pp. 78 ff.).

cating the boundary with the "water of the jar of the sky."²² The attainment of supernatural power or the acquisition of different siddhis is also one of the principal objectives of the general run of Śaiva Tāntriks.

The approximation between Śaivism and Buddhism and the identification of the two principal divinities of these two religious systems led to as much toleration as, or perhaps greater than that, in India. By the eleventh century A.D., if not earlier, Buddha was adopted into the Hindu pantheon as one of the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu and Jayadeva, the court-poet of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (c. 1179-1205), devoted a beautiful poem to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, in which Buddha was the last, but even then no noteworthy Śiva-temple could accommodate both Śiva and Buddha in one and the same place. In spite of ideological identification of Śiva and Buddha, no strenuous effort was directed, as in Java and Bali, to translate the ideas in terms of reality. This spirit of toleration is broadly reflected in Old-Javanese literature and inscriptions. The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* says:²³ *Buddha tunggal lavan Śiva* i.e. Buddha is one with Śiva. The broad spirit of toleration and equation is continued in later records of East Java. This is further revealed, for instance, by an inscription of king Airlangga, dated A.D. 1034,²⁴ which pays equal homage to Mpungku Śaiva-Sogata-Rṣi, the same religious denominations which often appear, side by side, in the inscriptional and literary records of East Java. It may be recalled in this connection that the accession of king Airlangga to the throne was confirmed with the blessings of the Buddhists, Śaivites and Brāhmaṇical ṛṣis.²⁵ In consonance with this spirit, the writer of the inscription of Kēboan Pasar,²⁶ dated A.D. 1042 offers, at the close of the inscription, salutation not only to Buddha, but also to Śiva, ṛṣi and Brāhmaṇas. The distinction sought to be made out between the ṛṣis who were perhaps Brāhmaṇical ascetics, and the Brāhmaṇas, is interesting. This distinction would not possibly have been made, unless the number of the former was very large.

22. *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, Canto 68/2-4.

23. Cod. 5068 of the Lombok collection, fol. 22.

24. *Oud-Jav. Oorkond*. LX.

25. *Ibid*, LXII.

26. *Ibid*, LXIII.

The broad features of this religious toleration are also attested in contemporary literature. In the *Arjunavivāha*, which was composed during the reign of king Airlangga, a side-view of this religious syncretism is presented in the scene describing the meditation of Arjuna in the third canto. Here he sat cross-legged his hands rested on his chest and his eyes were fixed on the point of his nose. As the poet says, he was lost in void; he heard 'nothing' and was pure like 'nothing'. Indeed Indra is made to remark (6:2) "If you love 'nothing', you will find 'nothing'." Such ideas are also found in Vajrayāna, because *śūnya* or nothingness came to be designated vajra on account of its indestructibility, but the *śūnya* of the Vajrayānists differed from that of the Mādhyamikas or the Vijñānavādins, because it included the elements of reality, consciousness and great bliss. Obviously, the doctrines of *daśaśīla* and *nirvāṇa*, to which reference has been made, are Buddhistic, but when these means and ends are sought to be obtained through the worship of Śiva the whole idea becomes corrupted. The trend of equation or identification is carried on through later literature, and has been particularly reflected in the *Kuñjarakarmā*, the *Sutasoma*, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* etc. The question has also been discussed by Kern, Krom, Rassers and the present writer.²⁷ The statuary art of Java has also reflected this phenomenon. It may be recalled that king Viṣṇuvardhana was represented, after his death, by an image of Śiva in the dharma at Valeri and by a Sugata-image in the temple at Jajaghu.²⁸ Similarly, king Kṛtanagara was, after his death, "released in the Śiva-Buddha regions" and "an *arca* (cult-statue) of Śiva-Buddha", representing the deceased king, was set up in a religious domain.²⁹ In present-day Bali also the same phenomenon is clearly discernible, and Buddha is regarded there as the younger brother of Śiva. The *Bauddha stutis* of Bali have considerable Śaiva admixture. Hooykaas has observed that some of them make the impression of being purely

27. Kern, *op.cit.*, IV (1916), pp. 149-177; Krom, *Inleiding I*, pp. 106 ff. and *Meded. Kon. Akad. Wet. Afd. Lett.*, Dl. 58, series B, no. 8, 27; Rassers, *Pañji, the Culture Hero*, (1959), pp. 68 ff. As Śiva-Buddha images are known both in India and Java, it cannot simply be described as a philosophical notion, as Rassers thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 70), but a reality. Vide also H. B. Sarkar, *Śiva-Buddha in Old-Javanese records in Indian Culture*, Vol. I, 1934-35.

28. *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, 41/4.2.

29. *Ibid*, 43/5.3-4.

Śaiva, but are exclusively Bauddha, while others are shared by the Bauddhas and the Śaivas. The same scholar has noticed further that the dukuh-priest of Bali was represented in three varieties, viz. Śaiva, Bauddha and Śaiva-Bauddha. Although he could not check up this information, the trend of the religious system of Bali indicates that the information may be correct.³⁰ In important ceremonial feasts, we always find four Śaiva and one Buddhist priests, of whom the later faces the South and the four Śaivite priests face other directions and occupy the Central seat. Similarly, at the cremation of princes, the *toya tirta* or consecration-water of the two sects is mingled together.

Śiva was undoubtedly a versatile God. If he was, in his līṅga manifestation, identified with the pre-historic menhirs or susu-kulumpangs of Java, and with Buddha, he was no less amenable to his identification with Viṣṇu or Hari. This also led on to the growth of the Hari-Hara cult, of which iconographical representations are available, both in Java and India. Images of Hari-Hara have been found from all parts of India, from the late Gupta period onwards. Some striking examples of the same may be seen at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In one of the amalgam icon of Hari-Hara, Buddha and Surya have also been represented on the sides. The most remarkable statue of Hari-Hara in Java was found at the temple of Simping; it is believed to represent the features of king Kṛtarājasa, but in the delineation of the features, greater stress was laid on the Śaiva-element, thus proving once again that Śiva was the greatest of the gods of the Indian pantheon.

30. *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. 120 (1964), pp. 231 ff. See also the same author's article on *Bauddha Brahmins in Bali* in *Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXVI (1963), pp. 544 ff.

Determinant Factors in the Early History of Tamilnād¹

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Tamilnād has become a repository of all the cultural elements that had entered its precincts, and has cherished and preserved many of them in pristine fashion. Vedic ritualism, caste dogma, religious beliefs, ritual and iconographic concepts have all tended to become ossified here to a greater degree than elsewhere in South India owing to the tip of the peninsula becoming the natural gravitational goal of all land-ward cultural movements from north. Only the coastal littoral displays a variable element produced by foreign contact which did not affect the cultural equilibrium in the interior. This is notwithstanding the fact that the indigenous texture is now and again peeping through the well-worn northern dye on it. This aspect has bestowed upon the heritage of Tamilians a dichotomy of high individualism and conservatism combined with a gracious liberalism. Mixed strains from different impulses, of necessity, have given rise to a degree of miscegenation which is thriving side by side with a rigid adherence to pure forms of religious and social customs, nurtured in their original character over centuries. The highly self-sufficient character of Tamilnad in the past in food and clothing, its having been inured to centuries of intellectual pursuits and trade, and its internecine rather than extra-territorial clashes on the political plane, until the advent of the Cōḷas, have all circumscribed its vision to some extent in material and national spheres, resulting in a degree of self-complacency and parochialism. From about 950 A.D. onwards,

1. Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer Foundation lectures in History for 1965-66, of the University of Madras, delivered by the author on the 17th and 18th January, 1966.

it had successively been under larger empires like those of the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Vijayanagar kings, the Nāyakas, and in more recent centuries, before Independence, under the British. Owing to the invisible cribbing effect of the insular position, alongside its undoubtedly expansive trade stimulus, apart from the barriers on the west and north, the land itself had become the collecting place of all heterogeneous cultural and social elements, and this has made Tamilnad a State within a State, with complex traits.

It would be my purpose to show that the collective impact of the various factors like the geographical, archaeological, environmental, epigraphical and socio-cultural, was very complicated in Tamilnād, more than elsewhere. The unity that was substantially, though not completely, achieved out of the diversity of the cultural mosaic, had itself carried the germs for the evolution of the ultimate coherent political entity of Tamilnād. It would be apparent that if even one of the important determinant factors, as mentioned above, had not played upon its ancient matrix, the personality of the land would have been different from what it is. Needless to say that some among these factors were of relatively greater potency, but it was the cumulative effect of all these that contributed to its rich fabric. In the sequel, Tamilnād has become a type-region of a responsive, insular culture-pattern where every intrusive culture overlapped upon its precursor and became ultimately, each of them, part of the resident culture. The process, notwithstanding its fullness achieved already, would seem to have yet a vital element of continuity in its evolution and scope for a brighter future.

Geographical

It is well accepted that the geography of a region furnishes the essential backdrop to the matrix of its culture motivations. South India, in general, is eminently illustrative of this axiom which has verily held the key to the differentiation and integration of the regional cultures that throve here from Prehistoric times. The natural barrier of the Vindhya-Satpura Mahadeo-Maikal ranges, together with the gigantic sea-wall of the Western Ghats culminating in the Dodabetta of the Nilgiris (8760 ft.) pro-

duces a typical plateau relief gently sloping towards the East, and the Eastern Ghats which are of irregular and broken outline and lower altitudes, converge with the Western at Nilgiris and are fortuitously helped by the Palghat pass for entry into Tamilnād from the Malabār coast. The many ghats in the Sahyādry—of which the Bhore Ghat, Kandala Ghat and the Panhala Pass are the more famous—and the Shencōttah and Aramboli gap further South of Nilgiris, introduce similar entry points for maritime impulses into the main plateau, and have played a highly significant role in ancient times. The Eastern Ghats, despite their lower elevation and broken isolated character, are indeed more archaic geologically than the Western Ghats and run from Orissa to North Tamilnād almost hugging the coast, wherefrom these recede inwards in a south-westerly course, thus girdling the Deccan plateau and joining the western wall. The Cuddapah quartzites overlain by Kurnool formations which fill the lower fringe of the chain, in addition to the granites and granitoid gneisses of the Mysore plateau and the southern tip forming Tamilnād, constituted the rich sources for the primitive, prehistoric tool-making Early Man, as well as the later sophisticated sculptors of the classical period of its history.

As we know, the earliest northern literature speaks of the South as a different entity from Āryāvarta, and calls it Dakṣhiṇapatha. Pāṇini does not speak of any of the regions of the South, except Kalinga which is on the North-East corner of the Peninsula. On the other hand, by the time of the Mauryas, we find a great familiarity with the South almost down to the Mysore plateau, if not deeper still, which suggests a physical penetration of well-ordered groups into deep South. We may, depending upon Megasthenes, Katyayana and Kauṭilya, not to mention Aśoka, firmly hold that the second half of the 1st millennium before Christ had already seen the part-colonisation of a greater part of the South by cultures moving from the North, while the 1st (earlier) half of the same millennium saw a large part of Lower Deccan and Southern India in different stages of primitive evolution, either of the semi-settled Microlithic culture groups, or of the subsequent truly food-producing Neolithic Age.

As in the larger perspective of South India, as a whole, Tamilnād too had been functioning within the geographical

barriers, on its North formed by the westward-swinging Eastern Ghats and on its West by the Western Ghats. No doubt, the earliest inhabitants of Tamil country have been considerably overlapped by the subsequent Dravidian-speaking races and these again had already mixed to a high degree with the northern Aryan groups, thus resulting in a variegated pattern linguistically, sociologically and ethnically. The oldest inhabitants of the soil were undoubtedly the proto-Australoids who were found with another less well-pronounced and perhaps even earlier racial group, namely, the Negritoids as represented by the Kādars and Pulaiyans of the Anamalai ranges and its environs, and the Onges of Andaman islands. The proto-Australoids are represented by Cencus, Kurumbas, Malayans etc. A third element, namely, the Palaeo-Mediterranean type is perhaps reflected in the Dravidian-speaking people of South India. This last group has been the most peripatetic of the lot and the history of their movements is virtually the sum and substance of the history of southern cultures from early times to the present. The Tamil language—the chief element among the Dravidian languages—should have been originally the speech of the round-headed Armenoids who represent the earlier among the two strata of round heads in India. There seems to be some evidence for holding that the Dravidian-speaking people had wide trans-oceanic and trans-continental contacts which resulted in the introduction of many of their ethnic and linguistic strains into India. Particularly, snake-worship, ‘mother-goddess’, were some of their important cult-elements. Burial of the dead with a variety of ceremonies and modes of interment was perhaps their most outstanding display of eschatological beliefs and it is through these Megalithic and other funerary monuments and vestiges that we are able to follow their trail in the other parts of South India. The points of penetration by which the tribal and other movements could have entered the Tamil country would be either along the East and West coasts, and into the plains through the passes like the Palghat Pass or through the hilly tracts of the Eastern Ghats and its continuing foot hill chain of the lower Western Ghats, forming the backbone of Tamilnād. It is not a surprise that the traditional northern boundary of Tamilnād was, from olden times, taken as being represented by the Tirupati (Vengadam) hills.

Within its boundaries, the Tamil culture developed a sheltered character and did not receive the frontal onslaught of any of the new cultural or religious invasions. On the contrary, by the time it entered Tamil country, every culture-strain had already become sufficiently metamorphosed as to be readily integrated with the local ingredients. It cannot, however, be said that whatever happened to Tamilnād was found well distributed over its entire present configuration to an equal degree. It is here that geographical and geological data help us further. The increase in the incidence of habitations and vestiges of culture in this southernmost tip of the peninsula was to be a gradual process, and was directly related to the physiography of the entire terrain constituting the present Tamilnād. It is very interesting to note that the most ancient Stone Age cultures are observed as having flourished only in the northernmost part of the State in Chingleput and North Arcot Districts, while the successive development of the Stone Age cultures found a more and more southerly penetration. This would suggest that, alike on account of relatively unfriendly climate (nearer we go to the equatorial belt) as on account of the lack of suitable raw materials which were necessary for the fabrication of tools, Stone Age men preferred northerly regions of Tamilnād and spread over the southerly parts mostly after they had given up their nomadic life. Geography and geology thus had been direct factors controlling the incidence of Stone Age cultures of Tamilnād. A more specific mention of the feature is made in the next section.

Archaeological

The prehistory of Tamilnād stretches as far back as the Old Stone Age, when man had been in a nomadic and wild state, ever hunting for his food and trying to overcome not only the fury of the elements like rain, fire, floods, heat, etc., but also the hostile faunal environment. His main achievement in this period was the capacity to fabricate tools and for this, his most obvious choice was those raw-materials which produced the typical conchoidal fracture when knapped. The quartzites in the Jurassic formations which fringe the northern part of Chingleput District were ideally suited to this requirement and provided the most copious source, for the Stone Age Man.

Accordingly, prehistoric researches in this area by Krishnaswami,² following the pioneer exploratory trail of Bruce Foote, located the rich vestiges of Early Man, in the form of his well-fabricated tools such as hand-axes, cleaves, choppers, ovates, scrapers, etc., in the riparian stations at Attirampakkam, Vadamadurai, Manjanakkaranai, Erumaivettipalayam, Odappai, Poondi etc., all in the Korttalayar valley (Vṛddhaksīra nadi).³ The tools have a direct relationship to the river valley profile in its changing valley-morphology, and supply the necessary stratigraphic context in which the typo-chronological developments manifest in the tools themselves could be usefully observed and documented. The climate of this Mid-Pleistocene period would appear to have oscillated between two sets of erosional and aggradational cycles. We have the direct relationship of the secondary (or detrital) lateritic formation of considerable extent found in this area and indicating the wet phase, with basal pebble beds, representing the sheet gravel type of a formative river bed. Tools of pre-laterite origin in the boulder-conglomerate bed, as at Vadamadurai or at Neyveli, as held by some workers, are being investigated further. The valley shows an erosional top terrace at 60' level, a well-formed aggradational terrace at 20 feet level and another erosional terrace at 8 feet level above the present stream level in Korttalayar valley, as demonstrated at Erumaivettipalayam, Manjanakkaranai and Attirampakkam. The tools themselves have been found to have basic affinities in their earliest forms,—as implicit in a Handaxe culture—not only with their counterparts in India itself (in various parts of Karnāṭaka, Andhra Pradesh, Eastern Deccan and Kalinga—these exclude the trap rock zone of Western Deccan where the raw material and techniques were more advantageous

2. V. D. Krishnaswami, 'Stone Age in India', *Ancient India*, No. 3, pp. 12-46.

3. This was the oldest course of the Palar river and had been abandoned sometime in the Cōla period and the river occupied the valley of Cooum, which it had since abandoned, for its present course still further South. Bruce Foote (M.G.S.I., Vol. X, *Geology of Madras*) was the first to point out that the valley of Courtalayar is altogether disproportionate to the size of the river that now flows through it. The Kalingattupparani literary tradition datable to early 12th century A.D. confirms also that at that time Pālār was flowing North of Kañcipuram (See *Journal of Madras Geographical Association*, June 1938, p. 155-6, B. M. Thirunaranan — *Rivers of the Palar Basin*).

to the subsequent stage of small-or flake-tool cultures generally taken as of the Middle Stone Age) but also with regions outside India, in Africa and Europe.

In Tamilnād, we do not find truly Early Stone Age sites anywhere else, except in Chingleput District and the related adjoining parts of North Arcot District where quartzites are in good supply.

In a subsequent context, almost throughout the rest of South India, the Middle Stone Age culture tools, indicating an evolution both in forms and technique over the larger earlier Bifacial Core Tool Culture facies, were fabricated in chert, agate, jasper and the like — these being silicious rocks crystallising especially in the exposed depressions of the successive lava flows in the Deccan. Tamilnād, however, witnessed in Chingleput District, the continuation of Stone Age Man in Middle Stone Age culture level, preparing flake tools on quartzite flaks themselves,⁵ as in the neighbourhood of Red Hills, Vengal, Poondi, Gudium (near Ali-coor hills) in as much as he has already mastered the basic flake-making technique, namely, the *prepared-platform* technique (Levallois) and was thus able to exploit any material fracturing well, particularly, quartzites to which he had become well-used. At this stage, the distribution of the Middle Stone Age relics has been noted on a wider region in Tamilnād than in the earlier phase and almost upto the southern limits of Vaigai valley in the South, with centres particularly located in the Pudukkottai tract on the one hand, and Ramanathapuram tract on the other. The tools in these areas, however, essentially differ in the raw material from those of Chingleput District, in having been made of Chert and Veinquartz—materials which are found in some quantity in the tract between Tiruchirapalli and Tirunelveli variously in the ferrugined, calcareous and black soil zones here. In Tiruchirapalli District, it is seen that, “resting on the uppermost Cretaceous rocks on the eastern side of the District, are the unfossiliferous gritty Cuddalore sandstones, frequently very ferruginous in character, which cover the great part of Udayarpalayam Taluk and are themselves very largely outlain by red sand.” In this

5. *Trichinopoly District Gazetteer* — F. R. Hemingway, 1907, Chap. I, p. 17-18.

laterite sand, near Ninniyur, two 'palaeolithic' implements were discovered by Bruce Foote, one sharp, pointed and the other oval. The material of the latter was yellowish chert, but the former "was coated all over with a thin laterite crust, which hid entirely the real nature of its material." Good flints also are available in Kurichikulam of the same taluk. The reference here to 'palaeoliths' by Foote was apparently intended in a broad sense, since more recent works have revealed that this material chert except where the tools themselves are large, is generally used for the flake cultures of the Middle Stone Age specifically. Of two implements picked up from Ninniyur by Foote, one is certainly a bifacial point which, from its technical features, could well be placed at the end of the Early Stone Age in transition to the Middle Stone Age complex. The occurrence, thus, is suggestive of the potentialities of Tiruchirapalli District even for the relics of the Early Stone Age, since conglomerate beds have been mapped, near Uttattur, by the Geological Survey of India, and they might hold promise even for advanced early Stone Age tools. Foote also found chert scrapers and saw-edge knives in the shingle mixed with ferruginous gravel to the North of the tank in Tallakulam, across Vaigai, near Madurai. Although at present the exact nature of their chronological context is not forthcoming, there is no doubt that culturally they pertain to a pre-microlithic stage, and are technologically fully reflecting a flake-blade-scraper equipment. It is specifically worthwhile to point out here that these flake tools are relatively of a much larger size than the subsequent microliths that we now know of so well in the *Teris*⁶ of Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram Districts, and are of an artifactual *milieu* which is quite divergent from that of these microliths. Thus, by all accounts, they fit into the Middle Stone Age time scale, and would show that if these have not had a more widespread occurrence in Tamilnād, it is because they were to be an associative feature of a topography characterised by open country, accessibility to water, small game and last, but not the least, nearness to raw-material sources. This is why they are not generally found in the more hilly western districts of Madras State like The Nilgiris, Coimbatore, South Arcot, Salem, Western Madurai etc., but are more incident in South Arcot (Neyveli—

6. Bruce Foote, *I.P.P.A.*, p. 50.

Pondicherry areas), Tiruchirapalli (Udayarpalayam area), Pudukkottai, East Madurai and Ramanathapuram Districts. By their very provenance and distributionary trail, they lead us to the next stage of Stone Age tool culture, namely, the Microlithic.

These become the characteristic features of the Teri sand-dunes of Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram Districts especially, but are also to be found between Cape Comorin and Trivandrum in patches, as also in between Madras and Mahābalipuram, and further on the Red Hills, as the natural development there of the Middle Stone Age complex aided by availability of raw material. The Teri sites of Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram have been located by the Archaeological Survey of India in a number of places and most of them are in the nature of factory sites with a plethoric occurrence of tools, cores and rejects thereof. Sawyerpuram, Kattalangulam, Megnanapuram, Manadu, Kudiramoli, Puthan Taruvai, Kuthan-Kuli, Kootampuli, Kolattur, Surangudi, Sayalgudi are some of the outstanding sites.

The regional division of the Tirunelveli District according to the soil and physiography would split it into the following four parts:—

- (1) The valleys of the Tāmraparṇi⁷ and the Cittar;
- (2) The dry red uplands in the centre of the District (the river valleys excluded);
- (3) The region of the red sand-dunes to the East and South-East of the District towards the coast line; and
- (4) The plains of black cotton soil to the North.

Of these, it is the third division that concerns us here most. The Teris, it is believed, owe their origin to the action of the heavy and continuous gales prevailing during the South-West monsoon on the broad belt of deep red loam skirting the eastern base of the ghats. By these fierce winds, the dry surface of the loam is swept clean and vast clouds of red dust are carried away eastwards and dropped near the coast where they meet the easterly winds. They are later consolidated by the rains, brought by the

7. Muthukrishna Das — 'The Tāmraparṇi basin' — *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, June 1958.

North-East monsoon. The red colour of the *Teri* is not due to garnet sands which never occur in this (but are found near the Cape where the gneissic rock itself is of a garnetiferous kind) and is due to the deep red loam which has overlain it in successive, endless strata and were partly washed off continuously by sub-areal denudation. The *Teri* formation has a vital bearing on the economic life of the local people inasmuch as it is a country fit only for Palmyra trees and thus Palmyra plantation with the ancillary small industries of toddy and palm-jaggery are the most significant products of this zone, catering to the employment of a large number of people and even exporting the palm-sugar so produced to South-East Asia. The occurrence of the *Teri* dunes has been noted as forming a parallel strip to the coastal, white shifting sands. The rate of advance of the *Teri* sand (the unconsolidated part) on the Sattangulam *Teri* was computed as varying from 6 to 17 yards a year, and the direction of advance was consistently towards the E.-S.-E. The occurrence of most of these microlithic sites is in the vicinity of springs caused by seepage water, and serving verily as oasis amidst trackless sand-dunes rising in billows at times to more than ten feet height. The Kudiramoli and Puthan Taruvai lakes are the most picturesque of these with a bright splash of green vegetation amidst miles of dreary waste, dotted with palm trees around the fringes of the sand.

Bruce Foote, who first discovered the Sawyerpuram *teri*⁸ called its Microlithic industry as Neolithic. Apparently the implication of his utterance was that the material stage of the culture represented by the *Teri* microliths, with its nearness to water source of a perennial kind, and by the suggestive character of the tool types leading to small game hunting, would have introduced an element of 'semi-settled' character in the human activity which would at least be a fore-runner of the true Neolithic farming and domestication. But the interpretation of the word 'Neolithic' has become so precise and technically limited since the times of Foote that we should consider the term as obsolete in the context of the *Teri* microlith. The Tirunelveli Microlithic culture⁹ certainly

8. Foote, *opp. cit.*

9. V. D. Krishnaswami, N. R. Banerjee and K. V. Soundara Rajan — 'Microlithic Industries of Tirunelveli' — *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress Association, Calcutta* (1951).

partakes of the Late Stone Age by the occurrence of both 'geometric' and 'non-geometric' tool assemblage in it and is highly conditioned on the one hand by the prevalent raw materials namely mottled chert, vein and limpid quartz, semi-desert-condition and hunting equipment, and should have entered the deep South developing from the Tiruchirapalli-Pudukkottai centres of Middle Stone Age with its northern arm in South Arcot and Chingleput Districts. In any event, this late Stone Age microlithic culture, could not have thriven in the western hilly part of Tamilnād, and even in Rāmanāthapuram and Tirunelveli was a characteristic product of the stimulus produced by climate and geography alike. It would tend to show that the coastal area of Tamilnād had different types of physiography, e.g., marshy wet lands in Tanjore district, hard ferruginous ground in Rāmanāthapuram and Tirunelveli, combined with a highly calcareous sub-soil at places.

Zeuner has tentatively dated the Teri industries indirectly by their height above present sea level as likely to belong to the *late Atlantian* period¹⁰ of the Mediterranean Eustatic cycle, and ascribable to the third-fourth millennium before Christ. This is based upon the recession of the sea coast consistently from time to time, the sea level having fallen by as much as 50 feet, since for instance the Megnanapuram and Manadu sites were thriving. That this recession had been a continuing process is well indicated by the fact that even the early historic sea-port town of Kōrkai, of the Pāṇdyas ('Kolchoi' of the Classical Geographers) is to be found now more than 5 miles inland, and even Kāyal which took its place as a port later and was noticed by Marco Polo (1256-1323 A.D.) as 'Cael', has now been left well inland, and is no more a coastal port. Destiny has now perhaps thrown the mantle of Kōrkai and Kāyal on Tuticorin, under the Sēthu-Samudram project.

Archaeologically, the next stage is that of the Neolithic period when man had ceased to be a hunter and learnt the three important elements of semi-urban settled life, namely, agriculture or farming, domestication of animals, and pottery. We know now that the lower Deccan was the pristine seat of the oldest Neolithic

10. F. E. Zeuner & B. Allchin — 'Teri Microlithic Culture of Tirunelveli' — *Ancient India*, No. 12, pp. 4-20.

culture of the sub-continent as revealed in the ash mound sites like that of Utnur in Andhra Pradesh, and was already in that stage when the Indus Valley civilization of the N.W. India was at its initial stages. It is obvious that the Indus culture and the Southern Neolithic culture reveal the presence of contemporary but unconnected, and mutually disparate patterns of Semi-urban culture, separated by geographical and cultural barriers from each other. These two were to come to contact, indirectly though, only in the close of the second millennium B.C. or slightly later.¹¹ Utnur, Piklihal, Maski, Brahmagiri, Sanganakkallu and Tekkalakota were the live-centres of Neolithic culture in Lower Deccan in its different stages. The most primary material for the polished stone axes, namely, basalt of the best kind (which is generally a lithological adjunct of the Cuddapah Series and occurs as veins and dykes in it), is not to be found in the best part of Eastern and Southern Tamilnad, but is found in some quantity apart from Tiruchirapalli District in North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem Districts in the Shervaroy and Kalrayan hills, though in the forms of hypersthene, diorite and diabase in the last-mentioned area.

The various Trap-dykes especially in Perambalur Taluk may be mentioned in Tiruchirapalli District, because traces of copper ore are also available in the same Taluk at Olappati and Veppur. The Trap dykes of South Arcot are a small assemblage found at Toludur, where the Madras-Tiruchirapalli road crosses river Vellar, and a large dyke, five miles long across the same river, is found 4 miles West of Toludur. Again, to the North-West of Pondicherry and parallel to the road from there to Mailam, are two very remarkable dykes not higher than 100' above flat ground level. They are coarse-grained but very tough, black basaltic mass. They are younger than the cretaceous formations. In Tiruppattur Taluk of North Arcot District around Paiyampalli and Chandrapuram, there are Trap dyes. The locality has actually yielded Neolithic sites and rock shelters, one of which, namely Paiyampalli, has been excavated by the Archaeological Department and found to be an early Neolithic site, overlapped by Megalithic iron-using *Black and Red Ware* stratum.

11. F. R. Allchin — *Excavations at Utnur* — Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series — 1961; K. V. Soundara Rajan — *The Neolithic Culture of India in the light of fresh data* — *Journal of Indian History*, Vol.

By far the best supply of dykes is, of course, in Salem District and these are met with in the Baramahal and in Attur District. Neoliths had been picked up in good number (70) from this tract by Foote, the commonest among them being celts, axe-hammers etc. The favourite raw material, as already stated, is hypersthene granite, diorite and diabase. The Bargur factory in Krishnagiri Taluk to the East of Varatanapalli near 149th milestone of Madras-Bangalore road was found by Foote to be a truly *in situ* location. These celts are characterised by having been better ground or polished than the Deccan neoliths.¹² Neolithic tools have also been picked up at Kaliyamman Koil, near the bed of Kāvērī here. The fabrication of tools of Neolithic type on such a variety of basic rocks is noticed only at Salem and the tools would thus fully deserve special study. Particularly interesting is the celt with finger depression on the two sides of the body, perhaps for hafting and the largest-sized ringstone, collected by Foote. Thus, the Neolithic impulses in Tamilnad which drew their inspiration from the Lower Deccan centres and thrived on a copious supply of basaltic or doleritic nodules for the tool-making were restricted to the North West Tamilnad. Scattered occurrence of neolithic celts has, however, been noted in Coimbatore on the Coimbatore-Madurai border as at Pushpathur in South Arcot district, as at Sengamedu—a site also yielding urn-burials, *black and red ware* and *russet-coated* ware—as at T. Kalluppatti and Kodangipatti, (Madurai district) on the bank of Teni river. Foote picked up a Neolithic tool as far South as at Seidunganallur near Palayamkottai in Tirunelveli District. Further, the additional and affiliated factor was that wood and timber of the required quality was necessary for the additional tool kit, agricultural equipment etc., and what more, a largely pastoral folk like the Neolithic people, who mainly depended on a large head of cattle wealth and had to be provided with good grass for grazing and rock shelters nearby for habitation, during rains, in their daily life, were not likely to be attracted by flat open country-type of terrain, but by areas girt by small hillocks on three sides and having a water course on the fourth side, and yielding additionally sufficient fodder on the scrub jungle of the hills themselves. Thus, the main impact of the Peninsular Neolithic culture would seem to have left the best part of interior

Tamilnād untouched. The Salem centre would, however, have been more brisk and well-distributed in its Neolithic impulses than is usually considered till now by Archaeologists. As a matter of fact, the nature of the subsequent Iron Age culture-pattern in Tirunelveli District in sites like Adichanallur would show that a Neolithic sub-stratum of some kind had immediately influenced these Iron Age cultures, and the most adventitiously-located zone, reasonably within the access of the lower South Tamilnad, would have been only that of Salem District. It is also interesting that this Iron Age culture diffusion also reached Tamilnad from the Deccan apparently, had its impact first on its northern Neolithic settlements of North Arcot and Salem, and thus, on more counts than one, the Neolithic centre of the Shervaroy hills would hold the key to the better understanding of the Iron Age funerary cultures of the deep South, particularly when its predominantly Magnetitic ore differs from the dominantly Haematitic ores of the Mysore-Deccan area. Foote felt that "the Southern Neolithic people lived in much more peaceful times and had the leisure to finish off their implements much more completely." He added that "this explanation is of course hypothetical one, but it strikes one that it is not too hazardous to be probable." Foote is noted for his precocity in archaeological prognostications. Even if some of them had been off the mark, it was because at his time, there was less of all-India field work. Still, it might be possible that Foote's surmise regarding Salem Neolithic Culture may not be off the mark. An early exploration and trial trenching of the sites is a keen desideratum, because Salem sites are of a class of their own within the southern Neolithic Culture. Further, as Richard observes¹³ "Talghat part of Salem goes with Kongu country, in the Karur, Namakkal, Salem, Tiruchchengode and Omalur taluks, while Bara Mahal goes with Tondaimandalam and Mysore and the Rayalaseema hinterland to the north. Hence Salem district was too poor to support a capital, a dynasty or an army of its own, and too important strategically to be left in peace." This physiographical dichotomy of Salem is archaeologically a determinant factor in the dispersal of traits, and is thus of some importance.

The Iron age culture development was the most propitious event that happened in the history of Tamilnad, because even

13. F. J. Richards, *Gazetteer of Salem District*, p. 54.

more than the Neolithic settlements in a few scattered centres in its north-western fringes, it is this that brought enduring patterns of agricultural endeavour and semi-urban habitation growth to the bulk of Tamilnad. This could have reached, apart from coming through the route of the earlier Neolithic cultures as already mentioned, also through the most easterly District of Chingleput, South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli. It is here that a very significant pattern of cultural activities emerges in the funerary practices which seem to have a directional connotation. Let us first see to what extent raw material and philosophy conditioned the character of these funerary practices in the Iron Age. Starting from the South, we note that Tirunelveli, Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai had a predominant and an almost unmixed and pure Urn-burial mode, the urns being almost of human size and often capable of and said to have been taking the whole dead body. It did not have any ring of stone circles around the grave. It had its pottery essentially a variant in form, size and features from those of the Deccan-stimulated Megalithic culture of the more northerly Districts of the State.¹⁴ It showed, in the few excavated sites, a good amount of copper or bronze utensils and objects, and rarely even microliths. The urn was buried in a single pit generally close to a water course. The most outstanding necropolis of this kind is Adichanallur in Tirunelveli District. From Pudukkottai and Tiruchirapalli onwards, one encounters regular slab cist tombs, forming a chamber often of an elaborate kind with side chambers and front chambers outside, and provided with the 'port-hole' opening, suggestive of its genetive kinship with the Mysore megaliths. The interment within the tomb, however, was curiously enough, in an urn. This feature occurs in Coimbatore District also. In South Arcot, however, we find the cists carrying within them sarcophagi coffin(s) within it. Thus, the carrier and the interment vary in the various zones and give us a broad indication of what is the resident part of the culture and what is the intrusive element. A few, only a very few, sites in Tanjore District mostly towards the western part of the District have shown the pure urn burials and are otherwise de-

14. V. D. Krishnaswami and K. V. Soundara Rajan — *The Megalithic Problem of Chingleput* — *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress Association*, Allahabad (1950).

void of any such funerary culture practice. The association of the *urn burial* with the more southerly Districts and the *cist* (with or without sarcophagi) with the more northerly districts is well brought out by this distribution. The implication of this would be that while undoubtedly the *cist* and even the *sarcophagus coffin* would have been impulses which were entering Tamilnad from the North, that is from the lower Deccan, the large solitary and non-megalithic urn burials of the tip of the peninsula are to be considered as a thing apart, essentially indigenous in their inception and themselves apparently moving northwards and permeating into the *cist-tomb* garb of these areas. In zones where the carrier itself was a *sarcophagus*, this carrier enters both *dolmen* and *cist*. Thus the main route of the *cist-tomb* from the Deccan would appear to have been taken through the North-West Tamilnad across North Arcot, Salem, Western part of South Arcot, Western part of Tiruchirapalli and Pudukkottai, South of which it stops, not for want of the suitable raw material for the *cist*¹⁵ because these are quite profuse and many of these hillocks have been excavated into rock-cut temples by the early Pandyas—but because the pure urn burial culture was far too dominant here and was not disposed to take in the megalithic garb. Indeed this diffusionary trail shows an urn burial within *cists* all along, within Tamilnad. The Iron Age culture distribution over Tamilnād indicates that the coastal strip within 5 or 10 miles of the coast in the Districts South of South Arcot have very meagre vestiges. This would show that the coastal strip, especially in Tanjore District, was heavily water-logged and was apparently unfit even for sporadic habitation not to mention permanent settlements. It was mainly because of the irrigational activities of the early Cōlas of the early historic period apparently, that the Cōla country became an area fit for cultivation and habitation, and was to become the veritable rice bowl of the Tamil country. In the pre-Christian centuries, apparently, the Kāvēri delta was starting almost within a few miles of Tiruchirapalli, with the original Kāvēri meeting the sea near Pūhār or Kāvērippaṭṭinam and with the other branch, namely the Kollidam, flowing further North to join the sea near Porto Novo.

15. K. V. Soundara Rajan — *The Iron Age Culture Provinces of India Bharatiya Vidya* — 1963.

The best part of the Tanjore District South of this main Kāvēri, especially its South-East part, would have been a swamp or brackish wasteland, such as part of Vēdāraṇyam (or Pt. Calimere) is like even to-day.

Taking into consideration the fact that within say, 8 centuries, Korkai has been left nearly 5 miles inland, we may hold that much of Tanjore district South of the main Kāvēri stream had been similarly retrieved only by about the time of the early Cōlas in the early centuries of the Christian era and in the pre-Christian centuries, the main habitable coast near Puhār would have been in direct contact perhaps with Uraiyūr, the capital of the Cōlas of yore through the river traffic. Thus, the balance between habitable tracts and unsuitable terrain in Central Tamilnād has been one of the key factors in the distribution of ancient vestiges, growth of its agricultural potential and movement of impulses in the early historic period. We may equally plausibly infer that the best part of Tirunelveli District was an unattractive scrub jungle and only the reclamation of land by movement of people into the area, from further North in pre-Christian and early historic periods that resulted in the settlements of fertile agricultural activity in the Tāmraparṇi valley. Pre-Christian references to Tirunelveli are very few and the place itself was perhaps first made habitable by the Iron Age culture-bearers, given to urn burials, and later by the immigrants from the northern parts, who brought the Purāṇic association of Agastya etc. to the zone.

An interesting feature of the movement of cultures into Tamilnād is that there was a degree of polarisation in the pattern of diffusion of the incoming impulses. For instance, the important diagnostic element of the opening century of the Christian era for South India archaeology is the *Rouletted ware*, patterned after the famous Roman Arretine ware. This ware has been found at a number of places in South India in excavation, consistently at the mid-first century level. Almost all these places, however, are disposed along the East coast from Puhār in Tamilnād to Tāmralipti in Bengal, though a few like Uraiyur, are inland also. The West coast sites on the other hand had given other vestiges of Roman contacts¹⁶ like Roman coins, both as hoards and stray finds,

16. Excavations at Vadnagar, Timberva Akota (all in Gujarat), and Kolhapur (Brahmapuri) in Maharashtra State.

amphorae, bronze objects and statuettes, but a variant polished ceramic, closer to the Roman Samian ware and known generally to archaeologists as the *Red polished* ware to Western India. This would show either that these two indicators of Roman contact were of dissimilar chronological context, or that their entries into India in general and Tamilnād in particular were achieved by two sets of colonisers, one entering landward¹⁷ and the other by maritime route. Even in a subsequent context, we find that one of the typical associative ceramics of the Sātavāhana period, namely the so-called *Russet-coated* ware (with paintings on them), is essentially found on the western part¹⁸ of the Deccan and lower down in the Karnāṭaka and North-Western Tamilnād. It is less and less on the eastern flank. Even on the western flank, by the time it reached Tamilnād, it had become curvilinear in its painted patterns, in contrast to the northern sites which were mostly of the rectilinear series. These curvilinear painted wares, by living side by side with the *Black and red ware*, which were themselves part of the robust incoming cultural groups, already well-settled, had to a great extent seeped into the latter and become a mixed ceramic culture before they both completely faded away in the second or third century A.D. in the classical period.

In the ceramic study of the Indian archaeological pottery fabrics, as related to their known patterns of distribution, we find that three important fabrics emerge as the main contenders to the ethno-linguistic components of the contemporary Indian culture of to-day.¹⁹ They were:

- (a) *Black-on-red* ware cultures, which include the Harappan and its ramifications (2500 B.C.-1700 B.C.), the Central Indian Malwa ware (1700-1000 B.C.), and the Western Indian and Deccani jarwe ware (1500-1000 B.C.);

17. Indeed, there is a relationship between these red-polished ware of the West Coast and the Saka-Kushana antiquities of the Western and Upper India, extending from Peshawar to Mathura and down to Sind and Gujarat and Maharashtra.

18. R. E. M. Wheeler — 'Excavations at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli' — *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 181-310.

19. K. V. Soundara Rajan, 'Community Movements in Protohistoric India' — *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda (1961).

- (b) The *Painted grey ware* (1100-700 B.C.) and its subsequent devolution as the northern black-polished ware (500-100 B.C.), which represent the northern wares of the extra-peninsular plains;²⁰ and
- (c) The *Black and red ware* (both of the painted earlier stages—coeval with Harappan as well as post Harappan (2300-1000 B.C.) and plain subsequent stage) (800 B.C.-200 A.D.) which are the contemporaries, successors, and the diffusionists southwards along with some northern fabrics of group (a) indicating an ubiquitous and ancient vestige of Indian social structure.²¹

Apart from these three, there is the fourth, the Southern Neolithic burnished grey pottery (2000-650 B.C.) which apparently represents the basal substratum of the Deccan and South Indian cultures. Can it be that they represent the Australoid ethnic fabric, while the *Black and red ware* using people, in bulk, formed the long-headed palaeo-Mediterranean people? Harappans could, in the main, be the Proto-Mediterraneans; later followed by the Western round-headed, by the Alpinoid, the Dinaric and the Armenoid. Even in Harappa, recent anthropological studies²² reveal that site R. 37 which is considered as the true Harappan cemetery site there, does not show practically any *round-headed* types, thus showing the preponderance of the long-headed types. We may take that these people or their ramified counterparts developed the *Black and red ware* technique and kept it as part of their cultural elements and descended into the South in many stages.

It is often presumed that trade in the early historic times with classical Rome should have opened up the entire stretch of the coast line, involved in the busy landing of boats. To some extent, the *Periplus*, and the accounts of early geographers do indicate

20. B. B. Lal — '*Excavations at Hastinapura*' — *Ancient India*, No. 11, p. 5-151.

21. K. V. Soundara Rajan, *op.cit.*

22. A. Ghosh — '*Human Skeletal Remains from Harappa*' — *Anthropological Survey of India*, Memoir, No. 9, Calcutta (1962); *Indian Prehistory*, Poona (1965), p. 118; S. S. Sarkar — *Ancient Races of Baluchistan, Panjab and Sind*, Calcutta, 1964.

this for the South Indian coast. Nonetheless, the incidental navigational traditions followed a certain adventitious practice, which would be worth recording here. In Tamilnād particularly, early historic linguistic-cultural pattern covered a coast-to-coast distribution and significantly, we find that the three ancient kingdoms, namely, Cera, Cōla Pāṇḍya verily commingled in the Kongu tract forming the modern Coimbatore-Pālghat zone. It was here that geography and history had conspired to circumvent and short-circuit navigational hazards, involved in circum-peninsular traffic, and had given a mountain pass and an arterial valley beyond, towards the East coast, which had, it seems, appealed to the early Romans. Wheeler most persuasively projects the picture of Roman trade almost reaching the termini of their routes at Muziris and Nelcynda—which should be in the vicinity of the modern Cochin harbour and Cranganore—and thereafter they crossed the Pālghat pass and entered the overland route along the Kāvēri to the eastern marts. No doubt, we do have an attested knowledge of Colcoi (Korkai) and Kumari Cape, by the early chroniclers of the West, but the fact remains that at least *eleven* 1st century A.D. hoards aggregating to many hundreds of gold and silver coins²³ have been found located in Coimbatore District alone. This demands a rational explanation which, considering the lack of any appreciable occurrence of gold coins in the early coromandal marts like Podouke (Arikamedu near Pondicherry), Sopatna (Sopattinam or Marakkanam), Kamara (Kāvēripaṭṭanam or Puhār), Colcoi (Korkai) would show that the bulk of Roman gold and silver disappeared as bullion value and was never in currency in India—especially on account of the lack of a corresponding local currency—standard. This view receives added emphasis by the fact, on the one hand, that many of the coins in the hoards show a specific cancelling of the coin by a straight cut across the reverse, and most of the coins, at least of the Coimbatore hoards, do not go beyond the time of Nero when coin had been debased by the Emperor, resulting in a slackness of overland trade with India, which till then brought to South India, the much wanted Roman gold; and on the other, by the presence of pepper estates even to-day mainly in the high ranges of the Coimbatore and

23. Wheeler: *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, Pelican Series, No A 335 (1955).

Palghat tracts, a crop which was indeed one of the main items of the trade with the Romans, filling the pepper-barns beside the Tiber at Rome. Indeed, such was the preferred taste for pepper in the Roman world that it spread to barbarian Europe and it was not unusual for Alaric, the Goth, to demand 30,000 lbs. of it²⁴ in his treaty with the Romans in A.D. 408. Pearls, ivory, and silk were no doubt also transacted in considerable quantities, but the gourmets of the metropolitan Rome, it would seem, had, for once, priority over its grandames. Thus, the avoidance of circum-peninsular navigation was a habit of ancient travelling, and that is the reason why till almost the time of Ptolemy—who has much new information to give—we do not hear precisely about Ceylon. Pliny and Periplus alike are vague on hear-say, second-hand information, when dealing with South-bound traffic beyond Muziris. Consistently with this, as pointed out by Wheeler, no coins earlier than Nero and Vespasian are recorded from Ceylon as well.²⁵

Further the specific classification of Roman trading posts in India into *emporia*, such as Kaberis emporion, Muziris emporion etc., representing *nominon emporion* (lawful market), as mentioned by Periplus, and the *enthesmon emporion* (privileged market) where special legal provisions operated for the establishment of maritime ports by foreigners—on the modern analogy of Free-ports and Treaty-ports—would show that the Pāṇḍyan pearl-marts like Korkai, for instance, were not probably operating as regular *emporia*. All this, again, leads us to the surmise that the South Pāṇḍyan country would have been *fully* opened up only by the 1st-2nd century A.D. and that the general impact of foreign trade as well as civilian movement was essentially restricted to the latitude of Madura till then, and the area further South was largely *terra-incognita*, except for the coastal locations. It is perhaps the reason why these areas have been sought by the early cavern-dwelling ascetics who had their beds inscribed by the pious donors. In any case, archaeological evidence is largely silent on the inland activity of the South Pāṇḍyan area prior to the 1st-2nd century A.D. and it is this phase (whose most anterior limit would take us back almost upto the middle of the 1st millennium B.C.)

24. Wheeler: *op.cit.*

25. Wheeler: *op.cit.*

that is filled by the Iron Age funerary monuments in the form of urn-burials.

As we have already seen, these urn burials are certainly not an integral part—leastwise not the terminal devolution—of the Megalithic practices seen further North in Tamilnād, mostly in Tondaimandalam. They are the richest in their grave goods, showing a profusion of agricultural implements and residential bric-a-brac vouching a high degree of material culture for their authors. These people had certainly been crowded in by the incoming northern folk carrying their vedic-Brahmanical rituals and social systems. We know very little about their daily life, in spite of our knowledge about their burial rites. The existence of urn burials from coast to coast in the deep South suggests that these folk were well distributed in this area. The absence of any corresponding activity in early Ceylonese archaeology would compel us to eliminate Ceylon as a possible source. The choice thus would seem to favour our taking these folk as an early stock of Dravidian speaking people who had apparently reached this area, in the wake of the spread of the already well-distributed southern Neolithic culture-bearers who were given to primitive agriculture, grey and brown but unpainted pottery and an occasional microlithic small tool equipment. These resident folk have been found displaced by a more vigorous, more urban, iron-using, and also ethnically indigenous people, given to *Black and red ware*, (sometimes painted also), and funerary practices, and it is these dual racial strains that are represented perhaps in the proto-Australoid and Brachycephalic cranial remnants in the Adichanallur burials.²⁶

Thus the essential culture-stratigraphy of Tamilnad could be outlined as follows:—Over a basal matrix of Stone Age ending with a very rich microlithic culture especially concentrated along a dry sand-dune ridden coastal belt, the Neolithic elements started diffusing mainly centred around the Cuddapah series in the North Arcot and Chingleput Districts. These had not fully and uniformly extended their cultural sway over the entire Tamil country, but it would be legitimate to infer that their impact was in varying degrees felt in the southern plains of Tamilnād. They were, in

26. S. Zuckerman — 'The Adichanallur Skulls', *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, N. S. General Section II, pt. i (1930), pp. 19-20.

due course, over-run and superseded without blood and tears by a robust iron-using culture which was the main unit that brought to Tamilnād all its urban traits, its agricultural and pastoral wealth, and its trade contacts. It is on these already North-domiciled, Iron Age people that the subsequent southward expanding so-called 'Indo-Aryan' forces strongly impinged, again without much conflict, bringing a new socio-religious ethos and a profitable assimilation of literatures and cultures.

The advent of these northern strains was to a large extent post-Roman, since before the Roman period the culture of the region was fully impregnated with the Iron age culture matrix, mentioned earlier. The bulk of Tamil literature that we have come to call the Sangam classics had been written after this period in the first few centuries of the Christian era, if not the opening centuries A.D. That Roman life and impact is well authenticated in the classics themselves can also be indirectly attested to by the reference, on the one hand, of the cavalry device called caltrops having been employed at Kurkai (as mentioned in *Maduraikkanci* of Mangudi Marudanar) and, on the other, by the very central dating of the earliest occurrence of caltrops along with the *Rouletted* ware, as found at Śisupālgarh²⁷ (Orissa) in excavations. *Maduraikkanci*, probably in the Nedunjadayan II period (c. 90-128 A.D.) mentions the employment of caltrops for obstructing the progress of the horse-riding *Yavanas*, at dusk. The recent excavations at Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam²⁸ have given a rather mixed evidence, of the early periods of its activity, comprising a second grade *Rouletted ware* and equally poor *Black and red ware*, on the one hand, and large-sized brick structures representing the wharfs and irrigation sluice heads, on the other. The Vihāra from here, however, has given some stucco figures and objects which would seem to belong to the 7th-8th century A.D. stylistically, and not earlier. There was also a small bronze figure of the Buddha with flat base and back and of the modelled type, poor in workmanship as well as diminutive in size. No coins earlier than those of the Cōlas had also been forthcoming from the excavations. There is certainly a case for an overlap of two cultures with a break in between,

27. *Ancient India*, No. 5 (1948), pp. 62-105.

28. *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, (1963-64 & 1964-65).

the upper being essentially in debris condition. The site thus appears to portray earlier culture, being an integral—if only the terminal—part of the early historic times of Roman contacts and the later period representing the early Cōla period around the 7th-8th century A.D., with a chronological gap, in between, of a few centuries.

We know from the Sangam literature that Kāvērippaṭṭiṇam was the Cōla capital and was set out at the mouth of Kāvēri. It mentions also that in earlier times it was ruled by the Nāgas and was perhaps the capital of Nāganādu. There is considerable difficulty in dealing with the legendary connection of Tirayan myth mentioned in Pattuppāṭṭu and the Tondaiman cults of the Pallavas and other allied legends, referred in Velūrpālayam plates (9th century A.D.). We should also notice that an earlier, or really the earliest Tamil Copper plate grant of the Pallavas, namely the Pallankovil record of the time of Simhaviṣṇu mentions, in the legend of its seal, the origin of the Pallavas as 'Pātraskhalita' or spilling from the jar or pot. This is apparently an ornate reference to the Pallava (creeper) origin of the Pallavas. These variations show that we are dealing with a chronological context which is contemporary with the early Pallavas themselves and thus would lend a like antiquity to the Sangam classics in which such references occur impliedly or explicitly. It would seem that the time-spread between 3rd century A.D. and 8th century A.D. (within which the Sangam anthologies would be deservedly placed on a consensus of all data), leave any reference to the Pallavas having been ruling at Kāñci. If the early Pallavas from the time of Sivaskandavarman are already reigning from Kāñci these could not have been missed in the Sangam classics, when the *Perumpānārruppadai* deals so specifically with the Tondaiman of Kāñci and describes the city and its graces. Its particular reference to Vehkā (now a suburb of Kāñci) where the reclining Anantaśāyī is described in this classic, is a synchronism of some import. We cannot perhaps put the Anantaśāyī icon at Vehka earlier than the first Alvars, which means around c. 600 A.D. If this is so, it is strange that the classic talks about Ilantirayan of Kāñci and not Mahendra and Mamalla Pallava. It leads us into a knotty chronological issue if we were to take the classic later than 6th century. It is perhaps suggestive of an early shrine of the 5th century A.D. of perishable materials, in whose sanctum, the Ananta-

śāyī figure might have been painted. A temple of more durable fabric could have come in the place later. In any event, it does not talk about any Pallava, earlier than Simhaviṣṇu line and this also is a stumbling block to the admission of an earlier Pallava capital already at Kāñci of Tondainad before Simhaviṣṇu. Unless we are disinclined to put these data to good use and merely consider them as part-mythical, we would be tempted to tie up Ilantirayan probably with Simhaviṣṇu and, if so, much of the historical data contained in the literary texts would leap to a new life and become intelligible narratives. This correlation is put here for what it is worth. The Tondaimaṇḍalam of the early Sangam period was apparently ruled by small tribal chieftancies like the Nāgas, etc. We have indeed a reference to one Muṇi Nāga, a poet of the mythical 1st sangam which at best, along with the intermediate Sangam, should be taken as having merely *relatively* antedated the *only* historically identifiable Sangam, of the early historic times.

The Sangam period, dealing though, with small local chieftains and patrons over different parts of Tamilnād, has furnished us with very few proper names of kings but only with attributes or special titles. The historicity of most of these personages is not clear, since overlaps in names were very quite common, the same names being successively repeated over generations. Only with the Simhaviṣṇu line of Kāñci we have a firm historic footing. The Sangam classics are inherently poor historiographic material, and archaeology, in so far as it is able to identify early historic culture-differentiate in Tamilnad, would allot the period of 2nd century A.D. to 5-6th century A.D. as the central age of these classics. The post-Sangam classics like Śilappadikāram would be, equally suggestively, of the 7th-8th century A.D. as shown by the bronze, stucco and terracotta evidence at Kaverippattinam.

Further, in practically one and all of the ancient sites in Tamilnād, the urban vestiges start occurring only from the early historic period, and a hiatus obtains between the Stone Age culture and these. The urban dwellings themselves occur only during the latter part of the Megalithic culture and are, in fact, the direct evolutionary extension of this local culture. The rise of a classical period in social graces, literature and art could thus be plausibly related only to this early historic era.

(To be continued)

Religion and Politics in the early Mediaeval Deccan (A.D. 1000-1350)

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In the mediaeval period of Indian history religion could hardly be separated from any activity of an individual or a social institution. As a result religion was to an institution, say State, caste or watan, what its natural colour is to an object. Institutions like government, guild etc., are noticed to have undergone an internal change that very gradually altered their external form or appearance. In these days of secularism and impact of various cultures it may not be easy for us to understand the relationship between religion and some social institutions in the mediaeval period.

Obviously it is not possible for religion to exist in isolation. Whatever be its antiquity or original doctrines, religion has got to adjust itself to the conditions in a particular period in case it is to survive and extract an appreciable influence upon the society. For, the principle of socio-cultural compatibility works in favour of mutual adjustment. And the mutual relationships among different institutions of a society become clear in the case of religion and politics. State government is the basis of politics; Government, of all the social institutions, is unique so far as it can use force, with the approval of the society it governs, in securing compliance with its laws.

State and Religion: In ancient times no distinction seems to have been made between religion and State or Government as everything was viewed through the glass of religion. Original scriptures of almost all religions have taught nearly identical ethics. Generally people everywhere, whether Hindus in India, Muslims in Islamic countries or Buddhists in Japan, have regarded their ruler as god on the earth¹ and his rule has been

1. *Manu Smṛti*, VII, 4 ff. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 13 ff. *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, III, 37.

accepted as having divine sanction. It is worth-while noting that the earliest Japanese word for government is "matsuri-goto" meaning religious observance or worship.² This illustrates best the identity of religion and politics and also indicates the lack of differentiation of function between the two spheres. In this context the two terms "*Dharmaśāstra*" for code of law and "*Nītiśāstra*" for polity occurring in the old Indian terminology need no particular comment. The words "*Dharma*" with its meanings religion, duty, law and "*Nīti*" with its meanings ethics, polity and various shades of them have proved flexible enough for quite a variety of interpretations to suit the changing needs of people from time to time.

We focus our attention on the South Indian region of Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭaka in the early mediaeval period upto mid-fourteenth century A.D. Generally speaking this period is known for the regimes of Yādavas in Mahārāṣṭra and Hoysalas in Karnāṭaka; Rudrāmbā and Gaṇapati Kākatīya were the contemporaries ruling over the Andhra country. Brāhmanism and Jainism were the ancient creeds vying with each other for dominance while the newly organised sects, the Mahānubhāva and the Vīraśaiva which is popularly known as Liṅgāyata were exerting to overpower Jainism. Sūfism penetrated into the South and a network of Sūfi missionaries scattered over the whole region spared no effort to spread Islam.

Religion and Caste: Dharma has traditionally been associated with caste duty known as '*Jātidharma*'. Though ultimate political authority had jurisdiction over castes, the code of conduct for each caste was different. Each caste governed itself independently and enforced its regulations socially, its decisions being normally supported by the King. The caste system has played a vital role in the life of people in the whole of India since ancient times. According to Manu obedience to caste rules was the very essence of religion.³ The notion of caste was so deeply rooted in the minds of people that even Jains who had disregarded it in the beginning could not do away with caste totally. During the period under consideration the Jains adopted it in some other

2. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, p. 51. R. N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion*, Illinois, 1957, p. 87.

3. *Manu Smṛti*, Smith Donalds, *India as a Secular State*, p. 293.

form.⁴ Nātha pantha and Viraśaiva sects tried their best to do away with caste distinctions. Mahānubhāvas adopted the framework of jain practices and also accepted "Cātur-varṇya".⁵ These sects which tried to do away with caste distinctions were themselves ultimately reduced to the status of a caste in the whole social structure. Vāraṅkarī pantha, the most important Bhakti cult very widely followed in Mahārāṣṭra, minimised successfully the rigidity of caste-separatism without disturbing the Brāhmanical code of practice in general. Contributing generously to the religiousocial life of the region, the Vāraṅkarī pantha is completely indifferent to its political aspect. Events of political significance affecting the people find an expression in contemporary Mahānubhāva literature but are normally missing in Vāraṅkarī compositions. The Mahānubhāvas, Viraśaivas and Jains respectively are seen to have closer contact with the ruling families and State officials.

Religious Sects:

(1) *Mahānubhāva*: The Mahānubhāva sect had direct connection with the royal family of Yādavas. Kāmāisā, the wife of Rāmadēva Yādava, was attracted to this cult and some of Rāmadēva's officers were devoted to Cakradhara, the founder of this sect. Mahānubhāva scholar like Gopāla Paṇḍit and the poet Narēndra Ayācit were patronised by Rāmadēva. On account of such close association naturally very early prose of Mahānubhāva literature gives us an idea of the event of Rāmadēva's taking hold of the fort of Dēvagiri, plucking out the eyes of his cousin Āmaṇa to secure the throne, as also invasions and minor attacks of the Muslims on this region. Cakradhara had witnessed political events during the reigns of the three Yādava Kings Kṛṣṇa, Mahādēva and Rāmadēva. Cakradhara observes that as he was cruel in achieving his political ambition, Rāmadēva was rough and ungenerous towards saints and propagators of religious creeds.⁶ The political atmosphere in this country, the manner of administration and his judgment of Rāmadēva's nature led Cakradhara to fore-

4. Osvāla one of the modern Jain castes like Śrīmālī, Pallivāla, Khaṇḍelavāla etc. is referred to in an Inscription dt. VS. 1100. *Prācīna Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha*, by Muni Jina Vijaya — Bhavanagar, 1917. II no. 316.

5. *Sūtrapāṭha*, ācāra, 81.

6. *Smṛtiśaṭha*, 86.

tell the fall of Yādava kingdom.⁷ It was neither intuition nor vision of a seer with occult powers but a logical conclusion arrived at by a practical person from his observation of facts. Cakra-dhara restricted the spread of the Mahānubhāva sect to the Marāṭhi speaking area of the Deccan.

(2) *Vīraśaiva*: The country lying just to the South of Marathi region was dominated by the Vīraśaiva cult popularly known as Liṅgāyata. The sacred Vacana Sāhitya of Vīraśaivas is in Kannaḍa. The foremost champion of this sect, Basava was the Minister in charge of the treasury of Bijjal Kalacūri. The appeal of Vīraśaiva tenets was so great to the Kannaḍigas that the common man as well as the civil and military officials holding key-positions in the Kalacūri government came to be attracted to it. The magnetic attraction of Vīraśaivism in the topmost cadre proved fatal to the political power of Kalacūris and to Jainism substantially patronised by Bijjala.

This victory of Basava made it easy for his successors to convert Jain rulers like the Sāntāra, the Cāṅgāḷvas, Bhairava Oḍeyār, the King of Coorg etc.⁸ Suggaladēvī and later her husband Cālukya Jayasīṃha III joined the Vīraśaiva cult. Ekāntada Rāmayya's vigorous disputations and his success at the courts of Kadamba, Cālukya and Kalacūri are extolled in inscriptions.⁹ Next to the princes the trading class was more important to the State as it functioned like arteries in its system. Besides advancing debts to the State, the trading magnates made available to the King on demand the army they maintained to protect their caravans as an auxiliary force. Consequently they commanded respect and influence in government circles. The entire trading class of Vira Baṇajigas who were the followers of Jina were completely won over and converted to the Vīraśaiva faith by Liṅgāyata preceptors.

(3) *Jain*: In Telāṅgaṇa the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Koṭā rulers of Dhānyakāṭaka and Paricchēdi Paśupati Kings of Bezvada were responsible for the disappearance of Jainism from their country. In the reign of Gaṇapati Kākatīya, the Jains lost all their

7. *Sūtrapāṭha*, *Vicāramālikā*, 138.

8. *E.C.* IX, intro, p. 20; *Rice, Mysore and Coorg*, p. 139, 206, 207.

9. *E.I.* V, p. 245.

power and prestige (A.D. 1199-1260) after a defeat, in a religious disputation, at the hands of Tikkaṇa Sōmayya, the Minister of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Madhurāntaka Pottapi Cōla.¹⁰

The loss of royal patronage was an important reason for the decline of Jainism in the South. The Gaṅga and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empires that mainly supported Jainism, disappeared by the beginning of the eleventh century. Śīlāhāras favoured Jains to a large extent. Kalacūris and their officers were Jains but they were either the captives or victims of Vīraśaivism. Except for giving a few grants the Yādavas took no interest in Jainism. But it was different with the Hōysaḷas. Their kingdom was founded by a Jain monk who guided the first three Kings. Naturally the Jains were in royal favour to begin with but with Viṣṇu-Vardhana's conversion to Vaiṣṇavism the Hoysaḷas drifted away from the Jain faith. Later came into being the kingdom of Vijayanagar to serve the cause of Hinduism and there remained no saviour for the Jain creed.

The Jain monks took care not only to win the King's favour to maintain a favourable atmosphere for the development and spread of their religious faith but also availed themselves of opportunities to create kingdoms. Monk Sudatta Vardhamāna brought the Hoysaḷas into the political arena of the Deccan in the 11th Century A.D. The much earlier creation of Jain religio-political wisdom was the Gaṅga Empire brought into existence by Simhanandī in the 2nd Century A.D.

After Sudatta Vardhamāna, no Jain preceptor has taken recourse to politics to promote and strengthen religion. The later chiefs of Jain Church were indifferent to material changes in the world outside their field in theology. They could not see the implications of the rise of new religious sects which weakened Jain power in the religious and political life of the Deccan.

In case of difficulty the Jains sought intervention of the King on religious matters from time to time. Akalaṅkadēva had secured a promise from King Hastimalla to crush the Buddhists in an oil-press in case of their defeat in a *Śāstracarcā*.¹¹ Later Pratāpa Bukkarāya brought about a compromise between the Jains and

10. Seshagiri Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, II, p. 21-29.

11. *E.C.* II, intro., p. 84.

the Vaiṣṇavas. The document he issued in this connection says, "Vaiṣṇava creed will continue to protect the Jain darśana. Jains and Vaiṣṇavas are one. They must not be viewed differently.... He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the King, to the Saṅgha and to the Samudāya."¹² Thus a religious issue was treated like a political affair and a casual rule laid down by the King is posed to take effect like an established law.

The gradual decline of Jainism in the South was mainly due to socio-cultural reasons and not merely want of royal patronage. The influence of Brāhmanism hollowed the Jain faith from within. It was impossible for Jain Kings and soldiers to stick to the principle of *ahimsā* though they were devoted lay-followers. The Jain monks accepted donations assigned for Brāhmanical performances,¹³ occasionally performed a sacrifice and worshipped forest deities.¹⁴ They not only indulged in temple worship but vied with Vaiṣṇavas in elaborate and rich performance of Mahāvīra worship. Temples received munificent grants from Princes, officers and merchants. This plenty and prosperity resulted in their being self-complacent and blind to the activities and advance of rival religious sects. As a result no able preceptor was produced to champion the cause of Jainism.

Law enshrined in Scriptures:

As a matter of fact the all-pervading religion regulated general social relationship and enforced moral code of conduct which was regarded as the code of law, -*Dharmāśāstra*-, by the Hindus. This code treated both civil and criminal matters that branched off and developed later. Thus law was already extant in religious scriptures in its complete form and traditionally in practice for a very long time. Though kingship was divine no King — Hindu or Muslim — had any legislative power in olden days. Of course it was the function of the State to enforce law but never to make it.

Law as enshrined in the scriptures, though regarded as complete could hardly be so in practice. It could not be applied to the same degree all the time in socially changed situations. On

12. Desai, P. B. *Jainism in South India and some Jain Epigraphs*, 1957, p. 401, 402.

13. *E.I.* VI, p. 29.

14. *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, II p. 12.

account of the sanctity of and faith in scriptures as also the pressure of tradition, the authors of treatises on *Dharmaśāstra* could hardly transcend the general frame-work set up by Manu or Yājñavalkya. The range of aspects covered by *Dharmaśāstra* is so wide and the nature of Hindu scriptures so comprehensive that there exists great diversity of opinions on the same point. This came to the rescue of commentators on *Smṛtis* who strove to introduce a few alterations or reforms. These scholars have wholly accepted the authority of almost all the *Smṛti* texts holding good in their time. But while commenting on some *Smṛti* statements not fully applicable to the society to which they belonged the commentators argued the point in such a manner as to cautiously suggest a desirable way out, helpful to the changed social situation. These reformers have taken care to spin the yarn of their argument from the fibre of citations from authorities on the subject. None could transgress the rigid limitation on advancing an argument to convince the reader that whatever one says bears support of the tradition and has got sanction of the scriptures.

It needs no special mention that the social conditions in the Deccan at the time of Vijñāneśvara were not the same as those during the days of Manu or Yājñavalkya. Obviously there was a problem of bridging the difference on important matters. By an ingenious interpretation of the old *Smṛti* texts, Vijñāneśvara has made a remarkable contribution to the law of inheritance adjusting it to the needs of society. This reform has been long sustaining. With his *Mitākṣarā Tīkā* Vijñāneśvara has created an epoch in the history of *Dharmaśāstra*. It is regarded as the Chief Hindu authority in courts of law all over India. Likewise Hemādri, a Minister of Rāmadēva Yādava, championed the cause of inter-marriage among Brāhmins belonging to different schools of Vēda, settled in a particular region.¹⁵ This reform permanently solved the problem of settlement of Brāhmins who migrated to the Deccan from Gauḍa dēsa or Kāśmīra. Hemādri's work gained ground and won respect in Telangana. Besides these there is an encyclopaedic commentary on Yājñavalkya *Smṛti* to the credit of Aparārka — a Śilāhāra King of Konkan. This work commands influence in Kāśmīra.

15. *Caturvarga Cintāmani*, *Khaṇḍa*, III, p. 753, 381. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Part I, pp. 355—356.

The Brāhmins were the formulators and interpreters of law, which is the most effective means of exercising control over the people. As a result, for the same offence *Smṛtis* inflict more and more severe punishment on offenders of lower castes. The executive aspect of law and justice was dealt with by the members of administrative machinery of the State or independent social institutions approved by the King.¹⁶ The chief executives of a guild were qualified for judicature. Corporation, villages, castes and families had their own judicial organisations with their respective jurisdictions. In case a dispute was not settled in the village committee an appeal was made to a higher court of law in a city. A dispute would reach the King only as the last resort.¹⁷

Law and the Ruler: Thus when legal procedure rested mainly in the hands of social institutions the ruler was, in a way, bound to respect and support various rules and customs of *Kula*, *Jāti*, *Śreṇi* etc., in so far as they were consonant with *Dharmaśāstra*. In theory *Dharma* allowed no possibility of legislation on the part of the State. It entrusted the management of social obligations to the respective castes. Political regulation was defined accordingly. But political authority, which something more than and distinct from political regulation, was traditional in its nature. The duty of the King was, therefore, to rule in accordance with tradition and ultimate authority of *Dharmaśāstra*. The Yādava and Hōysala Kings were not an exception to this. Vinayāditya Hōysala (1100 A.D.) was going along the path shown by Manu,¹⁸ and so was Govindarāja, the great officer of Narasiṃha Hōysala (1160 A.D.)¹⁹ The chief Minister of Yādava King Rāyamurārī Sōyidēva, Daṇḍanāyaka Byāḷike Kēsimaṃyā has been described as “*manucaya sevyaṃvṛtti*” and as one abiding by “*purātana rājanīti*.”²⁰

In obedience to the *Smṛti* injunctions, the duty of a King was personally to supervise the administration of law and finance, as also diplomatic and civil affairs to ensure the protection of his subjects. In his absence besides the Prince and the Prime Minister,

16. *Mitāksarā* II.30.

17. *Smṛtisthala* 11; *Vṛddhācāra* 1; *Govindprabhu Caritra* 3; *Pitāmaha Smṛti*.

18. *EC*. V. AK 102 p. 251.

19. *EC*. V. Hn. 72 p. 23.

20. *EC* VII Sk 92 pp. 59-60.

the *Purōhita* was supposed to be a representative of the King. So the priest was in a position to legitimate political authority of *dharma* or law as revealed in sacred scriptures. But since the rise of Rāṣtrakūtas, the power of the *Purōhita* as a Cabinet Minister declined fast. The Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas, excluded the *Purōhita* from their Ministry. The only exception to this during the period under consideration, was Śilāhāras of North Konkan. Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīrāma Paṇḍita, the Rājaguru of Chittarāja, looked after the kingdom as Chief Minister. Mummuṇi the successor of Chittarāja, created two posts for *Purōhitas* designated as "*Mahārājaguru*" and "*Laghu-rājaguru*."²¹ It must be noted here that Hēmādri, who contributed substantially to *Dharmaśāstra* was also a Minister at the Yādava Court but he was a Śrīkaraṇī and not the *Purōhita*. It is thus seen that the King's task of preserving *Dharma* committed him to maintain caste order based on traditional supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa.

Law and Polity: For effective control in administration of the State or maintenance of balance in social relationship the enforcement of law would be difficult without punishment. Punishment for its breach follows law as a natural corollary. Manu declares punishment (*daṇḍa*) to be identical with law.²² But Yājñavalkya and Vijñāneśvara regard *Dharmaśāstra* to be definitely superior to *Daṇḍanīti* or *Nītiśāstra*.²³ Kauṭilya the great political thinker, agrees with Yājñavalkya and gives the science of polity a position subordinate to that of the sacred code of law.²⁴

Nītiśāstra, though science of polity, deals with the religious aspect of life in general and enjoins religious conduct in the daily routine of a King. In its outlook *Rājanīti* is religious so far as it has to develop commanding personality of the King but in practical aspect it lays stress on his ability to conduct the affairs of State. The above reference to "*Purātana Rājanīti*" is evidently to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The attribute '*purātana*' shows that the composer of the text of the inscription had in view an "*adyatana*" (modern) work on polity which is very likely to have been the

21. JBBRAS XII p. 330.

22. Manu VII 18.

23. Yājñavalkya Smṛti II-21.

24. Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, ch. 2.7.

Nītivākyaṃṛta of Sōmadēva. Sōmadēva was a Jain scholar who flourished in the South in the middle of the tenth century A.D.

What is observed about keeping up of tradition in connection with *Dharmaśāstra* holds good for *Nītiśāstra* also. Though there is a little difference in his principles Sōmadēva has substantially borrowed from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. From his *Nītivākyaṃṛta* it is difficult to recognise the religious faith of Sōmadēva. Though a Jain, he allows the use of violent means where authority, intrigue and power are not adequate. Nevertheless he insists that force should be used only as the last resort in internal administration.

Polity of Sōmadēva: Like many Jain scholars of the period Sōmadēva has followed not only a Hindu text but also Brāhmanical way of thinking. His typical statement in this connection is that "in a state of meditation the King should silently repeat to himself the *mantra*: "I am protecting the cow (the earth) which yields milk of the four oceans, whose calf is *dharma*, whose tail is enterprise, whose hoofs are *varṇa* and *āśrama*, whose ears are *kāma* and *artha*, whose horns are polity (*maya*) and valour (*pratāpa*), whose eyes are truth and purity and whose face is law. I shall not tolerate one who offends her even mentally."²⁵ Sōmadēva had high regard for *varṇāśramadharma* and he treated Brāhmanas with consideration. He upheld hereditary professions also, but considered all persons to be equal before the law of the State. Sōmadēva did not stick to the Jain principle of *ahiṃsā* in political thought as was done by Jinasēna before, and Hēmacandra after him.

Sōmadēva is marked out from the rest because he treats the State as supreme and the source of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* when other scholars have given *Dharma* precedence over everything else.²⁶ He proposes that politics of the civil State should be controlled by civil authorities and the military should occupy a subordinate position in State administration. Sōmadēva was convinced that soldiers must have sentimental affinity for the King and therefore, the army of the King must be regular and punctually paid.²⁷ As the fighting force is the chief support of sovereignty

25. *Nītivākyaṃṛta*, 25-95.

26. *Ibid* 1-1.

27. *Ibid.*, 20, 22, 23.

Sōmadēva pointedly differs from Kauṭilya's advice of maintaining temporary army in case of need.

Civil authorities looking after the administration of State were advised to avoid over-taxation. On the one hand they were expected to consider the capacity of the people to bear taxation without suffering and on the other they were to see that State economy was not in danger. Quick and correct understanding forms an essential quality of an able ruler of the State. The King must be able to discriminate between the relative merits of his officers and men.²⁸ Wide knowledge of worldly affairs and a strong sense of situation being primary requisites for the running of the State machinery, Sōmadēva prefers State without a King i.e., anarchy, to the rule of a King ignorant of State administration. This is another bold statement that distinguishes Sōmadēva from other writers on polity. It may be recalled here that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV and Cālukya Taila III were forced to leave their thrones by their officers.

Sōmadēva has clearly laid down that the Ministry of a King should not entrust a State department to a foreigner for obvious reasons. But we find that Kadamba Jayakeśi I had appointed Chaḍḍama, an Arab as his Prime Minister brushing aside the claims of his own Ministers ("*Svadeśasacivān tyaktvā*") because Jayakeśi was very much interested in the navy and trade by the sea. Śilāhāra Anatadeva also had for his *Mahāmātya*, the Arab Vāsaida. But Siṅghaṇa Yādava was keen on driving the Arabs and other Muslims out of his kingdom.²⁹ So was Hōysaḷa Ballāḷa III who was bent on eradicating the tiny Muslim kingdom of Madura and striving to expel Muslims from the South.

Islam in the Deccan: The Arabs had already settled down on the western coast of South India by the 9th century A.D. They were not only treated well by the Hindu kings but also offered posts in their government and allowed to propagate Islam. In the early mediaeval period, the Muslims dominated political activities in the North and frequently came to the South to gain ground in the religious and political life of the Deccan. Alāuddīn Khaljī and Malik Kāfur led the Muslim military force to conquer Dēva-

28. *Ibid.*, 22. 24.

29. *S.M.H.D.I.*, p. 62,

giri of the Yādavas and Dvārasamudra of the Hōysala and to bring them under the political control of Delhi Sultanate, while the disciples of Nizamuddin Avaliya of Delhi led three consecutive expeditions of their spiritual army for the spread of Islam. Each batch was 700 strong. These Sūfi missionaries led a spiritual life and by their spirituality and humanity attracted to themselves not only the Muslims but also low caste Hindus and even a few Brāhmans. The non-Muslims were gradually absorbed in the fold of Islam. The Sūfis regarded the conversion of non-Muslims as one of their primary spiritual objectives in India.³⁰ The Muslim rulers in general were neutral to this policy of conversion. Muhammad Tughluq was opposed to conversion by force but did not mind conversion by Sūfis in their own ways. Later Firuz Tughluq not only favoured conversion but offered patronage and posts to the converts. Well-known persons in the history of the Deccan like Khusru Khan, Harihara, Bukka, Malik Kafur etc. were converted Muslims. By the middle of the thirteenth century the Sūfi missionaries achieved more in the socio-cultural life of the Deccan than what Muslim military commanders could achieve in the political sphere. It was only after the establishment of Bāhmani kingdom that the Hindu life of the Deccan began to show clearly the impact of Islam in its social, cultural and political aspects.

Hindu-Muslim conflict in the politics of the Deccan started with a fight between Raheman Shah, the nephew of Mahmud Gazani and Īla, a Jain King of Elicpura (1058 A.D.). The root cause of it was religious. A *jaquir* was reported to have been insulted at the court of Īla. The first Muslim aggression of a religio-cultural nature was marked by the demolition of the three Hindu temples at Paithan and the erection of a mosque on the site by Moijuddin, a Sūfi propagator (about 1300 A.D.). It was nearly towards the close of the fifteenth century that the Hindu-Muslim religio-cultural conflict came to be toned down.

Later even as a ruling class the Muslims had to depend on the Hindus for man-power, money in administration, village organisation etc. In fact it was the fear of popular reaction that pre-

30. Aziz AHMED, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, 1964, p. 84.

vented Alāuddin Khilji from promulgating Islamic religion³¹ like his predecessors who also took care not to hurt public feeling on religious matters.

During this period the Delhi Sultanate had a very capable and rational ruler like Balban who on account of the pressure of Mongols did not think of reaching to the South. But fifty years later Alāuddin with the help of Malik Kāfur repeatedly invaded the Deccan and on defeating Rāmadēva Yādava and Pratāparudra Kākatiya annexed their kingdoms to the Muslim Empire. Malik Kāfur was ordered to do all that he could in the South to elevate Islamic religion in the mind of the people and create respect for the Sultan. A few years later Muhammad bin Tughluq shifted his capital from Delhi to Dēvagiri. The Hōysaḷa kingdom did not disappear merely on account of the pressure of the Muslims; it disintegrated more as a result of internal dissensions after Vira Virūpākṣa. The northern portion accepted the rule of Vijayanagar in 1344 A.D. and when a large number of officers who had served the Hōysaḷas joined Vijayanagar in 1346 A.D. The Hōysaḷa kingdom was completely dissolved.

Islam and the State: Of all the Muslim rulers of this period Balban was a very clear thinker with conviction. On realising the inseparability of religion and politics he felt that in order to enforce the laws of *Shari'at*, pious, religious, just and god-fearing persons alone should be appointed as *Kazis*, *muhtasibs*, officials etc. He said that if a King were to allow low-born, base, irreligious and faithless persons to interfere in State affairs he would be ungrateful to God. The Muslims also regarded kingship as vicegerency of God and the King as the shadow of God on earth.³² Hence the unquestioning loyalty to the King. Obedience to the King was obedience to God himself and any rebellion against him was nothing less than sin.³³ Later a verse from the *Quran* to this effect and *Hadis* of the Prophet advising people to obey their ruler was always pushed forward to make obedience to political

31. *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* Quoted: NIZAMI, KA *Religion and Politics in 13th Cent.* p. 111.

32. *Ibid*, p. 70, 71.

33. *Ibid*. *Tarikh-i Fakruddin Mabarak Shah*, p. 12.

authorities a religious obligation as if it were enjoined directly by the *Quran* and the *Hadis*.³⁴

Balban did insist on regular obligatory prayers for personal salvation of a King but his political ideology had no reference to religion. It was not theological sanction but political expediency on which Balban justified his principles. He had clearly discerned that political ability and not religious faith was needed to consolidate his Sultanate and to enhance its dignity.³⁵ Barani informs us that Balban had great interest in religion in his personal life but he never cared for the laws of *Shari'at* in dealing with those who defied his authority or whosoever was guilty of political crime.³⁶

Conclusion: This duality and distinction between religion and politics in the mind of a ruler cannot but translate itself into his political activities. The observance of religious practices for the spiritual development of self can be a personal pursuit but while dealing with political affairs for consolidation of power or expansion of the State it is bound to involve a number of intricacies dependent on relations with various persons and institutions. It is precisely for this reason that Jain Kings and commanders had to put aside the precept of *ahimsā* in their political career. The principle of speaking the truth had also got to be diluted in diplomacy. Cālukyas and Yādavas followed Brāhmanism. Hōysaḷas, Kalacūris and Śilāhāras favoured Jainism but they did not seem to differ in their political conduct according to the creed they followed. On careful reading of mediaeval treatises on polity it becomes clear that they did enjoin daily religious routine for the King and in discussing matters relating to the State they preached morals but did not insist on religion, so as to over-shadow politics or conduct of the affairs of State.

It means that in the early mediaeval period of Indian History a distinction was made between religious thought and policy of the State. The two things were not so much identical as they had been in ancient times nor were they as distinct and separate as they are today. Naturally we do not find an instance of a govern-

34. *Nizami*, p. 95.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-103.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 121; *Tarikhi Firoz Shahi*, p. 47.

ment rejecting religion in general and trying to extirpate it from the society directly or indirectly as it is possible only in an extremely secular State. A form of government supporting one religion and rejecting or discriminating against all other faiths may be said to be that of Muslims. But government that supported religion in general without giving any marked preference to any one of them so as to suppress others seems to have been the generally accepted form of government with all the Hindu States of the Yādava, the Hōyṣāḷa and the Kākatiya dynasties of the Deccan,

Vimati-Vinodani, A Vinaya Commentary and Kundalkesi-Vatthu, A Tamil Poem

BY

PROF. P. V. BAPAT, Poona

“Pubbe kira imasmiṃ *Damīla-ratṭhe* koci bhinna-laddhiko Nāgaseno nāma thero Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthuṃ paravādamathanānaya-dassanatthaṃ *Damīlakabbarūpena* karonto ‘imaṃ surāpānassa jānitvā’va pivane akusalanayaṃ; aññāñ ca desa-kālādibhedena anantam pi ñeyyaṃ sabbaññutaññaṃ sa-lakkhaṇavaseneva ñātum na sakkoti, ñāṇena paricchinnattena ñēyyassa anantattahānippasaṅgato; aniccādi-sāmañña-lakkhaṇavaseneva pana ñātum sakkoti ti ca; paramatthadhammesu nāmarūpam ti ādibhedo viya puggalādi-sammuti pi visuṃ vatthubhedo evā ti’ evamādikam bahum vi — parītatthanayaṃ *kabbakārassa kavino* upadisitvā tasmīṃ pabandhe kāraṇābhāsehi satim sammohetvā pabandhāpsi. Tañ ca kabbam nissāya imaṃ bhinna-laddhikam matam idha Vebhajjavādimatte sammissam ciraṃ pavattittha. Tam pana pacchā Ācariya-Buddhappiya-Mahātherena sodhitam pi *Sāratthadīpaniyā* Vinaya-ṭīkāya ‘surāpānassa sa-cittapakke yeva cittam akusalan’ ti samatthavacanam nissāya kehi ci vipallattha-cittehi puna ukkhittasiram jātam. Tañ ca Mahāthērehi vinicchinitvā gārayhavādam katvā madditvā laddhi-gāhake ca bhikkhū viyojetvā dhammena Vinayena satthu-sāsanena cireneva vūpasamitaṃ. Teneva ettha mayam evaṃ vitthārato idaṃ paṭikkhipimha—mā aññe pi Vibhajjavādino ayaṃ laddhi dūsesi ti. Tasmā idha vuttāni ca avuttāni ca kāraṇāni suṭṭhu lakkhetvā yathā Āgamavirodho na hoti, tathā attho gahetabbo”. (*Vimati-vinodanī*, Sinhalese edition, pp. 99-100).

The passage reproduced above from a very late (14th-15th centuries A.D.) commentary on Vinaya, *Vimati-vinodanī* by name, is very interesting. In the first place it mentions by name a Tamil poem *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu*, which is now lost, and which is now known only from passages reproduced in a commentary on another Jain poem *Nīlakeśi* by name. The latter is written by way of a reply to the Buddhist poem, *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu*, which levels

charges against Jainism. While rebutting the charges made in *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu*, Nīlakeśī has some Buddhist views in mind. The Commentary on Nīlakeśī by Samaya Divākara Vāmana Muni reproduces some passages from *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu* representing those views. Unfortunately, the latter, which is one of the five Tamil poems included in the *Sirupaṇcakāvyaṃ*, is no longer available. Apparently, this work belonged to a school, which did not exactly agree with the views of the orthodox Mahāvihāra school of Ceylon. Prof. N. Ayyaswamy Shastri, of Shantiniketan, has written a paper on "Gleanings from Nīlakeśī" and has published the same in the Journal of Śrī Venkateśvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. vol. IV No. 1 (Jan.-June 1943, pp. 59-70). He has quoted in it the same passages in Prākṛt, which come very close to passages in Pali.

Here we need not go into the details of the life-account of Kuṇḍalakesī. That account is found in *Therī-Apadāna*, *Therī-gāthā-Commēntary* (which quotes profusely from *Therī Apadāna*) and *Dhammapada-Commentary* on *Dhammapada* 102-03. Suffice it to say that before Kuṇḍalakesī was converted to Buddhist faith by Sāriputta, she was a Jain nun. She was defeated in an argumentation with Sāriputta and so left the Jain faith and joined the followers of the Buddha. Later on, when she was thus already converted, she had a discussion with another Jain nun Nīlakeśī and *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu* is supposed to represent the views which she had presented in her discussion with Nīlakeśī.

The passage reproduced above mentions one Nāgasena, who has inspired a Tamil poet to compose the poem *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu*, which, though a Buddhist work, contains several passages about philosophical views, which are not in strict accord with the orthodox views of the Mahāvihāra school of the Theravāda in Ceylon. This commentary describes Nāgasena as a heterodox elder (*bhinna-laddhiko*) and mentions some of the views advocated by him, such as: (i) drinking wine is an evil only when one drinks it knowingly (*jānitvā'va*); (ii) even omniscience cannot comprehend the specific characteristics of the knowable that is infinite, in respect of space, time etc.; but that it can comprehend only the general characteristics such as 'transcendent' etc.; for, if it is comprehended, then it will lead to the difficult situation of that knowable being no longer infinite; (iii) just as among the ultimate realities, we can count

Name and Form (*nāma-rūpa*), so even the conventional term 'puḍgala' 'individuality' may be counted as having a real existence. Such kinds of wrongly conceived notions, continues the passage, were preached by him to the composer of the poem, who was thus confused in his mind by fallacious reasoning of the inspirer. Such kinds of heterodox views of a long time mixed up with the official views of the orthodox Vibhajjavādins (the Analysts, such as those of the Mahāvihāra school). But they were, later on, smashed by the Great Elder Ācariya Buddhappiya and the Buddhist doctrine was restored to purity. But a heterodox view like: "that when a man drinks wine *knowingly*, then only his mind is vitiated" is being recently supported by a statement to that effect in a Vinaya-Commentary, *Sārattha-dīpanī* by name, and so it appears that the heterodox view is again raising its head, being upheld by men with strongly conceived notions. The great Elders have already condemned such views and those who held such views were banished and such a view was given a quietus in the religion of the Teacher, according to Dhamma and Vinaya. We have expatiated, says the author, on the same at such great length and rejected it, in order that it may not vitiate other Vibhajjavādins also. Therefore, observing carefully the arguments, mentioned here or not mentioned here, one should arrive at the conclusion in such a manner as would not go against the sacred texts.

It may be interesting to note that the same Commentary observes elsewhere (p. 97), that the view "that it is an evil only when one drinks wine *knowingly*" was held by the heterodox people such as the inmates of Abhayagiri school and the like.

Thus we know from above that the view that drinking wine is an evil *only when* one does it *knowingly* was upheld in the poem *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu*, that it was smashed by the Elder Ācariya Buddhappiya, but that it again held its head up as it was supported by Sāriputta, the author of *Sārattha-dīpanī*, who was a protégé of the great king Parākramabāhu, who ruled in Ceylon in the latter half of 12th century A.D. It was condemned again by the Elders in general and particularly, by Coḷa Kassapa, the author of *Vimati-vinodanī*. Buddhappiya mentioned in this account is probably a less illustrious namesake of a later Buddhappiya, who is known to be the author of *Rūpasiddhi*—a grammar belonging to the tradition of Kaccāyana—of *Pajjamadhu*, a classical poem in

Pali modelled on Sanskrit classical poetry, both written in Coḷa country. According to *Gandhavaṃsa*, this later Buddhappiya is also credited with the authorship of *Sārattha-saṅgaha*, which is described by Wickramasinghe (*Mal.* p. 222) as a religious work. He was, like the author of *Vimati-vinodanī*, a South Indian. He was called Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara. He was a disciple of Ānanda Vanaratana, who presided over the Araññvāsī sect and who, while in India, was also the Resident Superior of two monasteries, one of which was Bālādicca. This Araññvāsī or Vanavāsī sect was closely allied with Kalinga and probably with Coḷa country also. This fraternity closely allied with South India was not in favour of the view, supported by Sāriputta the author of *Sārattha-dīpanī*, that drinking wine is an evil only when it is done knowingly. Our Buddhappiya also probably belonged to the same fraternity.

Sāriputta justified his view on the authorities of *Cūla-gaṇṭhi*, *Majjhimagāṇṭhi* (old Sinhalese commentaries) and on *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga* and *Bhikkhunivibhaṅga*. He clearly states in his *Sārattha-dīpanī* (Sinh ed. pp. 425-26)—“*Yathā pana kaṭṭha-saññāya sappam ghātentassa paṇātipāto na hoti, evaṃ nāli-kerapānasaññāya majjam pivantassa akusalam na hoti*”. “Just as there is no offence of killing a living being, when one kills a serpent under a mis-apprehension that it is only a piece of wood; in the same way there is no evil when one drinks wine under the impression that it is only coconut-juice”. *Vimati-vinodanī* considers all these passages quoted by *Sāratthadīpanī*, refutes the arguments used in the same and finally comes to the conclusion that it is an evil whether one drinks wine knowingly or unknowingly.

That this question of retribution in the case of intentional or unintentional crime agitated the Buddhist community for a long time is proved by the fact that it was a point of controversy discussed at the Third Council of Pāṭaliputra and we find the same discussed in *Kathāvatthu* (Book xx. 1) and its Commentary. *Samanta-pāsādikā* (p. 60) also discusses this point and comes to the conclusion that no sin is attached if a guilty action is done unintentionally or unknowingly.

Similar views were, it is alleged, advocated in *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu* about crimes such as murder, theft, falsehood and immoral sexual behaviour, as becomes apparent from the lengthy introduction written by Principal Chakravarty to his edition of the Tamil

poem *Nilakeśi*. To the Buddhists of Kuṇḍalakesi's persuasion is ascribed the following view put in the mouth of Nilakeśi:—

Nilakeśi argues: "There is no killing" you maintain, "unless there are five āṅgas—(i) There must be a living being; (ii) the person who kills it must know it to be a living being; (iii) there must be the intention to kill it; (iv) there must be actual killing of it; and (v) there must be actual death as a result of that act". These five āṅgas are exactly found in Pali commentaries. For instance,—*Aṭṭhasālinī*, the Commentary on *Dhamma-saṅgaṇī*, the first book of *Abhidhammapiṭaka* gives (Dev. ed. 3.143) the five āṅgas as *pāṇa*, *pāṇa-saññitā*, *vadhaka-cittaṃ*, *upakkama* and *tena maraṇaṃ*. Thus it will be found that Kuṇḍalakesi's position is based on some authoritative works that are even now found in Pali.

Nilakeśi continues: According to this definition, there would be no murder if a stranger is killed under the impression that he is your enemy.—You say mere enjoyment—by which he, probably, means a mere act without consciousness or a deliberate purpose—will not produce *karma*. Then you can maintain that drinking and whoring, since they are mere enjoyments, cannot be condemned as moral evils.... You can take away somebody's property under the impression that it is your own.... You can have a sexual intercourse with some other woman under the impression that she is your wife" (Chak. pp. 211-12).

As regards drinking wine, the strictest point of view of the orthodox Buddhists is that it is an offence recognised as such by public opinion, by convention.¹ It is a *loka-vajja*, an offence admitted by the whole public, by tradition. It is not an offence

1. To my young friend, Pro. A. N. Akhujkar, I am indebted to the following interesting parallel: "Yo hy ajānan vai Brāhmaṇaṃ hanyāt, surāṃ vā pibet, so pi patitaḥ syāt" (*Mahābhāṣya*, Kielhorn's ed. p. 2). Also, "Yas tu khalu 'evamasau Brāhmaṇaṃ hanti', 'evam asau surāṃ pibati' iti tasyānukurvan Brahmaṇaṃ hanyāt, surāṃ vā pibet, so'pi manye patitaḥ syāt; Yas tu khalu 'evam asau Brāhmaṇaṃ hanti' 'evam asau surāṃ pibati' iti tasyānukurvan kadalīstambhaṃ chindyāt, payo vā pibet, na so manye patitaḥ syāt." "One does become guilty of a heinous offence, even when one commit the murder of a Brāhmaṇa unknowingly, or by way of imitating an action of some one else". (*ibid.* p. 20). But he would not be guilty if, while imitating, he merely cuts off the stump of a banana-tree, or if he drinks milk.

because of prescription by the Buddha. This view, also, is apparently challenged in *Kuṇḍalakesi-vatthu*. It is said (Chak. pp. 167-68) that this drink-habit is not universally condemned, because several non-Buddhists drink wine freely. Even among the Buddhists, there are those who belong to the Mahāyāna schools such as Mantrayāna.... Vajrayāna may also be included.... who freely drink intoxicating liquors.

Thus consciousness or intention or deliberate purpose has a prominent place among the factors that determine the full accomplishment of a guilt. Where that is absent, there should be, according to some authorities, no guilt. So, drinking wine under the impression that it is some other drink is no offence according to heterodox schools like those of Kuṇḍalakesī, or the school of Abhayagiri, which latter was always considered to be the haven for all non-orthodox schools in Ceylon. But here we find that even among orthodox adherents, there was a supporter of this view in the great Vinaya-Master like Sāriputta (also called Sāgaramati), who is described by Malalsekera in his *Pali Literature of Ceylon* (p. 190) as "perhaps the brightest among the constellations that adorned Ceylon's literary firmament during Parākramabāhu's reign."

So this position can be explained in this way:—That Buddhapiya and Coḷakassapa, the author of *Vimati-vinodanī*, who both belonged to the Vanavāsī fraternity, were strict in their attitude towards drinking, as perhaps they lived in forests and so were not prepared to accept a lenient interpretation of the authorities on Vinaya. Sāriputta, on the other hand, lived in great monastic establishments that brought him in contact with weaker elements among the followers of the Buddha and so he took a lenient view of the problem.

Before we conclude this paper, we may as well remark in passing that if this Tamil poem *Nilakeśī* is translated into English along with its Commentary by Samaya Divākara Vāmana Muni, it would be a great boon to non-Tamilian scholars not only of Buddhism and Jainism but of Indian philosophy in general. It would throw a good deal of light on religious faiths of contemporary South India.²

2. This paper was submitted to the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, 1964-65.

Revenue and Financial Administration of the Punjab, (1849-75)

BY

DR. Y. B. MATHUR

As in other parts of India, land revenue was the mainstay of the people of the Punjab. It furnished three-fourths of the State resources and was paid by agriculturists comprising three-fourths of the population.¹ The land tax therefore formed the main source of income of the State and on the level of this tax and the system of its collection depended on the prosperity and welfare of the people and the Government alike. We will therefore take up first the changes introduced by the British in the quantum of land revenue and the system of its assessment.

Under the Sikh rule the state generally claimed one half of the gross produce of land as its share in revenue. There are instances where as much as fiftyfour per cent was demanded. Whenever the revenue was collected in kind a deduction of ten to fifteen per cent was made for fraud, expenses and waste. Normally however the public demand may be said to have varied between two-fifth and one-third of the gross produce.² The system of collection was not uniform. Some local Governors and Jagirdars preferred to assess their revenue in cash; and towards the close of Ranjit Singh's reign a portion of the Punjab was assessed in this way. The division or appraisalment of the crop was also resorted to.³

Summary Settlements

The greater part of the Punjab came under British revenue administration after the settlement system of Upper India had taken a definite shape. The Punjab therefore escaped those first

1. Foreign Misc. Series No. 157, No. in the List 364, para 37.
2. Chopra, G L *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, (1928), p 129.
3. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, Nos. in the List, 356-59 para 234.

years of tentative revenue arrangements, farming system and harsh sale laws which were productive of such unforeseen and mischievous results in other provinces.⁴ Prior to annexation, during the winter of 1847, a general money assessment was commenced in all districts that were immediately under the *Darbar*. During that season it was completed in the four Doabs, and Hazara and some portion of Peshawar. No survey or measurement of land was undertaken. The officers assessed land revenue on the basis of the *Darbar* accounts and the local knowledge provided by the *Kardars*. They took rapid tours through the Districts which were to be assessed and thus gained a general idea of the area as well as the condition of the people. Finally they assembled at central places, together with headmen and accountants of villages, and tested the accuracy of the *Darbar* returns by their accounts. The payments of three, five and ten years were assumed as data for the new assessment but the calculations formed on this basis could however be modified if the general condition of a district warranted such a change.⁵ The assessments were all fixed in money and the payments had to be made in a lump sum. These settlements were hastily made by officers who possessed but little knowledge of the subject. Many mistakes were thus committed. But in spite of many defects, the settlements on the whole conferred a boon on the people by provision of fiscal relief, by the definition and consolidation of public burden, and by the cessation of vexatious and inquisitorial processes.⁶ Where, however, the assessments turned out to be excessive, because of natural calamities or accidents, relief was granted.⁷ The remainder of the Punjab, not assessed in 1847-48 consisted of a large portion of Peshawar, the Upper Derajat and all Diwan Mul Raj's charge comprising the Districts of Multan, Khangarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, and the greater part of Leia, with two small tracts in Pak Puttun and Jhung. The

4. Baden Powell, B. H. *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. II, p. 532.

5. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 236.

6. *Idem*, para 237.

7. In 1847 in the Gujranwala District large reductions were made in consequence of failure of the crop and a murrain among the cattle. In the Rawalpindi District also the people complained of over-assessment which was greatly aggravated by the unusual fall of prices. Here also relief was granted.

settlements of all these districts were completed before 1851.⁸ These settlements were known as "summary settlements"

Regular Settlements

Regular settlements followed soon after the completion of summary settlements. As a result of the operations of the settlement and survey establishments, the boundaries of villages were defined and recorded, their area surveyed, classified and mapped. Village Survey Maps showed the interior areas, divided into cultivated, culturable, and barren waste, with the site of the village, of wells, roads, marshes and other marked features. The field survey gave a complete return of the dimensions of every field, the name of the proprietor and cultivator, the character of the soil, and the nature of the crops.⁹ The system of surveying was the same as that followed in the North Western Provinces.¹⁰ Perhaps the most marked characteristic of the settlement operations in the Punjab was that the measurement and survey of the village area were performed by the village accountants and by the representatives of the communities. For surveying, the villages were divided into circles, within which certain landholders of wealth and influence were made responsible for the conduct of the operations. The fact that the work was accomplished with the co-operation and approval of the assesseees rendered it more economical and expeditious. In the demarcation of boundaries likewise help of the people was secured. These changes effected considerable saving in the expense of settlements and served as an important educational measure for the agriculturists.¹¹

Under the statistical operations, a census of the entire population, with an elaborate detail of castes and professions was taken and returns of agricultural produce and stock were prepared.¹² In the course of fiscal operations, the whole land of the Punjab, whether paying revenue to Government, or held in quit rent tenure by *Jagirdars* and other privileged classes, was carefully

8. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 243.

9. *Idem*, para 287.

10. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 363.

11. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 288.

12. *Idem*, para 289.

valued and assessed. The land-tax was a fixed money-payment, determined by sundry considerations such as former assessments, the condition and character of the people, the peculiarities of the soil, the facilities for irrigation, the vicinity of market and the past history of the district.¹³

The judicial duties connected with the settlement operation now remain to be described. The method of entrusting judicial duties to local land-owners was tried with great success in the Punjab. The *Jagirdars* were invested with civil jurisdiction. They disposed of 2,085 cases in a year and on an average of 13 days to a case. Their knowledge and influence with the people and their nearness to suitors made for the success of this experiment.¹⁴

The questions connected with land tenures were decided in the settlement courts. Two appeals, however, could be made, the ordinary one to the Commissioner, and the special one to the Board whose decisions were final. The simple procedure of the settlement courts gained the confidence of the people. No settlement officer was satisfied with the thought of limiting the evidence placed before him; he used his own knowledge derived as a revenue officer; he cross-examined the witnesses and the parties, consulted if necessary a jury of village elders, or adjourned to the spot for personal enquiry and inspection. He was Umpire as well as Judge. In the single District of Jullundur during the first settlement operations extending over a space of five years and with only one settlement officer, the number of judicial questions which came before him and his two Indian deputies exceeded 28,000, of which upwards of 8,000 were disputes connected with tenure and with the rights and extent of land.¹⁵ The nearness of the court, the local knowledge possessed by the settlement officer and the ascertainment of local reaction were the advantages which these revenue courts¹⁶ possessed.

13. *Idem*, para 290.

14. Ruthnaswamy, M. *Some influences that made the British Administrative System in India*, (Madras, 1939), p. 368.

15. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 295.

16. Ruthnaswamy, M. *Some influences that made the British Administrative System in India*, p. 369.

The regular settlement of Southern and Western portions of the Punjab was completed before the Mutiny and settlements were then in progress in Eastern and Central parts.¹⁷ During the crisis the operations were somewhat curtailed but were continued after the suppression of the mutiny. The officers employed in various parts of the Punjab surveyed estates and declared titles to lands.¹⁸ However the great bulk of the work was completed by the close of 1860.¹⁹ Thereafter the revision of settlements of Districts of which the term of settlement had expired was commenced in 1863²⁰ and, by 1875, settlements in many districts were completed. Settlement operations were, however, in progress in fourteen districts²¹ in 1875.

Assessment Policy

In the beginning, immediately after annexation, a rough assessment was made only for two or three years. These assessments gave an abatement of about 25 or 30 per cent on the revenue demanded by the Sikh rulers.²² Every year, during the summary settlement, the Government lowered the demand where it felt that the existing pressure was heavily. In the meantime a machinery for making a regular settlement was organized. It was commissioned to ascertain the resources of the Punjab, and was directed to fix a moderate and equitable assessment, based upon solid and accurate data, for a longer term of years.²³ These regular settlements, like the summary settlements, almost invariably resulted in the reduction of taxation.²⁴ In 1856 it was found that permanent reduction or decrease by settlement since annexation amount-

17. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 365, para 341.

18. *Idem*, para 341.

19. PAR (1859-60), para 44.

20. PAR (1866-67), para 102.

21. PAR (1874-75), para 41.

22. Foreign Misc. Series, No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 40.

23. *Idem*, para 41.

24. *Permanent reduction or decrease by settlements since annexation.*

In 1850-51 decreased by settlement					Rs. 1,63,116.
"	1851-52	"	"	"	Rs. 1,82,817.
"	1853-54	"	"	"	Rs. 4,80,636.
"	1854-55	"	"	"	Rs. 7,41,660.
"	1855-56	"	"	"	Rs. 2,62,426.

ed to 25 per cent.²⁵ In other words, the regular assessments were usually made at the level of summary settlements. The main reason for making these reductions was to help the agriculturists to pay up their revenue because they could not get good price for their abundant produce without proper transport facilities. The primary consideration with the Punjab administration thus seems to have been to win over the people rather than squeeze maximum revenue out of them.²⁶

The events of 1857-58 showed that the policy of moderate assessment was most useful. It is here necessary to point out that in 1851-52 when prices of agricultural produce first fell fifty per cent,²⁷ large bodies of landholders in some districts crowded round the revenue authorities and violently declared that the markets were overstocked with grain and that money could not be got in return for produce.²⁸ At that moment a temporary derangement of land tax created a strong excitement in some localities. Now it was evident that had such circumstances existed at the commencement of the crisis in 1857, difficulties would have been grievously aggravated and in some places insurrection might have occurred.²⁹ But in 1852, the Government reduced the land tax at once. That policy of reduction was consistently followed for five years and the reward was reaped when the day of trial came.³⁰ The Report for 1857-58 says, "For then the agricultural classes were comfortable and quiet; none were pinched in circumstances, none were looking forward for change."³¹

The policy continued till 1875. With the completion of the first regular settlements in 1860 there was a steady decrease year by year in the demand of land revenue up to 1865.³² This was,

25. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 41.

26. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No in the List, 364, para 37.

27. PAR (1857-58), para 37.

28. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No in the List, 365, para 37.

29. PAR (1857-58), para 37.

30. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No in the List, 365, para 37.

31. PAR (1857-58), para 37.

32. Year	Land Tax Demand
1861-62	Rs. 19086546
1862-63	Rs. 18903997
1863-64	Rs. 18828761
1864-65	Rs. 18782009

however, counter-balanced by the resumption of *jagirs* at annexation and by the lapse of fiefs and *jagirs* and petty tenures since that time.³³ Thus the Government receipts from land tax did not materially fall off at any time. This was so inspite of the fact that during the interval considerable reduction had been made in the Government demand by the giving of rewards for service during the mutiny, providing aid in tracts affected by famines of 1860 and 1868 and inundation, and further in districts which were undergoing revision of settlement.³⁴

From 1865 to 1875 the land revenue demand increased.³⁵ This was attributed to causes such as (a) assessment of waste lands,³⁶ and (b) the development of canals and other public works.³⁷

The rates of assessment even when varying from place to place³⁸ were generally not heavy when we bear in mind that a peasant proprietor cultivated on an average 8 acres, and at a

33. In this respect the policy of the Sikh Government was to tax the agriculturist heavily and to make assignments of revenue to the nobility as payment for service and support. But the policy of the British Government was to tax the agriculturists lightly, to pay its servants from its own treasury, to excuse the nobility from service and to gradually reduce their assignment of revenue.

34. PAR (1864-65), para 105.

35.	Year	Land Tax Demand
	1865-66	Rs. 18247006
	1867-68	Rs. 18437485
	1868-69	Rs. 18485483
	1869-70	Rs. 18643755
	1870-71	Rs. 18713900
	1871-72	Rs. 18764491
	1872-73	Rs. 18860280
	1874-75	Rs. 19018117

36. PAR (1865-66), para 77.

37. PAR (1868-69), para 84.

38. Cis-Sutlej States	Rs. 1-2 -4 per acre
Trans-Sutlej States	Rs. 1-15-7 " "
Upper Bari and Rechna Doabs	Rs. 1-6 -5 " "
Upper Chuj Doab	Rs. 1-2 -7 " "

mean rate of assessment Rs. 1-4-0 per acre paid Rs. 10 per annum to the State.³⁹

Water Advantage Revenue

Under the system of land revenue assessment in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, lands which at the time of settlement were irrigable from a canal were assessed at an enhanced or "Irrigated Rates." The assessment was thereafter made at these rates for the full term of settlement whether the canal water was taken or not. On the other hand, if a new canal was constructed during the term of settlement, or the area of irrigation by any other means extended, the new area brought under irrigation was not assessed at irrigated rates, until the expiry of the settlement. This system was however not an unmixed blessing. A proprietor had to pay the revenue at irrigated rates for lands which, owing to sufficiency of rain or for other cause did not require irrigation. It was rather strange that lands irrigated by new canals constructed at a great expense from public funds were not charged irrigated rates for many years. To remove this anomaly Mr. E. A. Prinsep, the Settlement Commissioner, proposed to assess all lands, whether irrigated from canals or not, in the first

39. A searching and accurate enquiry in the Settlement Department revealed that the Government demand did not exceed one-fifth of the gross value of the produce in rich tracts, and one-sixth, or one-eighth, or even less in poor tracts. Suppose, then, for instance, a proprietor obtained 100 rupees in a year from his little patrimony. Out of this he would pay twenty rupees to the State. The expenses of his husbandry would be light (not more than twenty rupees) consisting of the purchase of seed, or implements, the repair of the well and the like. He would pay nothing for labour as the labour was that of his own hands, of his sons and of his wife. Thus the Government demand and the expenses of cultivation would together amount to 40 rupees, leaving sixty rupees worth of produce with which he would maintain his household and save a small surplus as capital. But such a man would also have some waste land, whence he obtained many necessary things for nothing, such as grass for thatching, wood, fuel, fodder and the like. The above description would apply to tens of thousands of peasantry. But there was also tens of thousands of yeomen with double and grudruple the above means who could afford to have substantial cottages, patches of garden cultivation round their wells, to keep broad mares, several yokes of plough oxen, and heads of cattle grazing in pasturage, and to spend occasional sums at marriages and such like festivities. PAR (1854-55 and 1855-56), para, 42.

instance at un-irrigated rates but to make it a condition of settlement that in the event of canal water being taken, an additional rate should be leviable, representing roughly the difference between an un-irrigated and an irrigated rate.⁴⁰ This additional rate he termed "Water Advantage Revenue."⁴¹ Mr. Prinsep's proposals were accepted and the "Water Advantage Revenue" or "Owners-Rate" was now levied in the manner and the rate fixed upon by him.⁴²

Analysis of Land Tenures

According to the settlement records the occupants of the soil were divided into four classes, viz.

- (1) Proprietors out of possession
- (2) Proprietors in possession
- (3) Hereditary cultivators and
- (4) Tenants at will.

This division generally conformed to the system which prevailed in the North Western Provinces.⁴³

(1) *Proprietors out of possession*: Under the Sikh rule the descendants of ancient proprietors were declining. The Sikh rulers looked to the security of the revenue alone and thus the industrious and frugal classes usurped the rights of those whose land they were originally content to cultivate.⁴⁴ In some instances the proprietor still retained a portion of the land usually that which he could himself husband. Tenures of this kind were investigated, recognised, defined and recorded by the British Government. These records of rights helped to save this class of proprietors from extinction.⁴⁵

40. PAR (1873-74), para 60.

41. On the passing of the Canal and Drainage Act, its proper designation was the "Owners Rate."

42. PAR (1873-74), para 60.

43. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 275,

44. *Idem*, para 277.

45. *Idem*, para 278.

(2) *Proprietors in possession*: The second class of tenures included the individuals or village communities who were in actual possession of the land. In the tenures belonging to the individuals a portion of the land was cultivated by them alone but the remainder was given to hereditary cultivators or tenants-at-will on payment of a rent.⁴⁶ On the other hand, in the village communities each co-partner occupied and cultivated his own farm and paid the proportion of the village assessment in a manner which was agreeable to the brotherhood.⁴⁷ The greater part of the land was thus cultivated by the community in such tenures. Sometimes, however, the tenants also cultivated the land if the proprietor so desired⁴⁸ but in such cases they worked under the control of the proprietors.⁴⁹

(3) *Hereditary Cultivators*: The hereditary cultivators constituted the third class and a very important one in many districts. Their tenure was scarcely distinguishable from that of the proprietor. They often gradually usurped the rights of proprietor when their clan was strong and industrious. The distinction between them and the proprietors was often nominal when land was abundant and cultivators were scarce. The main distinction between them and the proprietors was that the former were not permitted to sink a well, to sell, mortgage or transfer the land, but they could sublet it.⁵⁰

In Multan under the Sikhs, a curious tenure had grown up to reclaim the waste land. It took off the rights of the proprietor and of the hereditary cultivator. Sawan Mal and Mul Raj granted patents to individuals to sink wells on the payment of a trifling rent to the proprietor when he did not himself cultivate the land. The well belonged to the patentee, as also the use of his land, for without irrigation, cultivation was impossible in the dry tract of Multan. The rent of the land, equal to one fourth of the produce, was divided between the owner of the well and the proprietor of the land, but more frequently, the latter received a mere trifle.⁵¹

46. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. in the List, 356-59, para 279.

47. *Idem*, para 280.

48. *Idem*, para 281.

49. *Idem*, para 282.

50. Foreign Misc., Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List, 356-59, para 283.

51. *Idem*, para 284.

(4) *Tenants-at-will*: The tenants at will formed the fourth class who cultivated from harvest to harvest or year to year. If they lived in the village, their tenure was desirably permanent; if they belonged to a neighbouring village the tenure was precarious. They usually cultivated on the condition of gathering half the crop; and as the proprietor was generally on the spot and was himself a husbandman, was able, by his knowledge and presence, to secure his full share.⁵² Such were the common forms of land tenures in the Punjab.

Tenant Right Controversy

For some years after annexation, the principles observed in the settlement of the North Western Provinces were applied to the Punjab, and tenants who had occupied continuously for twelve years without a lease, were usually declared to have a right of occupancy. Their rents were generally fixed for the term of settlement extending from ten to thirty years.⁵³

In the year 1830, Mr. Edward Thornton, the Commissioner of the Jhelum Division objected to the system of determining rights of occupancy with reference merely to length of occupation. He adopted a system of confronting the parties and settled claims to occupancy rights by arbitration.⁵⁴ This system was approved of by the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence, who observed that "it was the nature quite as much as the length of occupancy that entitled a cultivator to privileges." But the system of Jhelum Division was not authoritatively prescribed for general adoption; and in most settlements occupancy rights were still awarded mainly with reference to limitation test.⁵⁵

In 1863, Mr. Edward Prinsep was appointed Commissioner for the purpose of revising settlements, the terms of which were expiring and commenced with those of the Districts of Amritsar, Sialkot and Gurdaspur. He challenged the correctness of the records of former settlements whereby tenants had been recognized as having rights of occupancy. He expressed his strong

52. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List 356-59, para 235.

53. PAR (1868-69), para 91.

54. *Idem*, para 92.

55. PAR (1868-69), para 92.

conviction that there were few tenants who during the Sikh time, would come under the definition of tenants having rights of occupancy as in those times it was admitted that the land owner had the right of evicting any tenant. He accordingly solicited permission to revise the settlement records and restore the status of tenants to that it was before the annexation of the Punjab.⁵⁶

From this period the subject of tenant right became in the Punjab the most important question of the day. The result was the collection of an appalling mass of material consisting of official and non-official treatises, reports of committees, statistics, memorials, circulars, minutes by high functionaries including the Financial Commissioner, the Judges of the Chief Court, the Lieutenant Governor and Governor General.⁵⁷ Various were the shades of opinion, but the principal arguments in favour of the proprietors and the tenants were the following:

Those who advocated the proprietor's view urged that the rights of occupancy were unknown in the Sikh times. In those days every proprietor had the right of evicting any tenant of howsoever long standing. It is true proprietors rarely exercised that right but this was because the pressure of the Sikh taxation absorbed almost the entire rent of the land. The proprietors and tenants were thereby reduced almost to a dead level but still the landlord had the right of eviction and enhancement of rent. Their second argument was that the action of the Government, in recognizing rights of occupancy at fixed rates for long periods, was unjust to the proprietors. It was the duty of Government, even at this late hour, to correct its error, and restore to the proprietors the rights they possessed before annexation, of which they had been deprived. Their third and last argument was that, at any rate, proprietors should be allowed to get rid of their occupancy tenants on payments of compensation.⁵⁸

On the other hand, those who advocated the tenant's view argued that whatever might have been theoretically the right of

56. *Idem*, para 93.

57. See Foreign Revenue A Proceedings Nos. 47-71, dated January, 1870.

58. Summary of the enquiry on tenant right in the Punjab. Foreign Revenue Proceedings, No. 63, dated January, 1870; PAR (1868-69), para 97.

landlords in Sikh times to evict tenants of long standing, it was admitted that the right was hardly exercised. Such tenants had reasonable expectation, under Sikh rule of continuing in un-molested possession of their holdings. Their second argument was that since the British Government by reducing taxation and improving communications had largely increased the value of land, it was but equitable that it should afford some protection to the tenants from arbitrary eviction and enhancement of rent. The improved value of the land, which induced proprietors to evict and enhance rents, was the result not of capital investment made by proprietors, but of the liberal policy of the Government. Their last argument was that, it would be the height of injustice, after a lapse of nearly twenty years during which period tenants had been formally recognized as having rights of occupancy, to withhold those rights. This would ignore expectations justly held by occupancy tenants and all the collateral rights which had grown up in consequence for a series of years and suddenly place them in a position in which they would be at the mercy of their landlords.⁵⁹

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Prinsep had carried out his system provisionally in the District of Amritsar, Sialkot and Gurdaspur, and the result was that out of 60,000 tenants formerly recorded as having rights of occupancy 46,000 were reduced to the status of tenants at will.⁶⁰

After the subject had been discussed on paper for nearly four years, the Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, desired that efforts should be made to effect a decision of the question at issue by legislative enactment. He advised that such legislation should be of the nature of an equitable compromise between the two contending parties. Accordingly a draft bill was prepared by Mr. E. L. Brandreth, Commissioner of Rawalpindi Division and a member of the Supreme Legislative Council in October, 1867.⁶¹

It is impossible to describe all the details of the discussion which took place from the date of Mr. Brandreth's draft bill to

59. *Idem*, para 96.

60. *PAR* (1868-69), para 97.

61. *Idem*, para 98.

the date of its final enactment in 1868. Suffice it to say, that the correspondence and debate on the subject occupy 315 closely printed folio pages. The bill was considered, reconsidered, amended and recommended by four different committees, was three times minuted upon by the Lieutenant-Governor, once by the Financial Commissioner, once by the Judges of the Chief Court, once by Mr. Prinsep, and was three times discussed in the legislative Council and finally passed on 21st October, 1868.⁶²

The following were the leading provisions of the Act relating to the status of the landlord and the tenant.

Provisions relating to tenants

(1) Tenants were declared to have absolute rights of occupancy;⁶³ (2) Tenants who were formally recorded to have occupancy rights were presumed to have them unless the contrary was proved by the landlord;⁶⁴ (3) Tenants with occupancy rights were entitled to hold the land on the payment of rent which was proportionately below the market rate;⁶⁵ (4) Occupancy tenants were allowed to sub-let or alienate their interest in their land reserving a right of pre-emption to the proprietors;⁶⁶ (5) Tenants of every kind were permitted to effect improvements in the land and were entitled to get compensation for such improvements in cash, or in a beneficial lease, at the option of the landlord.⁶⁷

Provision relating to Landlords

(1) The Act allowed the landlord to buy out tenants having presumptive rights of occupancy of less than thirty years' standing.⁶⁸ (2) It permitted the landlord to enhance the rents of occupancy to the prescribed amount below the market rates at intervals of five years, in lieu of previously existing law under which

62. Parliamentary Paper No. 159 (1870); PAR (1868-69), para 98.

63. Punjab Tenancy Act, 1868, Chapter II, Clause 5.

64. *Idem*, Clause 6.

65. *Idem*, Chapter III, Clause 10.

66. *Idem*, Chapter V, Clause 34.

67. *Idem*, Chapter VI, Clause 57.

68. *Idem*, Chapter II, Clause 6.

rates were fixed for currency of settlement;⁶⁹ (3) It repealed the previously existing law under which a tenant could claim the privilege of paying in cash instead of in grain, and disallowed commutation of grain into cash payments without consent of either party.⁷⁰

The passing of the Punjab Tenancy Act was a triumph for the policy of Sir John Lawrence⁷¹ because he always championed the cause of peasantry as opposed to his brother Henry, whose sympathies were with the aristocracy.⁷² The Act recognised occupancy rights in the case of all tenants who had held the land for

69. *Idem*, Chapter III, Clause 13.

70. *Idem*, Chapter III, Clause 16.

71. Pal, Dharm: *The Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence*, (Simla, 1952), p. 60.

72. Henry Lawrence, impelled by his generous instincts, strove to maintain for the fallen Sardars a high position and status in the new Province, and to recognise in them the aristocracy of the country as they had been. John Lawrence tried to carry out the narrower view of Lord Dalhousie that the Sardars deserved little but maintenance, that none should intervene between the people and their alien rulers. Henry Lawrence endeavoured to recognise the natural and influential leaders of the people. John Lawrence, charged with revenue administration, was anxious to have a tighter grip on the Land Tax paid by the cultivators, and saw in the due recognition of the old Sardars an alienation of the revenues supposed to be due to the State only.

Henry Lawrence represented in his generation a distinct school of administrators—the school founded in the preceding generation by Elphinstone and Bentinck—the school which had almost become obsolete under the Imperialism of Auckland and Dalhousie. "This School", says General M'Leod Innes, "which gave special consideration to the feelings, traditions, and modes of thought of the Native Community, demanded a fair recognition of the claims of Native States, and urged the need for wise and generous treatment of the natural leaders of the people."

Lord Dalhousie never understood, never appreciated, this school. He was an Imperialist. He held that the best administration for the people of India was the direct administration of alien rulers; that all intervening chiefs and leaders were an obstruction to good administration and a hindrance to reforms. He made the mistake, which has been made again and again by British rulers in India, of ignoring old leaders and old institutions, and of trying to substitute the direct and personal rule of British Officials. And in removing Sir Henry Lawrence from the Punjab, Lord Dalhousie virtually uprooted his policy, swept aside the natural leaders of the people, and brought a nation of cultivators directly under the Government.

a certain time, and the measure became as a subsequent Lt. Governor of Bengal declared "the bulwark and charter of a contented peasantry."⁷³ The power of enhancement of rent conferred upon the landlords, however, dispelled the notion that the provisions of the Act were entirely in the interest of the cultivators.⁷⁴

Sale of Land to Money-lending Classes

The sale of land for Government revenue created hatred in other parts of India but in the Punjab such harsh measures to realize the land revenue were avoided. Upto 1860 the sale of land for non-payment of revenue demand was prohibited in the Punjab. However with the introduction of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure this prohibition was lifted.⁷⁵

Upto 1870 no statistics are available to show the amount of land which generally, since annexation or during any particular year, was sold or mortgaged to money-lenders by the Zamindars.⁷⁶ Partial enquiries in some of the Districts of the Punjab, however, did not justify any anxiety.⁷⁷ In 1871-72 the Lieutenant Governor expressed the opinion that "in case the amount of land transferred to village bankers is increasing each year in a larger ratio, and the tendency of the present system is to allow the land to pass free from the peasant proprietors to the money lending classes, the Government would remedy the evil which would otherwise be a certain source of future trouble".⁷⁸ The returns of transfers of land from 1872 to 1875 showed that voluntary sales of land amounted only on an average to about one acre per square mile and mortgages to two acres per square mile of assessed area per annum. Only one proprietor out of 334 parted with his land and the proportion of mortgages was only 1 to 133.⁷⁹ These transactions indicated that there was remarkable prosperity and that

73. Quoted in Aitchison, Sir Charles, Lord Lawrence (Oxford, 1892), pp. 147-48.

74. Punjab Revenue Administration Report, 1871-72, para 120.

75. See article on Judicial Administration of the Punjab, *Journal of Indian History*, Decr. 1966 issue.

76. Report on the Revenue Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies (1871-72), para 54.

77. Punjab Land Revenue Administration Report, (1871-72), para 56.

78. *Idem*.

79. *Idem*, (1873-74), para 26.

the British land revenue assessment was moderate. There was therefore no need for any legislative interference or for any increase in the restrictions already placed upon the sale of land in the Punjab.⁸⁰

The sale of land took place voluntarily and it seemed to be the natural result of the creation of valuable property in the land caused by fixing the Government revenue at a moderate amount for a fixed term of years. Formerly under the Sikh rule land had no such value and transfers of land were not common.⁸¹

Collection of Revenue

Having examined how the problem of tenancy had been solved by the British Government let us turn our attention to the allied and equally important issue of the collection of revenue. The cultivators were essentially peasant proprietors.⁸² They did not engage individually with the Government but by villages.⁸³ The brotherhood of the village through its headman or representatives paid the tax to the Government. The Government demand was fixed upon the village community as a whole at the time of the settlement. It was then divided among the villagers in proportion to their share of land. Primarily every person who cultivated the land paid for himself but ultimately he was responsible for his co-parceners and they were bound together by joint liability.⁸⁴ Therefore the Punjab system was neither *Ryotwari* nor *Zamindari* but the village system, or *Mahalwari* as we call it.⁸⁵ This system was thus identical to the one found in the North Western Provinces.⁸⁶ From 1849 to 1852 the collection of land revenue, in spite of occasional drought and overassessment, was quite successful and creditable to the good faith and industry

80. *Idem*, para 26.

81. *Idem*, (1870-71), para 91.

82. Foreign Misc. Series No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 37.

83. Dutt, Romesh, *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, (London, 1906), pp. 96-7.

84. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 41.

85. Dutt, Romesh, *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, p. 97.

86. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 41.

of the tax payers. In 1852-53, some balances accrued in consequence of reductions granted by the revised settlement,⁸⁷ but in 1854, these uncollected balances were remitted and the demand for future years was reduced. After that the collections became steady and did not register a further fall.⁸⁸

In 1856 it was noticed that nearly the whole demand was realised.⁸⁹ This result was effected without any of the coercive processes authorised by law, such as sale, farm, transfer or direct management by revenue officers of the defaulting estates.⁹⁰ On the appointed day the revenue was paid in four instalments, two for the spring and two for the autumn harvest. The headmen brought the money from the respective villages. If there was any delay a notice to pay was sent to the defaulters which usually had the desired effect.⁹¹ For the collection of land revenue *Tahsildars* or chief revenue officers, subordinate officials, peons or messengers were appointed. The aggregate cost of this establishment amounted to three per cent upon the collections. This establishment was also entrusted with other duties of a judicial and administrative character.⁹²

During the Mutiny the landholders paid up without hesitation and in due time, their revenue for the instalments which fell due. In some places, owing to critical circumstances of the time the revenue was collected even before the date on which the instalments fell due. This was effected without the least difficulty and with the consent of the people. Imprisonment of defaulters was

87. PAR (1852-53), para 266.

88. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 47.

89.	Years	Demand	Collected	Percentage	
				Uncollected Balance	of real balance on demand
	1853-54	1,52,05,700	1,39,19,102	1,28,6,598	3.59
	1854-55	1,47,00,881	1,40,93,731	6,03,153	1.41
	1855-56	1,46,24,259	1,41,58,107	4,66,152	0.9
90.	Years	No. of cases			
	1853-54	2			
	1854-55	13			
	1855-56	16			

91. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 49.

92. *Idem*, para 50.

scarcely resorted to and even common notices to pay had not to be served in greater numbers than usual.⁹³

The people were always ready to pay the revenue because land tax was light in the Punjab and there was no particular grievance for complaint against the revenue system. The tenures were fairly adjusted. There was no class among the landholders and cultivators at least who had suffered by British rule. There were no dispossessed malcontents, no depressed village communities, and no upstart usurpers. There were no wholesale or extensive transfers of estates or tracts from one set to another, such as that had taken place in Bengal after the permanent settlement.⁹⁴

In the early stages of British rule money position was tight but before long it improved. The Indian portion of the army employed in the Punjab was largely Hindustani. A considerable share of the Punjab revenues was paid to them as their wages, of which they spent a part in the Punjab and remitted the remainder to their homes.⁹⁵ Many lakhs of rupees were thus annually drained from the Punjab. After the Mutiny the soldiers from Oudh were replaced by Punjabis; many thousand soldiers were also serving abroad. "These men", says the Report for 1856-57 and 1857-58, "not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages."⁹⁶ Money was thus more plentiful in the Punjab after the Mutiny. The land revenue was thus realised with facility and coercive processes were rarely resorted to.⁹⁷ Ninety per cent of the demand was realized in this way.⁹⁸

There was, however, a considerable falling off in the collection of land revenue during the famine of 1860-61, when the rains completely failed between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and except where irrigation was available, no autumn or spring crops were sown. Women and children were seen in crowds picking wild berries for food. Old and unwholesome grain was sold in bazars. Numerous deaths from starvation were reported. Herds of cattle

93. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 365, para 28.

94. *Idem*, para 39.

95. *Idem*, para 40.

96. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 365, paras 38-40.

97. PAR (1860-61), para 57.

98. PAR (1864-65), para 107.

perished and general emigration from the famine stricken tracts took place. The District officers were immediately provided employment for these unskilled labourers and efficiently arrested a grave situation.⁹⁹ In 1868-69 a similar situation was washed off by the timely action taken by the Government.¹⁰⁰

Land Revenue Act, 1871

The law relating to land revenue was in a state of uncertainty prior to the passing of the Punjab Land Revenue Act, 1871. It is therefore extremely necessary for us to look back to the history of land revenue reforms in India to find out how this uncertainty crept in the law relating to the administration of land revenue in the Punjab.

The earliest legislation on the subject of assessment and collection of land revenue dates from the year 1793 when the famous settlement of Lord Cornwallis became law. During the period 1793 to 1822 the permanent settlement was introduced in Benares but not into other parts of ceded and conquered Provinces which were afterwards consolidated into the North Western Provinces. In these Provinces summary settlements were made and on the basis of the knowledge which the Indian statesmen possessed about the constitution of Hindu society, and in particular about the village communities, the famous Regulation No. VII of 1822 was promulgated. It was the work of Mr. Holt Mackenzie and, subject to certain amendments introduced into it by Regulation IX of 1833, became the foundation of the whole of the law of Northern India upon the subject of land revenue. It was based upon the recognition of the existence of village communities.¹⁰¹ The system established by this Regulation was consolidated into books viz. "The Directions to Settlement Officers" and "The Directions to Collectors."¹⁰²

99. PAR (1860-61), para 53.

100. PAR (1868-69), para 85.

101. Extract from the Procdgs. of the Council of the Governor General of India assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations under the provision of the Act of Parliament 24 and 25 Vic-cap dt. 5 Sept. 1871, p. 2. Legislative Procdg. No. 112 dt. Dec 1871.

102. These were the best of all law books and were compiled under the direction of Mr. Mertins Bird and the late Mr. Thomason.

In 1849 when the Punjab was annexed, the system which then prevailed in the North Western Provinces was introduced into that Province. The Punjab was placed under a Board of Administration and its powers were defined in a despatch from the Government of India dated the 31 March, 1849. The intention of those who drew up the despatch was to tell the Board of Administration—"Govern these provinces as well as you can and according to your own discretion, and take for your guide generally speaking, the system already established by law in the North Western Provinces."¹⁰³ This, however, was not precisely what they actually said. Part of the despatch was in these words: "The Governor General would wish to uphold native institutions and practices as far as they are consistent with the distribution of justice to all classes, but he is persuaded that except in some of the wild districts of the Trans-Indus, or the Alpine country off the Sind Sagar Doab, there is no portion of the country which will not be benefited by the gradual introduction of the British system, at the earliest possible period....With the knowledge now generally prevalent respecting village co-parcenaries, there is no apprehension that our officers will not exert themselves to maintain those important bodies in all their integrity....The popular institutions will be improved and consolidated by our measures and the native system of accounts and reports will be adhered to without any great or radical deviation."¹⁰⁴

In another part of the despatch the following passage occurs: "The four short printed circulars of the Sadar Board of Revenue of the North Western Provinces and the pamphlets published under the orders of the Lt. Governor form an admirable body of instructions, adapted to any province where the village system obtains and explains so lucidly the structural and functional divisions of our complicated revenue machinery that they should be largely indented for and circulated among our officers."¹⁰⁵

As long as the Punjab was ruled by personal discretion of the officers, who worked under the Board of Administration, questions

103. Proclamation regarding the annexation of Punjab. Secret Procdg. Nos. 18-29, dt. 28 April, 1849.

104. *Idem.*

105. *Idem.*

regarding the precise meaning of their instructions did not arise before the courts. This state of affairs, however, could not last long because Sir John Lawrence and his colleagues wanted to introduce a legal system of government. Consequently when new courts were established and worked under the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure for India, it became obvious that the instructions originally given to the Board were too general and inadequate.¹⁰⁶

Take for instance this question: does Regulation VII of 1822 extend, or does it not extend to the Punjab? Sir Richard Temple and the members of the Board of Administration believed that their instructions were to take this Regulation as a general guide, but not to consider themselves bound by all its provisions. The Chief Court of the Punjab, on the other hand, decided distinctly and recorded its decision in a minute which it wrote upon the subject that Regulation VII of 1822 was in force in the Punjab.¹⁰⁷ The discussion upon the Punjab Tenancy Act arose out of this question. The law relating to land revenue was thus in an unsatisfactory condition.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly a Bill was framed to remove this obscurity and uncertainty and define and consolidate the law relating to land revenue in the Punjab.¹⁰⁹ This Bill received the assent of the Governor General on 13 October, 1871¹¹⁰ and came to be known as the Punjab Land Revenue Act.

On the passing of this Act the law relating to land revenue which was in existence for nearly fifty years^{110a} was now superseded. The imperfection of that law, as we have seen, had caused a good deal of inconvenience to the people. These difficulties were removed by enacting the new law. The course of procedure to be followed in the assessment of revenue and correction of record of rights was now distinctly prescribed. The Land Revenue Act did not alter the existing law on the subject. It simply cleared

106. Procdgs. of the Council of the Governor General of India dt. 5 September 1871, p. 4. Legislative Procdg. No. 112 dt. December, 1871.

107. *Idem*, p. 4.

108. *Idem*, p. 5.

109. Statement of Objects and Reasons, Punjab Land Revenue Act, 1871. Legislative Procdg. No. 132, dt. Dec. 1871.

110. *Idem*.

110a. The earliest law relating to land revenue was Regulation VII of 1822

the doubts as to what was the law and put the existing law into a distinct and convenient form.

The following were the main provisions of this Act:— .

(1) *Grades of Revenue Officers:*

The Financial Commissioner who acted under the control of the Lieutenant Governor was the chief controlling revenue authority in the Punjab.¹¹¹ The Commissioners, who were subordinate to the Financial Commissioner, acted as the chief controlling revenue authority within a Division.¹¹² The Deputy Commissioners who were subordinate to the Commissioners, were the chief executive revenue authority in a District.¹¹³ The Tahsildars, who were subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner, were the chief executive revenue authority in a Tahsil or sub-district.¹¹⁴

(2) *Settlements:*

A settlement was said to be in progress whenever the amount of revenue to be paid in a District or other local area was under assessment or reassessment, or whenever the record of rights was being either made or revised under the provisions of the Act.¹¹⁵

Settlements were divided into three categories:

- (a) *a summary settlement* was a provisional settlement made pending a first regular settlement.¹¹⁶
- (b) *a first regular settlement* was settlement in which the revenue was assessed, and a record of rights was, for the first time, formed.¹¹⁷
- (c) *a resettlement* was a settlement subsequent to a first regular settlement, in which either the revenue was reassessed, or the record of rights was revised, or in which both these processes were conducted.¹¹⁸

111. Act No. XXIII of 1871, Chapter I, Cl. 2(1).

112. *Idem*, Chapter I, Cl. 2(2).

113. *Idem*, Cl. 2(3).

114. *Idem*, Cl. 2(4).

115. *Idem*, Chapter II, Cl. 7.

116. *Idem*, Cl. 10(1).

117. *Idem*, Cl. 10(2).

118. *Idem*, Cl. 10(3).

(3) Record of Rights:

The record of rights consisted of the following documents:

- (a) *Maps and Measurement Papers.* These showed the boundaries of the village or place where the settlement was made and the fields into which it was divided.¹¹⁹
- (b) *Khuteonee.* This was a statement of the occupiers and owners of the fields specified in the said maps, and of the lands occupied and owned by them. It also contained the terms on which they were so owned or occupied.¹²⁰
- (c) *Tender of engagement:* This was a tender on behalf of the person or persons 'settled with' to engage for the payment of revenue during the terms for which the settlement was made.¹²¹
- (d) *Khewut:* This was a statement of the shares or holdings of the different persons settled with and the amount of revenue for which, as between each other, they were to be responsible, and a statement of persons holding lands free of revenue and of the lands so held.¹²²
- (e) *Wajib-ul-arz.* This was a statement of the terms on which the persons settled with agreed to pay the revenue assessed and of the customs of the village or place where the settlement was made.¹²³
- (f) *Rubikaree:* This was an abstract of the proceedings which contained a statement of all judicial decisions passed by the settlement officer in the course of the settlement.¹²⁴

(4) Collection of Revenue:

The Act authorised the Punjab Government to make rules in regard to the payment of revenue.¹²⁵ In case of non-payment the

119. *Idem*, Chapter II, Cl. 14(1).

120. *Idem*, Cl. 14(2).

121. *Idem*, Cl. 14(3).

122. *Idem*, Cl. 14(4).

123. *Idem*, Cl. 14(5).

124. *Idem*, Cl. 14(6).

125. Act No. XXXIII, Chapter V, Cl. 42

procedure prescribed by the Act for recovery of the arrears was either imprisonment or sale of the movable property of the person or the persons concerned.¹²⁶

Miscellaneous Sources of Revenue

During the time of Ranjit Singh, the whole of the Punjab was threaded with a net work of preventive lines. These lines were dotted with innumerable posts for the collection of every kind of tax, direct and indirect. The principle was to extract taxation from everything indiscriminately. The Report for 1849-50 and 1850-51 says, "No distinction was made between domestic and foreign industry, between articles of indigenous and extraneous production, between manufactures at home and abroad. The artizans of Lahore and Umritsur were taxed together with the goldsmiths and iron-mongers of Kabul; the silks of Mooltan, and the cloths of Punjab were no less dutiable than the cotton goods of Europe; the shawls of Kashmere, the groceries of Kabul, the dried fruits of Central Asia. The cotton, indigo and sugar of the Punjab had to pay an excise equal in amount to the customs levied on the same produce imported from Hindoostan. Nor was the salt the only necessary of life subject to taxation; ghee, tobacco, vegetables, all the poor man's luxuries, were placed under contribution."¹²⁷

The miscellaneous taxes of the Sikh Government, forty eight in number, yielded an annual revenue of sixteen lakhs of rupees while the twenty-three revised taxes of the regency yielded a revenue of 13½ lakhs of rupees. The new British taxes,¹²⁸ yielded revenue which was larger than that previously realised.¹²⁹ The fiscal

126. *Idem*, Cl. 43.

127. Foreign Misc. Series, No. in the List, 364, para 299.

128. These taxes were (1) Spirits and Drugs (2) Salt (3) Stamps and (4) Ferry Tolls or Canal Revenue.

129. The miscellaneous taxes of the Sikh Government, yielded an annual revenue of sixteen lakhs. The four new British taxes yielded revenue as follows during 1849-50 and 1850-51:

	1849-50	1850-51
Salt	Rs. 13,26,026 0 0	Rs. 13,26,026 0 0
Spirits and Drugs	Rs. 2,78,132 11 4	Rs. 3,02,452 12 7
Stamps	Rs. 57,345 11 3	Rs. 1,06,482 7 1
Ferries	Rs. 62,092 5 10	Rs. 88,876 14 3

system was thus simplified and the people looked upon it as a great relief.

Spirits and Drugs

The excise relating to drugs¹³⁰ and spirits¹³¹ was leased out to a number of contractors upon the annexation of the Punjab.¹³² The spirits are a decoction from molasses, and the bark of "Babool", a common tree growing in the plains. The drugs consist in the first instance, of the articles named *Bhung* and *Churus* and secondly of post or the poppy head and opium.¹³³ Under the Sikh rule, the cultivation of poppy was not encouraged on account of the existing high rates of land tax. Under British rule land tax was, of course, lower but the cultivation was under certain restrictions. The cultivator was allowed to grow enough for his own consumption and the rest he had to surrender to the Government contractors. In 1856, with a view to increase the revenues, the Government decided to remove this restriction on the condition that the cultivator should pay to the Government an extra rate of two rupees per acre, in addition to the land tax. The cultivator was henceforth permitted to dispose of the poppy according to his own sweet will.¹³⁴

On 1 August, 1863, the system of leasing out the excise relating to spirits and drugs to contractors, was superseded by that of the Saddar distilleries.¹³⁵ The revenue realized from drugs and spirits increased throughout the period excepting during the Mutiny when there was a slight decrease in consumption which ultimately resulted in the diminution of the revenue.¹³⁶

130. Technically called *Muskerat*.

131. Technically called *Abkari*.

132. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 53.

133. PAR (1854-55 and 55-56), para 53.

134. *Idem*, para 54.

135. Punjab Land Revenue Administration Report, 1862-63, para 23.

136. 1856-57	..	Rs. 5,99,393
1857-58	..	Rs. 5,04,498
1858-59	..	Rs. 6,74,356
1859-60	..	Rs. 7,45,728

Salt

Under Sikh rule Salt was one of the forty-eight articles which were subject to customs, town or transit duties.¹³⁷ The Cis-Indus and Kalabagh salt mines were farmed out to persons of eminence, and the farmer, as long as he paid the amount of his contract, was allowed to dispose of the salt in any manner he might think proper. He was under no restrictions as regards time, place or price, and might sell wholesale or retail, either at the mines or in distant markets.¹³⁸ The prices charged by the farmers were not high but mining and transport difficulties helped to restrict the area within which the rock salt was consumed, and the Cis-Sutlej tract was almost entirely supplied at that time with salt from Rajputana.¹³⁹

Upon annexation the management of these mines was taken over by the British Government and on the payment of a duty of Rs. 2/- per maund the salt was allowed to pass free throughout the British dominions.¹⁴⁰ In the Kohat District, beyond the Indus, salt was sold at the nominal price of two to four annas per maund out of consideration for the mountaineers of that region. But in order that this lightly taxed salt may not compete with the article from the mines of the Cis-Indus range, a preventive line was established along the left bank of the Indus. There was no preventive line along the Northern border of the Punjab because the salt produced in the Himalayan regions could not compete with the Punjab salt. But in order to prevent the Rajputana salt from entering the Punjab, a preventive line was established along the Sutlej at Multan.¹⁴¹

The salt revenue increased year by year.¹⁴² In 1856 it was noticed that its consumption almost doubled since the establishment of

137. Imperial Gazetteer, Provincial Series (Punjab) Vol. I, p. 115

138. PAR (1849-50 and 1850-51), para 302

139. Imperial Gazetteer, Provincial Series (Punjab), Vol. I, pp. 115-16

140. *Idem*, p. 118.

141. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 57.

142. 1851-52	..	Rs. 12,81,295
1852-53	..	Rs. 16,84,216
1853-54	..	Rs. 19,50,536

British rule.¹⁴³ The increase in population, the pacification of the Province and a great diminution of land tax resulted in this enhanced consumption amongst the agriculturists and lower classes. Considerable quantities were also exported Eastwards and to the North as far as Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁴⁴ The salt revenue further increased and became an important source of revenue on the incorporation of the Delhi territory into the Punjab in 1859.¹⁴⁵ There was, however, a falling off in the revenue at some intervals. The decrease during 1862-63 and 1870-71 was caused on account of illicit manufacture of salt in Oudh which flooded the markets in the Punjab. Besides, the exceptional rains made it impossible to obtain carriage for salt as the roads were in a bad state.¹⁴⁶ The decrease during 1868-69 was, however, on account of a famine.¹⁴⁷ For the rest of the period it kept on increasing.

The price of salt was light and was easily paid by consumers in the Punjab. A poor man consumed half a seer of salt at the utmost in a month. It was worth half an anna. The poorest man earned three rupees per month, and he could certainly purchase for himself and family an article which was a necessity. That is why in the Punjab the consumption of salt was now as much as never before. The price of salt was not severely felt by even the poorest consumers.¹⁴⁸

Stamps, Income Tax Etc.

Prior to 1860 the rate of stamps in the Punjab was only half the value of the rate which prevailed in the Bengal Presidency. However, with the passing of the Stamp Act in 1861 this rate was brought in level with the rate which prevailed in the Bengal Pre-

143. Consumption of salt.

In 1849	..	600,000 maunds
1855	..	1047,028 "

144. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List 364, para 59.

145. 1856-57	..	Rs. 20,08,393
1857-58	..	Rs. 20,75,000
1858-59	..	Rs. 48,87,629
1859-60	..	Rs. 49,51,728

146. PAR (1871-72), para 323.

147. PAR (1868-69), para 210.

148. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 59.

sidency.¹⁴⁹ The revenue from stamps kept on increasing because of the increase in litigation, registration of deeds¹⁵⁰ and the increase of wealth and prosperity in the Punjab.¹⁵¹ There was, however, a decrease during 1860-61 owing to the alteration in the manner of charging fees for law processes. These fees were now paid in cash instead of stamps.¹⁵² This resulted in the decreased sale of stamps. The Income Tax was introduced in the second half of 1859-60¹⁵³ and was abolished in 1865. The increased productiveness of other taxes supplied the deficit caused by the abolition of Income Tax.¹⁵⁴ In 1875 the Inland Customs Act consolidated and amended the law previously scattered over numerous Acts, Regulations, Rules and orders relating to the levy of inland custom duties in the Punjab, North Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces.¹⁵⁵

Fiscal Policy

Prior to 1871 the financial supremacy of the Government of India was an established fact.¹⁵⁶ During this period no Provincial Government could keep any part of its collections or undertake any expenditure without the previous sanction of the Government of India. The provinces were not allowed to spend the revenues allotted to them in creating any new office, or granting any salary, gratuity or allowances. This rigorous control of the Central Government on Provincial finances is described by Strachey in the following words:

“The local Government (i.e., Provincial), which practically carried on the whole administration of the country, were left with almost no powers of financial control, over the affairs of their respective provinces, and no financial responsibility. Everything was rigorously centralised in the Supreme Government which took upon itself the entire distribution of the

149. PAR (1860-61), para 66.

150. PAR (1854-55, '55-56), para 64.

151. PAR (1866-67), para 287.

152. Punjab Land Revenue Administration Report, (1862-63), para 36.

153. *Ibid.*, (1859-60), para 572.

154. PAR (1865-66), para 103-4.

155. PAR (1874-75), para 61.

156. Prasad, Bisheshwar. *The Origins of Provincial Autonomy*, (Allahabad, 1941), p. 13.

funds needed for the public service throughout India. It controlled the smallest details of every branch of the expenditure; its authority was required for the employment of every person paid with public money, however small his salary; and its sanction was necessary for the grant of funds, even for purely local works of improvement, for every local road, and every building however insignificant."¹⁵⁷

Upto 1857 the financial position of the Government of India being very sound the fiscal policy of the Punjab could not be otherwise. For successive years the Panjab's expenditure was kept well within income and there was a considerable annual surplus.¹⁵⁸ The only extra-ordinary increase was in the development of the administration of public works.¹⁵⁹ The Punjab was moreover a remunerative Province. She paid her own expenses and contributed about one third of her revenues to the Imperial Treasury.¹⁶⁰ These circumstances give us a fair proof of her flourishing condition of affairs and of economical management.¹⁶¹

During the Mutiny there was a serious want of funds. The expenditure was heavier than ever. A large body of disarmed sepoy, the new levies and Provincial battalions and the army in Delhi were maintained from the Punjab Treasuries, but little was received beyond the ordinary revenue. Owing to the disruption of communication with the Lower Provinces and cessation of commercial intercourse, the Bill transactions which usually brought of cash of a crores of rupees into the Punjab Treasuries now yielded nothing. The prospect of obtaining cash remittance from

157. Strachey, Sir, John and Lt. General Richard, *Finances and Public Works of India* (from 1869 to 1881), page 134.

158. Years	Income	Expenditure	Surplus
1855-56	Rs. 20126935	Rs. 16329739	Rs. 3797196
1856-57	Rs. 20377789	Rs. 16500072	Rs. 3877717
1857-58	Rs. 20530710	Rs. 17666775	Rs. 2863953

159. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 129.

160. In support of this point, the following figures are given in para 102 of the Punjab Administration Report for 1859-60.

Year	Receipt	Expenditure	Surplus
1857-58	Rs. 2,74,99,141	Rs. 1,82,94,296	Rs. 92,04,845
1859-60	Rs. 2,95,70,583	Rs. 1,76,96,410	Rs. 1,18,74,173

161. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List, 364, para 129.

Bombay was doubtful and remote. In this strait then, it was resolved to keep all civil establishments, all disarmed troops and all European officers in arrears of pay for three months. When matters improved a loan at six per cent interest repayable after one year was raised. Between July 1857 and January 1858 about forty-one lakhs of rupees were thus raised, and the principal and interest were thereafter paid off to the subscribers who desired re-payment. During the autumn of 1857 welcome remittances of fifty lakhs in cash were received from Bombay by steamers on the Indus. After the fall of Delhi, communications with the Lower Provinces were opened. Bills again began to be drawn, and thus lakhs of rupees flowed into the Treasuries. By the close of 1858 all arrears of pay were discharged.¹⁶²

Even after the Mutiny financial difficulties continued to plague the Government of India.¹⁶³ The grants to the Punjab Government were therefore for successive years reduced to the lowest possible limit. Yet by 1870 the Punjab made rapid advance in wealth and prosperity. Cultivation and population increased at a faster ratio than perhaps any other part of India. All the appliances of a modern administration such as Jails, Courts, Schools, Public Works etc. were far from having an adequate supply.¹⁶⁴

In 1871 the scheme of the Government of India to divest itself of the immediate financial control of certain departments and services came into operation.¹⁶⁵ To inaugurate this scheme the Punjab Government received a special grant of Rs. 2,35,210 while the annual grant for the Provincial Services was fixed at Rs. 53,18,000. Anything required in excess of this sum was to be made up by Provincial taxation.¹⁶⁶ Since these Imperial assignments were insufficient, it at once became necessary to supplement them by special legislation. The Local Rates Act received the assent of the Governor General on 20th June, 1871 and it enabled

162. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157, No. in the List 365, para 82.

163. Strachey, John, *India—its administration and progress*, (London, 1908), pp. 111-112.

164. PAR (1875-76), para 66.

165. PAR (1871-72), para 346.

166. *Idem*, para 347.

the Punjab Government to levy rates on land not exceeding 6 per cent of its annual value.¹⁶⁷ This local taxation together with local funds, such as the road and school cesses effected much improvement in the way of education and communication. But yet this taxation was not sufficient to adequately supplement the Imperial assignments or meet the numerous and ever increasing wants of a Province like the Punjab. The principle of fixed assignments for growing charges therefore seemed to the Punjab Government to be one which could not logically be maintained without some modification. This principle "bound a living body to a corpse" or "compelled a man to remain in clothes which only fitted him when a child."¹⁶⁸

Thus we see that in view of a clear cut policy of the Government of India the Punjab Government could not have any financial policy of its own. Like other Provinces the Punjab was entirely dependant on the Government of India of which it was a collecting agency. It had to do what it was ordered by its superiors. Hence all the credit or blame emanating from the pursuit of such a financial policy was that of the Government of India and not of the Punjab administration.

167 *Idem*, para 348.

168. PAR (1875-76), paras 66-67.

Kāca Problem — A Re-examination

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Kāca coins are undoubtedly amongst the most enigmatic ones in the whole series of Gupta gold coins. Despite Allan's strong assertion that the coins are to be attributed to Samudragupta¹ the question still remains very much open and merits re-consideration. It can hardly be any longer seriously contested that Kāca belonged to the Gupta dynasty. Even if we set aside the striking similarity of the Kāca coins with the early Gupta gold coinage, the evidence of Bayana hoard alone is enough to settle at least this aspect of the Kāca problem. The large Bayana hoard of 1821 coins, in fact the largest yet discovered in the country, contains not a single piece which does not belong to the Imperial Guptas.² This should now be regarded as finally settled.³

But the crux of the problem is not whether we are to attribute Kāca to Gupta dynasty or not; it is to find a place for him in the Gupta genealogy. At the moment three theories hold the field: (I) that Kāca is identifiable with Samudragupta,⁴ (II) that

1. Allan, J.—*Catalogue of The Coins in the British Museum, Gupta Dynasty and Śaśānka (B.M.C.G.D.S.)*. Introduction p. XXXII.

2. Altekar, A. S.—*Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard (Bayana Hoard)*. Introduction.

3. Curiously enough Dr. Altekar, the editor of *Bayana Hoard*, though on the whole he accepts the Kāca coin to be a Gupta coin, still believes in "the possibility of Kācha being a king not belonging to the Gupta dynasty and challenging its supremacy sometime after the death of Candragupta I and before the accession of Candragupta II". Altekar, *Bayana Hoard* pp. LXXV-LXXVI. This excessive scepticism is not necessary.

4. The view was originally propounded by Fleet J; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (CII)*, Vol. III, p. 27. It was supported by Smith; *J.R.A.S.* 1889, pp. 75-76, Allan; *BMCGDS*, p. XXXII and Dr. Raychoudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India (PHAI)*, Sixth Edition, p. 533 etc.

Kāca was a rival brother of Samudragupta who contested his succession,⁵ and (III) that Kāca was Rāmagupta,⁶ Samudragupta's successor. Repeated volte-face of scholars like V. Smith⁷ and Altekar⁸ would give us an idea of how knotty the problem is. The old view that Kāca was probably Ghatōtkaca,⁹ the father of Chandragupta I is now rejected almost unceremoniously by the scholars on the subject.¹⁰ This opinion does not seem to deserve such a cursory dismissal. A considerable case can be made for at least partially reviving the old theory. Altekar's opinion that "Ghatotkacha was a mere feudatory and could hardly have issued any coins"¹¹ is far from certain. The application of the humble title of *mahārāja* is no sure proof of feudatory status. Independent kings of considerable power are known to have been content with this modest appellation.¹² The assumption of grandiloquent titles was yet to become fashionable among Hindu kings.¹³ That Ghatōtkaca was a king of some consequence is suggested by the Vākātaka inscriptions of Prabhāvatī which begin the genealogy of the Gupta monarchs with the name of Ghatōtkaca.¹⁴ One is

5. Suggested originally by Rapson. See Smith; *I.A.*, Vol. XXXI, 1902, p. 260, Smith supported it in *JRAS*, 1893, p. 95 but later gave it up. Also see Rev. Heras; *ABORI*, Vol. IX, (1927-28), pp. 83-89 and P. L. Gupta; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. X.

6. Bhandarkar, D. R.; *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 189; Altekar, *JNSI*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 131-36. Later, however, in *Bayana Hoard*, p. LXXV, Altekar came to modify his view and wrote "After the discovery of Copper Coin of Rāma Gupta in 1951 in Mālwa, the most plausible view to suggest is that Kācha was probably an elder brother of Samudragupta who successfully contested his throne for some time'.

7. For Smith's different views see *JRAS* 1889, pp. 75-76. *JRAS* 1893, p. 81, *JRAS* 1897, p. 19, *I.A.* 1902, p. 259 and *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta (IMC), Vol. I, p. 96.

8. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, pp. 131-36; *Bayana Hoard*, p. LXXV, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 78-87.

9. *JASB*, XXIV, pp. 487-89; *JASB* LIII, Pt. I: p. 169-71, *Arch. Surv. West Ind.* II, p. 36.

10. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 79.

11. Altekar—*Bayana Hoard*, p. LXXV.

12. Leaving aside the earlier Maurya and Sunga dynasties etc we also find powerful kings of Vākātaka, Bhāraśiva and Māgha dynasties assuming the simple title of *Mahārāja*. Buhler; *Ind. Ant.* XII, p. 239 ff; Fleet; *CII*, p. 236 ff, Sahni; *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, p. 160 etc.

13. *Allahabad Univ. Studies*, Ancient History Section 1983-84, n. 64 ff.

14. Pathak, K. B. and Dikshit, K. N.; *Ep. Ind.* XV, p. 41 ff, Gupta,

tempted to argue that Ghatōtkaca was the first prominent ruler of the dynasty. He was surely a more important ruler than his predecessor.

Coming to an analysis of Kāca coins, the first thing that strikes one is their similarities with the coins of Samudragupta. The reverse of the *aśvamedha*, tiger-slayer and battle-axe types of coins of Samudragupta is closely similar to that of Kāca coins, while the obverse of the latter seems to be a minor variation of the obverse of the standard type of coins of Samudragupta. Then the obverse legend is but a paraphrasing of the legend of the archer type of coins of Samudragupta. The points have been so well emphasised by a number of scholars¹⁵ that these hardly need repetition. We might also remember here that in the Tanda hoard, out of the twenty-five coins, except the two coins of Candragupta I the rest belonged to the *aśvamedha* and battle-axe types of Samudragupta and to Kāca.¹⁶ Significantly enough all these three types, *aśvamedha*, battle axe and Kāca, as far as the reverse design is concerned, have a remarkable family likeness. Granting Altekar's argument¹⁷ that similarities of design and legend are not necessary proofs of the identity of issuer, we may point out that circumstantial evidences and the law of probability very strongly indicate that the Kāca coins were issued by Samudragupta.

The case for Samudragupta becomes immeasurably stronger by the occurrence of the *biruda* 'Sarvarājochchhettā' on the reverse. The epithet has been used for Samudragupta in at least five Gupta inscriptions¹⁸ and for Samudragupta alone. This quite securely establishes the fact that the issuer of the coin was Samudragupta. Such a weighty argument cannot be brushed aside by assuming that 'Exterminator of all kings' was an empty *biruda* of a predecessor,¹⁹ presumably a brother of Samudragupta who ruled for a

Y. R., *JRASB* (NS) XX 58 ff. The passage in question was translated wrongly by the original editors, see Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 412, n. 3.

15. Smith; *JRAS*, 1889, pp. 75-76, Allan; *BMC GDS*, p. XXXII, etc.

16. Allan; *Op. Cit.*, p. CXXVIII; Smith; *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 259.

17. Altekar; *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 80-81.

18. Fleet; *CII Mathura* No. 4, *Bhilsad* No. 10, *Bihar* No. 12, *Bhitari* No. 13 and *Spurious Gaya Plate* No. 60; Smith; *Ind. Ant.* 1902, p. 259.

19. Heras; *ABORI*, Vol. IX (1927-28), p. 87.

short while and that the *biruda* was adopted by Samudragupta from his brother and later by his victories he gave substance to it.

Yet it is extremely difficult to identify Kāca with Samudragupta. R. D. Banerjee writes "But up to this time coins of the same Gupta king bearing two different names in addition to the *biruda* or the *āditya*-name have not been discovered. The established practice of the Gupta coins is to put the real name of the king on the margin of the obverse or at the foot of the royal figure in a vertical line and his *birudas* on the reverse or elsewhere. All different types of the coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta show the actual name of the king on the obverse either in the margin or at the foot of the royal figure on gold coins. Regarded in this light the group of extremely rare gold coins bearing the name of Kācha are either issues of some other prince of that name or memorial medals struck by Samudragupta for a relative of that name".²⁰ Here I think is the clue to our riddle—the reverse strongly suggesting the coin to be an issue of Samudragupta and the obverse pointing out with equal strength that Kāca is distinct from Samudragupta. The riddle, however, disappears if we take the coin to be a memorial medal struck by Samudragupta. This at the moment seems to be the only reasonable solution of the question of attribution.

This is but the half of the problem. Even if we accept the thesis that the Kāca coins are commemorative medals the question of the identity of Kāca still remains. Fortunately, however, we have got a rare and unique piece of Kāca coin from Bayana hoard which contains the key to the question. The coin is described by Altekar as variety B. "Variety B which is disclosed by the present hoard, for the first time, bears a general resemblance to variety A, but it shows slightly greater Indianisation. The king on the obverse wears a *dhoti* instead of the Kushana trousers. The object in his left hand is most probably a *chakradhvaja* rather than an ordinary standard, as in variety A. The goddess on the reverse holds a noose instead of a flower. The most striking feature of this variety is the presence of *garudadhvaja* on the

20. *The Age of Imperial Guptas*, pp. 8-9.

obverse which is absent in variety A".²¹ The presence of both *cakradhvaja* and *garuḍadhvaja* is indeed highly significant. *Garuḍadhvaja* proves beyond doubt that Kāca was a member of the Gupta family. It is remarkable that in the Mahābhārata, Ghaṭōtkaca, the son of Bhīma by Hidimbā is given as his insignia exactly these two standards, the *Cakradhvaja*²² and *Garuḍadhvaja*.²³ This striking parallel is too strong to be disregarded. It revets the citadel of the old theory that Kāca is the abbreviated form of Ghaṭōtkaca with remarkable strength.

The next question to be decided is whether the name of Ghaṭōtkaca could be shortened into Kāca. The difficulties in the way are not as insuperable as they appear. The king's name is spelt on these coins both as Kāca and Kaca with more or less equal frequency. Out of the sixteen coins of the Bayana hoard seven give the name in vertical legend as Kāca and nine as Kaca.²⁴ The variety B piece in the Bayana hoard has the name of the king on the obverse spelt as Kaca and not Kāca. Similarly in Smith's catalogue²⁵ out of the two coins one gives the name as Kāca and the other as Kaca. It cannot therefore really be claimed indubitably that the name of the king was Kāca and not Kaca. Kaca can very well be the truncated form of Ghaṭōtkaca as we find that on a number of Kumaragupta's coins simply 'Ku' is written for Kumaragupta.²⁶ But why is it that on certain coins the name is given as Kāca? A probable reason for this distortion is the exigency of metre. The obverse legend *Kāchogamo* etc. is composed in *Upagīti* metre²⁷ and the demands of the metre made it necessary to extend the name from Kaca to Kāca, to add medial ā (long vowel) to the name. Thus there is no really formidable objection to identify Kāca or Kaca with Ghaṭōtkaca.

In the light of the above facts there is enough ground for believing that Kāca or Kaca coins were struck by Samudragupta

21. Altekar; *Bayana Hoard*, p. LXIII-LXXIV, 66-67, pl. VII.11.

22. Mahābhārata; *Drona Parva*, Ch. 23, 76.

23. *Ibid.*, 31; Dikshitar, V. R. R., *War in Ancient India*, p. 372.

24. Altekar; *Bayana Hoard*, p. 62-67, pl. VI-VII.

25. *Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum*, p. 100; Also see *JRAS*, 1893, p. 95-96.

26. Altekar; *Bayana Hoard*, p. 224 ff., pl. XX.

27. Altekar; *Bayana Hoard*, p. 62.

in commemoration of his grandfather. It might not be out of context here to point out that in Gupta history we often find the same name or *biruda* or some other common features shared between grandfather and grandson. Candragupta I's grandson Candragupta II was christened after him. Similarly Kumara-gupta II of 154 G E was either a son of Skandagupta or Puru-gupta. At any rate he must have been a grandson of Kumara-gupta I.²⁸ Skandagupta styled himself as Vikramāditya²⁹ in imitation of his famous grandfather. Kumaragupta I following his grandfather performed an *aśvamedha* sacrifice and issued coins celebrating it closely following the model of Samudragupta.³⁰ The tiger slayer type,³¹ the rare lyrist type³² of Kumaragupta recall the same types of his grandfather. Is it entirely improbable that Samudragupta had a second name Ghaṭōtkaca after his grand-father?

The coin would remarkably agree with the known types of commemorative medals of Indo-Bactrian kings. The person commemorated is mentioned on the obverse and the commemora-tor's name or *biruda* given on the reverse. This was the practice followed by Agathocles, Antemachos Theos³³ and Eucratides³⁴ (commemorating his parents Heliokles and Laodike). The only possible objection to the theory of commemoration is that we do not find any other instance of this practice among Hindu kings.³⁵ But it may be pointed out that this practice might have been borrowed by Samudragupta from Graeco-Kushan numismatic

28. Sinha, B. P., *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 64.

29. Allan; *Op. Cit.*, pp. 117, 122 cf. Fleet, C. II, p. 53, Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (Sixth Edition), p. 577.

30. Allan; *Op. Cit.*, p. 68, pl. XII, Nos. 13, 14. British Museum pieces show some departure from Samudragupta's type but specimens showing closer imitation of Samudragupta's types were discovered from Bayana Hoard. Altekar; *Bayana Hoard*, p. CVIII, pl. XXX, Nos. 11-12.

31. Smith; *JRAS*, 1893, p. 124; Allan; *Op. Cit.*, p. 81. Altekar; *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 190.

32. Altekar; *Bayana Hoard*, p. CX, pl. XXXI, Nos. 4-5.

33. Gardner, P.; *The Coins of the Greeks and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, etc., p. XXVIII, Pl. IV, 1, 3; XXX, 5, 6; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1882, p. 184.

34. Gardner; *Op. Cit.*, p. XXIV, 19, Pl. VI. 9-10.

35. Altekar; *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 82.

tradition. We find on his coins a number of foreign elements which were "contrary to Hindu canons of propriety".³⁶ Moreover in the Gupta coin series we find a number of unique types which do not have a successor or exact parallel e.g., battle-axe type of Samudragupta, couch type and *cakravikrama* type³⁷ of Candragupta II, elephant-rider-lion-slayer type,³⁸ rhinoceros-slayer type³⁹ and *apratigha* type⁴⁰ of Kumaragupta. Thus the absence of any other instance of similar practice among Hindu kings is not an irrevocable proof against the theory.

In the light of above considerations we may be allowed to conclude that Kāca or Kaca coins were commemorative medals issued by Samudragupta in memory of his grandfather Ghatōtkaca.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

37. Altekar; *Bayana Hoard*, p. XCI, Pl. XVIII, 14.

38. *Ibid.*, p. CVI, Pl. XXX, 1-4.

39. *Ibid.*, p. CVII, Pl. XXX, 5-8.

40. *Ibid.*, p. CX. Pl. XXXI, 6-13.

* I am profoundly indebted to my teacher Shri J. S. Negi, Reader, Allahabad University, in many more ways than I can express, for this paper. My attention to the Mahābhārata—description of Ghatōtkaca's standards was drawn by him.

Repercussions of the Vernacular Press Act, 1878

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The Indian press in the nineteenth century was, in the main, a middle class press. The middle class nationalist leaders felt the efficacy of newspapers as an instrument of political propaganda and most of them edited or owned newspapers or periodicals, or at least were closely associated with some of them. In the heyday of British imperialism, they manifested tremendous courage in censuring the alien government for its acts of omission and commission, with the result that some of them, viz, — Surendranath Banerjea and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, had to suffer imprisonment. A leading public man in those days was also a leading journalist.¹

From time to time, the British Government in India tried to muzzle the freedom of the press. The Act which created the greatest stir in the Indian newspaper world in the last century, was "An Act for the better control of Publications in Oriental Languages", commonly known as the Vernacular Press Act, passed during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. On 13 March, 1878, the Governor General of India sent a telegram to Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, seeking his approval for the immediate introduction of a bill in the Imperial Legislative Council as "the language of the Vernacular Press, at all times mischievous, is specially dangerous now", and "directly provocative to rebellion".² The approval was received on the same day and on the day following the Vernacular Press Act (Act No. IX of 1878) was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in a single sitting without any dissentient voice.

1. Apart from political leaders, some eminent literateurs and social reformers like Rommohun Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Tagore edited for some years some well-known journals of the nineteenth century.

2. *Parliamentary Papers*, Volume 57, Paper C 2940, 1878, House of Commons, p. 437.

The Vernacular Press Act, though primarily aimed at Vernacular newspapers, covered a wide range. It was framed on the model of the Irish Coercion Act of 1870. The Act empowered a District Magistrate or a Commissioner of Police, within the local limits of whose jurisdiction any newspaper was printed or published, call upon its printer and publisher to give a bond not to print or publish anything which might excite disaffection to the Government or antipathy among persons of different castes, religions, races or sects (Section 3). When any bond was executed the said Magistrate or Commissioner might ask the printer or publisher to deposit the amount of the bond in money or in Government securities (Section 4). No bond or deposit would however be required on his giving an undertaking to submit all articles to an officer of the local Government before publication for his approval (Section 5). In case an article was published in violation of the aforesaid provisions of the Act, the printing press, machinery, types, lithographic stones, paper and other implements, materials etc. used or intended to be used for the purpose of printing such newspaper and all copies of such newspapers and any money or securities which the printer or publisher might have deposited under the provisions of Section 4 were to be forfeited to Her Majesty (Section 8). In addition to newspapers, if any book, pamphlet, placard, broad-sheet or other document contained any seditious writing, its printer and publisher would share the same fate (Section 10). They were also liable to be punished with imprisonment which might extend to six months, or with fine, or with both (Sections 17 and 18). Further, the Government reserved to itself the right to proscribe newspapers, books, pamphlets etc., printed outside British India, which contained matters described in Section 3 (Section 11 and 14). The Act came into force on the 14 March, 1878, throughout British India except Madras, because the Duke of Buckingham, the Madras Governor, in his Minute, dated 31 January, 1878, spoke emphatically against the introduction of such a measure. In his opinion the existing laws in the Penal Code gave ample powers to the State to deal with sedition.³ Nine members of the Legislative Council spoke on the bill and all of them felt that it was necessary.⁴ It appears from Lord Lytton's

3. *Ibid*, p. 488.

4. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council, 1878*. pp. 159-73.

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speech that "danger to the Empire was the dominant thought in his mind".⁵ The progress of the Russo-Turkish War had been carefully observed in India. The Viceroy quoted excerpts from the Vernacular press which predicted that Englishmen would be driven out of India by Russia.^{5a} In his opinion, the native press was undermining the British authority in India.^{5b}

The Vernacular Press Act made an unpopular administration more unpopular. That the sword of Damocles was hanging over their heads was not unknown to Indian newspapermen. They had expressed their apprehension in their address to the Viceroy on the eve of the Delhi *Durbar* of 1877 and had hoped that the Liberty of the press would not be curbed.⁶ Not only were their hopes now shattered, but the manner in which the Act was passed took them by surprise. The usual method was, when a bill was introduced into the Council, to refer it to a Select Committee. It was also published in the Government Gazette, so that the public might get an opportunity of discussing the merits of the proposed measure. Nothing of the kind was done in the case of the Vernacular Press Act. The educated community of India in general, and of Bengal in particular, took it as an affront, and lost no time to voice their protest against the Act. To them, it was perfectly uncalled for at a time of profound peace. "Was the empire in a state of siege? Were the bloodhounds of war running rampant over the country? Did rebellion raise its gory head in any part of the peninsula?" asked the *Hindoo Patriot*.⁷

On 16 March, 1878, only two days after the passing of the Act, while speaking at a meeting of the Student's Association in Calcutta Medical College, Surendra Nath Banerjea warned the Government that it was greatly mistaken if it really believed that by hastily carrying the Bill, it would avoid agitation. "There will be an agitation," he observed, "on a vast, extensive scale, commensurate with the greatness of the occasion and the impor-

5. Lady Betty Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876 to 1880*; (London, 1899), p. 513.

5a. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council, 1878*, p. 178.

5b. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

6. S. N. Banerjea, *A Nation in Making* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 55.

7. *Hindoo Patriot*, March 18, 1878.

tance of the subject.”⁸ He moreover declared that he would cheerfully bear his humble share in this great national work.

The contention of the Government of India that the seditious writings in the native press might spread sedition among the masses and provoke rebellion, could hardly be convincing. There were about this time nearly 170 papers in Indian languages in the whole of British India with about 100,000 readers, and the highest circulation of the most popular journal was in the neighbourhood of 3000.⁹ In a land of 200 millions, the bulk of the population was absolutely unaffected by the native press propaganda. “We have not yet reached that state of blessedness, devoutly to be wished for, when the Bengal ploughman may be seen ploughing with one hand and holding the *Sulav Samachar* in the other.”¹⁰ Even Sir Richard Temple, when Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, observed that the Vernacular press had little or no influence on the majority of the people who were agriculturists and day labourers.¹¹ Reading of newspapers was thus confined to the educated few, a majority of whom, whatever grievances they might have against the Government, did not desire the end of the British rule.

As to the seditious writings of the Vernacular press, Sir Richard Temple observed, “My general conclusion is decidedly favourable in respect to the loyalty and goodwill of the Bengali press towards the British Crown and nation, and towards British rule in the main.”¹² Even Temple’s immediate predecessor, Sir George Campbell, whom the Bengali press did not spare for a single moment, wrote in his *Bengal Administration Report* for 1872-73 that “on the whole the spirit of the Bengalee press is not really bad.”¹³ There were of course, some Vernacular papers

8. *Speeches of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee*, 1876-80, edited by Ram Chandra Palit, (Calcutta, 1880); p. 57. ‘If measure becomes an accomplished fact, it will probably be accepted with far less objection than if it had formed subject of previous discussion,” wrote Lytton to Salisbury on 13 March 1878. *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 57, Paper C. 2040; 1878, H.C ; p. 437.

9. Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press*, (London, 1940); p. 276.

10. S. N. Banerjee, *Speeches*, p. 10.

11. *Bengal Administration Report* for 1874-75, p. 481. Temple was the Lt. Governor of Bengal from 1874-77.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

13. *Bengal Administration Report* for 1872-73, p. 51. In his letter to the Government of India, dated 7 August, 1873, Campbell, however, drew

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which at times wrote wildly against the measures and policies of the Government, but they had practically no influence in the country and their circulation was extremely limited. To place restrictions on the whole body for the sake of a few did not seem justified. "The British Lion should not have been thrown into excitement by the buzzing of a few 'gnats,'" observed a leading journal.¹⁴ The Act "reminds one of the oriental proverb — moving the cannon to crush the mosquito", wrote another.¹⁵

In England, the Act was received with mixed feelings. "It is an undoubted fact that in nineteen cases out of twenty the Native editors express themselves, as regards at least the essentials of administration, in a manner most loyal to the paramount Power."¹⁶ The action of the India Government was thus strongly condemned by the *Daily News*, *Spectator*, *Home News* and *The Echo* while *The Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Standard*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *the Globe* and others supported it. Those who were in favour of the measure thought that the Government of India must be the best judge of such matters. Those who opposed it were of the opinion that no discretion could make confiscation without trial and without hearing the defence just, or render it expedient to place any press at the mercy of individual officials.¹⁷

Meanwhile, Lord Salisbury had been succeeded by Lord Cranbrook as Secretary of State for India. The Act was severely criticised on the 30 and 31 May, 1878 by three prominent members of the India Council, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir William Muir and Col. H. Yule. While all the three condemned strongly the hurried manner in which the bill had been passed into law because they felt that there was absolute tranquillity at the time throughout India, Perry was particularly critical of the fact that the Secretary of State's Council had had no opportunity at all previously

the former's attention to the excesses of the Bengali press (*Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 57, Paper C. 2040; 1878, H.C., p. 470) but when the V.P. Act was passed, he expressed his great surprise that the measure had been passed in so rapid and unprecedented manner. (*Hansard*, House of Commons, March 19, 1878; Vol. 238; p. 1605).

14. *Bengalee*, March 16, 1878.

15. *Hindoo Patriot*, March 18, 1878.

16. T. H. S. Escott, *Pillars of the Empire*, (London, 1879). p. 139.

17. *Bengalee*, April 20, 1878.

of considering the proposals.¹⁸ The average tenure of office of a Secretary of State, he pointed out, did not amount to three years.¹⁹ It was only in some body like the Council of India that any knowledge of the previous policy of the India Government could be found. The Act was "injurious to the future progress of India, and inconsistent with all our past policy."²⁰ This retrograde measure was thus a glaring example of the evils of governing India by telegraphic communications between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, he argued.²¹ Muir also observed that, "a despotic law of the kind is only to be justified by some imminent risk or danger (as in 1857), and then only as an exceptional and temporary measure."²² But "India was never quieter or more secure; and even under the pressure of new taxation, was never more amenable to the Imperial power."²³

The majority of the members of the Secretary of State's Council, however, voted in favour of the bill²⁴ and accordingly in his Despatch of 31 May, 1878 to the Government of India, Lord Cranbrook gave his assent to the Act but he objected to Section 5 which allowed the printer and publisher to avoid the necessity of depositing security by submitting their proofs to a censorship on the ground that looking to the variety of languages in India, the censors would have to be natives of India, and that they would, in fact, have to write the newspapers. "Such a system", he wrote, "might give rise to great abuses."²⁵ Lord Cranbrook, moreover, sounded a note of warning. "No criticism of Government or its measure", he further wrote, "should be discouraged if there is reason to think that it has been dictated by an honest desire for improvement. All the most experienced Indian administrators

18. *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 57, Paper C. 2077; 1878; H.C., p. 414.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 414. In the twenty years that had elapsed since the passing of the Act of 1858, there were seven Secretaries of State for India.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 413. The reference made here is to the policy adopted in 1835 of removing all restrictions from the press, native as well as English.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

24. Ayes, 10; Noes, 3.

25. Cranbrook to Lytton, dated 31 May, 1878. *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 57, Paper, C. 2040; 1878; H.C., p. 517. To give effect to this suggestion, a fresh bill was passed in the Supreme Legislature on 16 October, 1878, deleting the censorship clause (Act XVI of 1878).

have felt that the great difficulty of Indian administration is the difficulty of ascertaining facts of social condition and political sentiment; and the vernacular press has always been considered one valuable means of getting at these facts. . . . Open or covert exhortations to disaffection cannot be allowed to be addressed to an excitable population, but mere censure of the officers or of the measures of Government, even if captious, ought not to be repelled. . . . Neither European nor native officials should be encouraged to exhibit too great sensitiveness, even under unreasonable blame."²⁶ This Despatch of Lord Cranbrook is particularly important, it not only paid indirectly tributes to the Vernacular press for supplying the authorities with valuable information, but it also advised the Government of India to have recourse to the Act only in cases of extreme necessity. Since June 1878, i.e., after the receipt of the Despatch, there was a definite set-back in the enthusiasm of the authorities in India to deal with the Vernacular press under the new Act.

In the British Parliament too, the Vernacular Press Act came under fire. The Irish Member of Parliament, F. H. O'Donnell was the first to record his protest against the Act. "The sort of criticism published in the Indian papers," he observed, "was very much like that published in the English papers with respect to English administration."²⁷ The act might open the door to a system of official terrorism over natives, he apprehended.²⁸ On 23 July, 1878, Gladstone introduced into the House of Commons a motion which proposed that Her Majesty the Queen should "give directions that all proceedings which may be taken by the authorities under the Indian Vernacular Press Act be reported to the Secretary of State and laid before Parliament from time to time."²⁹ This harmless resolution was defeated in Parliament,³⁰ but it led to a lengthy debate in which several prominent members expressed their indignation at the conduct of the Government of India.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 517.

27. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 238, *House of Commons*, 19 March, 1878; p. 1599.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 1598.

29. *Parliamentary Debates*, 23 July, 1878; Vol. 242, *House of Commons*, p. 66.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 127; Ayes 152; Noes 208; Majority, 56.

They could not see any justification for the invidious distinction between the English and the Vernacular press. As Gladstone pointed out, under the Act, a man could publish an article in English, but the same article, when translated into one of the Indian languages, might draw upon his head the resentment of the Government.³¹ He dismissed the extracts from the Vernacular papers which had been forwarded to the Secretary of State as "double-distilled trash."³² Looking at the same extracts, George Campbell observed that "they were not worse than what was written in his time."³³ Rather, he thought, if there was any difference between the two, the papers published in English were by far the most outspoken and licentious of the two.³⁴ O'Donnell's main objection to the Act was its comprehensiveness. Section 10 of the Act included in its scope not only newspapers and periodicals, but every work of literature which might appear to the Government to contain passages likely to excite dis-affection. "It could only be by the grace of the Governor that any political publication could exist."³⁵ He drew the attention of the House to a case in which a history of the Sepoy War in the Vernacular had been stopped by the publisher's unwillingness to run the risk.³⁶

In the meanwhile, the Indian leaders were not sitting idle. True to his words, Surendranath Banerjea, with his Indian Association, organised a protest meeting on 17 April, 1878 at the Calcutta Town Hall. Intimations had been sent to political associations of other provinces and encouraging letters were received from the Bombay Association, the Cawnpore Association, the Allahabad Indian Association, the Seetabuldee Native Club, etc. Messages sympathising with the object of the meeting were sent by V. N. Mandalik, Pherozechah Mehta, Muhammad Ali Rogay and editors of several Vernacular newspapers.³⁷ There was about 5000 men present. In the words of Surendranath Banerjea, the archi-

31. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

36. *Ibid.* Rajanikanta Gupta could not find a printer to publish his *Sipahi Juddher Itihas* in Bengali. (*Bengalee*, 2 Nov. 1878).

37. *Bengalee*, 20 April, 1878; B. C. Pal, *Memoirs of My life and Times I*, (Calcutta, 1932), pp. 288-89.

test of the meeting, it was "the first great political demonstration of the middle class community in Bengal."³⁸ In spite of the opposition and non-cooperation of the wealthier classes, the landlords, and the British Indian Association, the meeting proved to be a great success. "It sounded the death-knell of the Vernacular Press Act" and marked a definite and progressive stage in national evolution."³⁹ Besides Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose, those who participated in the deliberations of the meeting were Rashbehary Ghose, Kalicharan Banerjea, Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Gurudas Banerjee and some others. Though not very well-known at the time, all of them in later years distinguished themselves in various spheres of public life. Five resolutions were passed unanimously at the meeting. It placed on record its opinion that the Act was calculated to restrain the legitimate freedom of discussion which the Vernacular press had so long enjoyed, to produce the very evils of popular discontent which it was intended to prevent, to arrest the development of oriental literature, and thus to deal a serious blow to the cause of native progress (Resolution I).⁴⁰ Resolution II drew attention to the fact that the Vernacular Press Act was opposed to the interests of justice as it altogether dispensed with the usual safeguards of judicial investigation, and substituted, in their place, the discretionary authority of executive officers.⁴¹ Under the new Act, the accused was given no opportunity to go to judicial courts to defend himself. "Why should the Government distrust the very courts, which it has appointed to deal out justice between man and man" asked the *Hindoo Patriot*.⁴² Gladstone also said in Parliament that the most unfortunate feature in the Act was the removal of press prosecutions from the judicial establishments of the country.⁴³ In another resolution, the meeting regretted the undue haste with which the measure was carried through the Supreme Council, the public having been thereby denied the opportunity of discussing the provisions of the law which so vitally affected them (Resolution III).⁴⁴

38. S. N. Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, p. 57.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

40. J. C. Begal, *History of the Indian Association*, (Calcutta, 1953), p. 35

41. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

42. *Hindoo Patriot*, 18, March, 1878.

43. *Parliamentary Debates*, 23 July 1878; Vol. 242, H.C., p. 55.

44. Begal, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

A committee was formed at the meeting to prepare a memorial for presentation to the House of Commons, for the purpose of laying before the British public a correct representation of the state and character of the Vernacular press (Resolution IV).^{44a} Finally, the meeting conveyed its deep sense of gratitude to those members of Parliament who, on behalf of the unrepresented millions of India, had already expressed their resentment against the reactionary measure (Resolution V).^{44b} The memorial was prepared very soon and sent to Gladstone who presented it before the House of Commons on 23 July, 1878, when he moved his motion on the Vernacular Press Act.^{44c}

The Vernacular Press Act thus gave a spurt to the middle class Indian nationalism of the nineteenth century. *Brahmo Public Opinion* observed on the 25th of April, 1878, that the Town Hall meeting "marks an epoch in the social and political history of Bengal. It forbode much good for the future, augurs well for the part the Indian Association is destined to play in the political history of Bengal, and we may indeed say, of all India."⁴⁵ Immediately after the Civil Service agitation, the Vernacular Press Act convinced once more the educated community of the dire necessity of an all-India political organisation. To a considerable extent, the Indian Association fulfilled that necessity for the next few years until its leaders joined the Indian National Congress in 1886 in the larger interest of the country.

The Act had far-reaching effects in the Indian newspaper world. It stopped the publication of certain journals, transformed the character of a few, and caused the birth of some new ones. Immediately after the passing of the Act, the Government of Bengal, in its overzealousness to implement it, served notice, to execute bail bonds, on several periodicals, such as the *Sahachar*, and the *Sulava Samachar* of Calcutta, *Bharat Mihir* of Mymensing, the *Dacca Prakash* and the *Hindoo Hitoysini* of Dacca.⁴⁶ It is

44a. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

44b. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

44c. A second meeting was held in the same Town Hall on the 6 September, 1878, under the presidentship of Rev. K. M. Banerjee to thank Gladstone and other Members of Parliament who had condemned the V.P. Act.

45. Quoted in Bagal, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

46. S. N. Banerjee, *Speeches*, p. 106. Lt. Governor Ashley Eden "was a strong supporter of the Vernacular Press Act and had no love for a free

amusing to note, that the editor of the *Samaj Darpan*, which had ceased to exist months before the passing of the Act, also received a notice to enter into a bail bond for the good behaviour of his paper.⁴⁷ "To be or not to be—is the question of the hour with the vernacular press", observed the *Hindoo Patriot* on 29 April, 1878. Bihari Lal Chakravarti, an eminent Bengali poet and the publisher of the *Sahachar*, decided to stop publication of his journal, rather than execute the bail bond. The Act was applied against the *Soma Prakash* of Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan which also stopped publication. The twenty-year old *Soma Prakash* was the leading Vernacular paper in Bengal and it was mainly concerned with social reforms.⁴⁸ All this enthusiasm of the Government began to recede after Lord Cranbrook's Despatch of 31 May, 1878, was received. In place of *Soma Prakash*, *Navabibhakar*, a new journal, made its appearance in Bengal, while in Madras, a group of young men started a new English weekly, the *Hindu*, the first issue of which appeared on 20 September, 1878, and which very soon became the mouthpiece of the Indian public opinion in that part of the country.⁴⁹ The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta ceased to be a bilingual paper. Since 21 March, 1878, it began to appear as a full-fledged English weekly. In a way, the Vernacular Press Act proved to be a blessing in disguise for the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. From being a Bengal paper it soon attained an all-India status and till the end of the British rule in India, played a prominent part in the national movement. The Act had indirect adverse effects on certain Anglo-Indian newspapers, especially the *Pioneer*. The *Pioneer* always received the first information about Government policies through its close contact with Simla officials whom it paid enormous sums in lieu of their services. When the Act was passed, the *Pioneer* observed that the Government had not been a day too soon in checking the seditious Vernacular press. The Government would have been neglecting an urgent duty if it had any longer ignored the necessity for dealing with them.⁵⁰ As a sequel to the Vernacular Press Act, a new post of Press Com-

press, or free institutions', remarks Banerjea in his autobiography (*A Nation in Making*, p. 67).

47. S. N. Banerjea, *Speeches*, pp. 102-03.

48. It, however, resumed publication a year later.

49. S. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India*, (Bombay, 1962), p. 124.

50. *The Pioneer*, 18 March, 1878.

missioner was created in April, 1878, who was entrusted with the duty of supplying the press with accurate current information in respect of public measures. He was also to act as a channel of communication between the Government and the Indian press. With the establishment of the Press Bureau, the *Pioneer* lost its vantage position.⁵¹ Not only the *Pioneer*, but those highly paid officials who were now deprived of the handsome remuneration, became very indignant.⁵² When Lord Ripon decided in 1881 to abolish the Press Commissionership, about 124 newspapers petitioned to the Viceroy for its retention.⁵³ The *Pioneer* did not join them for obvious reasons.

The Vernacular Press Act illustrated once again the incapacity of the nominated non-official members in the Legislative Councils. The people realised that on vital questions affecting the whole nation, the non-official Indian members, nominated mostly from landed aristocracy, acted as mere puppets in the hands of the Government. Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore lent powerful support to the Vernacular Press Bill on 14 March, 1878; and again on 7 December, 1881, he extended equally powerful support to the bill which was introduced to repeal the Act. The demand for the election of non-official members to the legislative bodies therefore received further impetus. The British Indian Association, one of the influential members of which was J. M. Tagore, did not participate in the Town Hall meeting of 17 April, 1878. It thus became unpopular and its influence on the public began to wane. The Indian Association now came in the forefront of Indian political life and the gulf between the two went on widening, though during the Civil Service agitation, a year earlier, they had acted together.

The way the Government of India secured the consent of the Secretary of State for the introduction of the Press Bill in the

51. "Mr. E. Roper Lethbridge, Press Commissioner the First, has been solemnly unveiled, as if he were a statue of the late Prince Consort", wrote the *Pioneer* on 29 April, 1878. "Othello's Occupation's Gone!", retorted the *Hindoo Patriot*, 6 May, 1878.

52. Article by Roper Lethbridge in the *Journal of the East Indian Association*, 1914, Vol. V, Quoted in Barns, *op.cit.*, p. 291.

53. Barns, *op.cit.*, p. 292.

Legislative Council under the cloak of emergency gave rise to a good deal of criticism. Fear was expressed in Parliament that the Government of India was gradually becoming more independent of the Secretary of State and his Council.⁵⁴ We have already noted above that Erskine Perry was highly critical of this tendency on the part of the Government of India to flout the India Council through telegraphic communication with the Secretary of State. All members of the India Council except three, however, supported the Vernacular Press Act. The educated community of India found once more that whatever the authorities in India did against the interest of the people, the India Council would always give support to them. It is no wonder that only seven years later in the first session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay, a resolution was passed demanding the abolition of the India Council.⁵⁵ In moving the resolution S. H. Chiplonkar (of Poona) had observed, "The monstrous fiction that in the India Council India would and did find an institution to represent her and to jealously and efficiently watch her interests did at no time, and does not even now, deceive any one in India."⁵⁶

Was the Vernacular Press Act necessary? Lady Balfour has spared no pains to justify her father's measure.⁵⁷ Bipin Chandra Pal observes that it was a piece of panic legislation.⁵⁸ But the situation in India had not so deteriorated as to require such a drastic measure. In view of the limited circulation of the newspapers in that age, the bureaucratic fear of a rebellion, on account of seditious writings in the Vernacular press, seems untenable. True, some papers did criticise the Government measures, sometime with exaggeration too; but criticism of the Government did not really aim at undermining the British rule. Moreover, as Surendranath ably pointed out, extracts were often incorrectly or incompletely translated into English conveying altogether a different meaning from the original.⁵⁹

54. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 242; 23 July, 1878, p. 70.

55. "Resolved that this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms." (Resolution II).

56. *Report of the Indian National Congress*, 1885, p. 18.

57. Lady Balfour, *op.cit.*, pp. 521-23.

58. B. C. Pal, *op.cit.*, p. 290.

59. S. N. Banerjea, *Speeches*, pp. 103-05.

What was also incomprehensible was that Lytton and his advisers did not give Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code a fair trial which provided for punishing sedition. No editor of Vernacular papers was charged under its provisions. It was thought to be unworkable; in that case it could have been amended and improved, which was actually done two decades later after the murder of Rand and Ayerst at Poona (1897). Likewise, the provision in the Act against the creation of antipathy among persons of different races, castes or religions was hardly necessary. Section 298 of the Penal Code was amply sufficient to meet cases of exciting antipathy among different classes. The invidious distinction between the Vernacular press and English press, which wounded the feelings of the educated community in the country, was another example of official shortsightedness.

The Act was repealed by Lord Ripon on 19 January 1882.⁶⁰ It was never fully put into operation. Though notices had been served on certain journals to enter into bail bonds, no prosecution actually took place under the Act. The Act could not do any great harm to Vernacular press or literature. As no case was instituted under the Act, the apologists of Lytton's administration claim that it was a great success and that it had a beneficial influence upon the tone of the Vernacular press.⁶¹ But no legislative enactment can effect an immediate transformation in the character of people in any part of the world. As *Bengalee* observed on 2 November, 1878, "The Indian Penal Code has not yet made crimes things of the past in this country, though it has been in operation for nearly two decades." The real fact was that the countrywide agitation against the Act; Cranbrook's Despatch of the 31 May, 1878, Minutes of three influential members of the India Council, and finally the debate in British Parliament on 23 July, 1878 in which at least 152 members condemned the conduct of the Government of India—all this consigned the Vernacular Press Act into the lumber room.

The Vernacular Press Act thus practically remained a dead letter.

60. Gladstone was then Prime Minister in England.

61. C. E. Buckland, *Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors*, I' (Calcutta, 1901), p. 718.

The Training of Civil Servants under the Company

BY

DR. B. N. PURI

The consolidation of the Company's rule in India was bound sooner or later to raise the question of the proper selection and training of the junior civil servants. Since the Company's service was in its origin commercial in character, a good penmanship was all that was needed. On their appointment, usually between 15 and 18 years of age, the writers as they were called, proceeded straight away to join their posts in India without undergoing any period of probation or training. Warren Hastings had planned that the writers of the Company, after they had received their appointment to the service, should be permitted to stay a competent time to prosecute and complete their studies in the branches of European learning adding to them the Persian language in the University of Oxford.¹ The proposal did not receive any encouragement and had to be dropped altogether. In fact, no provision had been made, or even contemplated, before the arrival of Lord Wellesley for the regular training of the Company's civil servants in India, except that each writer or junior servant received a regular monthly sum of Rupees Thirty per month for a year from 1790 to engage a *munshi* for learning Persian. There was, however, no official test for ascertaining if the money was actually spent in acquiring knowledge in Persian. The Company's emphasis on trade and commerce, with the political aims confused at home, stood in the way of setting up an organised administrative machinery. In the words of Wellesley, "The state of administration of justice, and even of the collection of revenue throughout the provinces, affords a painful example of the inefficiency of the best code of laws to secure the happiness of the people, unless due

1. *Home Miscellaneous* 487 pp. 214-15. Earlier he had drawn a proposal for the establishment of a professorship of the Persian language in the University of Oxford, and presented printed copies of it to all the gentlemen who had the direction of the Company's affairs (*Ibid*, pp. 213-214).

provision has been made to ensure a proper supply of men qualified to administer these laws in their different branches and departments'.² The civil service according to him was peculiarly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial and political branches of the Government. Wellesley, therefore, sought to provide for the education of civil servants to meet the requirements of their territorial function in governing an extensive and populous empire.³ Men of merit and qualification who had undergone a systematic course of studies and had acquired useful knowledge, cultivated talents and well-ordered and disciplined morals, were needed as necessary instruments of a wise and well-regulated government.

Wellesley took the first step in December 1798, by appointing John Gilchrist, to give lessons to the junior civil servants in Persian and Hindustani regularly at the Writers building in Calcutta. He was paid out of the remuneration allowed to these junior servants at the rate of thirty rupees per month for a year. At the end of the year there was to be a formal test for ascertaining the progress made by the students and the proficiency attained by them.⁴ The next step was the foundation of the college of Fort William. Wellesley first elaborated his plan for a collegiate training in his famous minute of July 10, 1800. The Governor General in Council accordingly enacted a Regulation for establishing the College of Fort William which was opened in November

2. Martin *Wellesley's Despatches* ii pp. 336-37.

3. Wellesley declared imperialism as the aim of British rule and devised a plan for the regular flow of abilities and talents in the civil service as the best means to perpetuate that rule. To govern such an empire on a permanent basis, a succession of able magistrates, wise and honest judges and skilful statesmen, properly qualified to conduct the ordinary movements of the great machine of British rule in India was need. (Martin, *op.cit.*, ii, p. 339).

4. According to the notification of 21-12-1798, no civil servant could be nominated to certain offices of trust and responsibility until he was sufficiently acquainted with laws and regulations, and in several languages, requisite for the discharge of functions connected with that office. From 15 January 1801, no servant was eligible for any of the offices until he had passed an examination in the laws and regulations and in the languages, a knowledge of which was indispensable for such offices. I.O. *Bengal pub. Cons. No. 11*, pp. 709-13. Cf. B. B. Misra. *The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834—henceforth—Misra—The East India Company*, pp. 386.

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of that year. It enjoined every student nominated to the service to undergo a probationary period of training for three years in the college in the prescribed course of studies. The collegiate institution was set up for the purpose of enabling the servants of the Company to perfect themselves in those acquirements which form the necessary qualifications for the different lines of the service. This was expected to ensure a succession of men, equal to the support of the great interests of the Company and of the British natives in India.⁵

The college of Fort William was intended to promote a knowledge of oriental languages, maintain and uphold the Christian religion in India. Emphasis on religious education for the civil servants was in conformity with the views of the Court of Directors. It discouraged a spirit of luxury and dissipation. With the roping in of the junior civil servants from the other two Presidencies, uniformity in the standard of training and education was to be achieved. Wellesley also suggested that the ultimate destination of each student was to be determined in India under the authority of the government on the spot according to his inclination and requirements. Certain new features, politico-religious⁶ in character, were also incorporated in the extended plan of a collegiate education for the junior civil servants. Wellesley desired the college to fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and government in the minds of the writers at an

5. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 323. The observations with regard to the education and qualifications of young civil servants in Bengal for the conduct of civil government applied with equal force to those in other presidencies. Under instructions to Fort St. George of the 31 Dec. and the orders which were in contemplation to be issued to Bombay, the civil servants of these establishments were also to join the college at Fort William.

6. The object of this move was to counteract the influence of the French Revolution, and to save the Company from what was considered to be dangerous to the British Government. Wellesley in his minute of July 10, 1800 pointed out that during the convulsions with which the doctrines of the French Revolution have agitated the continent of Europe, erroneous principles of the same dangerous tendency had reached the minds of some individuals in the civil and military service of the Company of India, and the state as well of the political, as of religious opinions, had been in some degree unsettled. The progress of this mischief would at all times be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers (Martin *op. cit.*, ii, p. 346).

early period of life, thereby ensuring the best security which could be provided for the stability of the British power in India. The appointment of two clergy men of the Church of England to the offices of Provost and Vice-Provost, who were to supervise the conduct of students, ensured stress on religious and moral values. Rules were made to ascertain, besides ability, the religious and moral character of every servant before being declared eligible or fit enough for selection to higher and important posts. A common table for all the students living together under a single roof infused *esprit de corps* in the students. The religious and moral emphasis in education was supposed to discourage the spirit of luxury and dissipation which was on the increase, tending to enervate the mind, and impair nobler qualities, introducing a harmful emulation in expense by setting up false standards of merit and begetting an aversion to serious occupations.⁷

Besides an all-India character contemplated for the college by Wellesley, by bringing the civil servants from the other two Presidencies to Bengal in order to secure uniformity in the standard of their training, the Governor-General in his extended plan of July 10, 1800, incorporated new courses of studies. Regulation 9 of the same year provided for the establishment of several professorships. and regular lectures actually commenced in four branches of knowledge: Oriental language, Oriental laws and Ethics, Government Regulations, and European Studies.

Wellesley's plan was not approved⁸ in its entirety and the Court of Directors in a letter of January 27, 1802, ordered the

7. *Despatches to Bengal*, 25 May, 1798, para 7th, page 412. B. B. Misra, *op. cit.* p. 390.

8. The original scheme of the college of Fort William did not meet the approval of the Directors, very probably on financial grounds. Certain studies like the European one, as contemplated by Wellesley, could be pursued more conveniently in Europe than in India. The Court in its despatch of 1805 observed that the precipitate establishment of the college had too much the appearance of an intention to supersede the previous deliberation of the Court. The Directors declared their intention to resist every attempt by such indirect means to deprive them of that negative in the institution of measures not called for by immediate necessity, which the law for the most salutary purpose had left in their hands. *Home Miscellaneous* 486, pp. 54-55. The empowering of the Government on the spot to appoint the candidates, nominated by the Directors, to the different presidencies sub-

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abolition of the college of Fort William and sanctioned only a reduced establishment for teaching the country's language and the code of regulations. The plan of centralising the training was also disapproved by the Directors. In 1803, the Government of Fort St. George established a collegiate institution, providing for instruction to its civil servants in the languages of the province, besides Sanskrit, Hindustani, and Persian. There was, however, no appointment of European professors and the servicemen alone acted as examiners without any additional remuneration. The college at Fort William was accordingly reduced⁹ to a language school, retaining its old affiliation. This college, even in its truncated form made useful contribution in the field of language. Regular disputations, in classical languages,¹⁰ followed by cash rewards, and the development of Hindi and other languages,¹¹

ject to their successful completion of their studies at the college, seriously affected the patronage of the Court, implying the transfer of loyalty from London to Calcutta.

9. The office of Provost and Vice-Provost was discontinued. In 1814 the Court of Directors became its patrons, with the Governor-General as Visitor and the members of the Council as its Governors. The College Council consisting of a President and three or four members was drawn from the judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat at Calcutta. (Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 394).

10. The first Public Disputation was held on 6-2-1802. The subject for Persian one was—An Academic Institution in India is advantageous to the natives and the British Nation! that for Bengal was, 'The Asiatics are capable of as high a degree of civilization as the European'. For the Hindi, the subject was: 'The Hindi Language is the most generally useful in India (Thomas Roebuck—*The annals of the college of Fort William*). The importance of Hindi was well-realised. Several English books were translated into *Khari Bholi* or *Hindui*, *Brajhasha* and *Purbibhasha* which all constituted elements of a common language called Hindi. The knowledge of oriental law and philosophy of ethics and poetry, was translated into English from Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. (Ref. Roebuck's—*The Annals*, pp. 21-45, for the list of works produced by the college teachers). There was inducement to the study of Sanskrit in the shape of a cash reward of Rs. 5,000/- Roebuck, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

11. Till 1824, every student of the college was required to possess a competent knowledge of Persian and Bengali or Hindustani, as a qualifying test for entrance to the public service in Bengal. The College Council recommended in 1824 that in addition to Persian language every student in the college should be required to possess a competent knowledge of either Bengali or Brajhasha (also called *Thethi* or *Hindui*) in place of Hindustani which was approved by the Governor General in Council. (Ref. B. B. Misra,

Persian, Sanskrit and Hindustani (in Urdu script) might be regarded as the main features of this training institution. Students were expected to pass in two or more languages, and could as well attain proficiency in a third one. There were four terms in each year of two months each, followed by a month's vacation at the end of each term. There were two public examinations annually, and degrees were conferred. The students received an allowance of Rs. 300 a month without any allowance for the *Munshi*. Proper care was taken for attending the classes. Examples are cited of gentlemen whose attainments had been most conspicuous in the year and those whose attendance was most regular at college.¹² Reproof and punishment followed in cases of misconduct and wilful absence.¹³

The Directors viewed with distress the total want of due and proper restraint and discipline on the part of the junior servants residing at the Presidency. The Parliamentary Select Committee of 1832 reported that the college at Calcutta was a source of more debt than knowledge in the service.¹⁴ The extravagance on the

op. cit., p. 396 quoting. *Bengal Letters Received*, 30th Sept. 1824, para 69, App. (L) 17 to Select Committee Rep. 1832, *Parl Branch Col* 73, p. 607). It was not uncommon to attain proficiency in three or all the four languages. (Roebuck, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

12. Roebuck, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

13. The court has viewed with alarm, the spirit of luxury and dissipation in the Company's establishments. This tended to enervate the mind and impair its nobler qualities, introducing false standards of merit, hurtful emulation in expenses, and finally an aversion to serious occupations '(Despatches to Bengal 25th May, 1798, para 77, p. 412). In certain cases it was not uncommon for young men to leave the college with a debt of from Rs. 50,000/- to a lac of rupees. The students detained against their wish created mischief, and indulged in frivolous and expensive pursuits. In 1825, the College Council recommended certain measures for checking extravagance on the part of the students. Pecuniary embarrassments were made a serious bar to promotion. Provision was also made for providing temporary loan to those who on first arrival were unprovided; the stay was curtailed to eight months, and expensive recreations like hunting and racing were prohibited.

14. *Parliamentary Branch Collections*, 72, p. 24. The total gross expense during the years 1825-26, 26-27 and 27-28, including the rent of writer's buildings and the salary of the one hundred and fourteen students attending the college amounted to Rs. 7,54,865.1.1, the average per student coming to Rs. 6,621 per annum, including everything. (Details in *Home Miscellaneous Series No. 488 (I.O.R.)*, p. 523—Ref. Ghoshal. *Civil Service in India* p. 277).

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part of the students had to be curbed. Some deterrent punishment was needed and the college authorities suggested that extravagance and consequent indebtedness be made a serious bar to promotion. The stay in the college was also to be curtailed to eight months. The Government adopted these measures, and the writers were placed in 1829 under the superintendence of the Secretary to the Government, who exercised effective control over them. All professorships were abolished in 1830. The Directors were not in favour of the continuation of the college. It lingered on till 1854 when it was finally abolished.

The Haileybury College:—The East India Company College in Haileybury was the result of a couple of years of endeavour. The Court of Directors in their letter of January 27, 1802 while vetoing the scheme of Wellesley had expressed their opinion that the Company's servants should receive a liberal European education supplemented by oriental learning, and they had in view an institution at home for providing instruction in European subjects with greater facility than in India.¹⁵ The foundation of the college was actually laid on May 12, 1806. The Institute was given statutory status and stability in 1813 by the Charter Act of that year. Under section 46 of the Charter, the appointment of writers in India was made conditional on keeping four terms at the Haileybury College, according to its rules and regulations, and producing a certificate from the Principal to that effect. The first statutes and regulations of the College were framed in 1814 and enforced in 1816, although they were modified later on in some directions. The Committee of the College, drawn from the Court of Directors, was the superintending authority to see to the proper execution of the statutes and regulations together with the cur-

15. Ref. *Proceedings of the Court of Directors relating to the Haileybury College*, Vol. I, pp. 316. In a Draft despatch of 10 July 1803 the Court informed the Board of Control that it had in view the establishment of an institution at home designed to impart education in European subjects with facilities much greater than could be available in India. A representation from Canton received in a letter of 29 January 1804, proposed that in the interests of both the Company and the service, the period from 15-19 years of age might be profitably utilised in the completion of a regular course of studies at home, so that the writers could be ripe in experience with more love and attachment to the religion, law and constitution of their mother country.

rent business and affairs of the college on which they might from time to time issue orders. The immediate superintendence and execution rested with the college council consisting of the principal, the dean and professors.

Admission and Recruitment:—Admission to the college was made after the preliminary examination conducted by the India House. The nominees of the Directors alone were eligible for admission after taking papers in classics and arithmetic. Nominations had to be made two years ahead to provide for the requirements of a particular year. In 1825 it appeared that there was not a sufficient number of men qualified under the provisions of the Act of 1813 to fill the vacancies in the civil establishments of the presidencies. To meet this emergency the Court of Directors thought it best to dispense with the provisions of the said Act which required the attendance of four terms at the college from every person prior to his proceeding to India as a writer. This meant by-passing the Haileybury College. The Act of 1826 authorised the Directors to do so for three years.¹⁶ After April 10, 1834, the Court no longer availed themselves of the power under this Act, and Haileybury, once again, became the only source of supply of civil servants to the Company. The number of vacancies was to be determined by the Governor-General in Council, with the Board of Control having the right to reduce the number. The estimate as approved, was submitted to the Court of Directors who were to nominate youths within the age limits of 17 and 20, amounting to four times the number of vacancies announced. Those qualified on the basis of the results of the final examination were to be nominated for vacancies in the civil establishments, with their seniority determined according to the merit list. The choice of the presidencies by the students was also determined by this test. The role of Directors in relation to the appointment of writers was considerably reduced, being limited only to the

16. In 1826, the Parliament had to pass another Act to meet the increased demand of civil servants. It authorised the Court of Directors for a term of three years to dispense with the provisions of the Act 1813. It provided for the appointment of a separate board of examiners with powers to hold a regular test for such of the candidates as were destined for the Company's service without undergoing a course of study at the East India College. (See *Parliamentary Branch Collection* 72, pp. 240-53; Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 403).

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nominations of four times the number of vacancies. The first rules and regulations regarding the examination of candidates for admission to the Haileybury College were framed by the India Board and the examiners appointed on August 16, 1837. These continued, with minor modifications, for the next two decades in respect of admission to the Haileybury College till the principles of competitive examination were adopted by the Charter Act of 1853.

From the above account it would appear that the College at Haileybury was a training centre which provided a fairly broad education, as would appear from the syllabus, to the nominees of the Directors after their selection. The College at Fort William which preceded the Haileybury College was the post-appointment training centre intended to groom the junior civil servants with such knowledge of local languages, history, law and usage, as might be necessary for them. A proper assessment of the pre-appointment training in England, can be made only after a study of the syllabus in detail, the method of teaching, routine and discipline, examination and assessment, and finally the end of the training programme.¹⁷

Syllabus:

The syllabus of the College was framed so as to impart to the students instruction mainly in subjects and languages which would be subsequently useful to them. The European branch of study included subjects designed to impart to the students the benefits of liberal and enlightened education. The subjects were Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Classics and General Literature, History and Political Economy, and General Policy and Laws of England. The study of Humanity and Philology was also included along with the teaching of French, Drawing and Dancing. The second branch of study was confined to Oriental languages, Literature and History. It included Hindi literature and the History of Asia; Arabic; Persian, and Hindustani; Hindi, Sanskrit, Bengali, Telugu and Marathi. The stress on Oriental learning, despite provision for it in India, was based on personal and political con-

17. The study is based on *Memorials* of old Haileybury College by Frederick Charles Paviers, Sir Monier-Williams and others. *Westminster* 1894—henceforth—*Memorials*).

sideration. It was necessary to groom the writers before proceeding to India in the language and history of the country for better understanding of the problems. The services of the retired personnel noted for oriental learning could also be availed of in a centralised institution rather than allowing it to die down or stagnate. The Directors were also conscious of the training given to the French Civil Servants in Oriental Languages, and they were anxious that their own boys should not lag behind. The Court Committee of College, therefore, made provisions for Oriental studies in England out of political considerations. This was done at the East India College in 1805 at Hertford which was removed to a new site and building at Haileybury.

The curriculum approved by the Court also laid emphasis on the teaching of religion and morality. The Reverend Samuel Henley who was appointed Principal of the college was a Cambridge graduate and a clergyman of the Church of England. It was his duty, besides general superintendence of the conduct of students, to teach Classics, and lecture on the principles, obligations, values and sanctions of religion and morals, elucidating with particular attention to the evidences of Christianity. The religious bias in the education of the future civil servants was meant to save them from the declared principles of the French Revolution which, in the view of the Directors, was based on atheism. A religious head in a collegiate institution was expected to counter-act revolutionary trends. Besides Henley, Edward Lewton, Professor of Humanity and Philology, W. Dealtry and B. Bridge, Professors of Mathematics and T. R. Malthus, Professor of General History, Politics, Commerce and Finance, were all clergymen. The young recruits, with immature knowledge and judgment, unfixed principles, and a comparatively weak attachment to their country needed religious and moral instruction in conformity with the principles of religion and constitution of England. The rules of the college laid down that the principal was to be a man of established reputation as a clergyman and a scholar. It is interesting to find religious bias even in the constitution of the college which had the Bishop of London, as the ex-officio visitor, who was the final appellate authority in all cases for every member of the College. The principal along with the professors who were in holy orders, also conducted the chapel service both in the morning and in the evening, which had to be attended compulsorily by every student.

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Daily Routine:

The daily routine¹⁸ of the college life began at 8 in the morning with the Chapel service, and closed with a similar service at 8 in the evening. These services consisted of the selection of church prayers read week by week in turn by one or other of the clerical members of the staff. The week day prayers lasted for nearly twenty minutes, but the Sunday morning service took place at 11.00 o'clock and consisted of full prayers with a sermon by one or other of the five clerical professors in regular rotation. Attendance was compulsory in these services, and the absentees were reported to the Dean. The breakfast followed the chapel service. It was sumptuous, consisting of bread and butter, with tea or coffee, amplified occasionally by meat, jams and other accessories; and was usually brought into the rooms by the bed-makers, attached to the corridors. They were generally elderly married women or widows or spinsters of a certain age. Sometimes two or three students joined together for breakfast and mess in the same room. There were also breakfast parties. Between breakfast and the commencement of the lectures at 10.00 A.M., the college tradesmen could be seen hovering round the quadrangle in an expectant and optative mood hoping for orders from the young men. The range of needs, beyond the daily food supplied by the college as a general rule, was limited to the departments of books, stationery, clothes and hair dressing. Certain persons were appointed to meet these needs and a good deal of competition was noticeable among the authorised traders.

Lectures:

The daily lectures began at 10-00 A.M. and were generally finished by 1.00 P.M., although in some cases they went on till 2.00 P.M. Days were set apart for different disciplines—Mondays and Tuesdays for Classics and Mathematics, Wednesdays and Thursdays for Political Economy and History, and Fridays and Saturdays for Oriental Languages. There were also lectures on Persian on Thursdays. The teaching method differed according to the subject and the ability and the personality of the professor. An extreme refinement of taste, gentleness of manner and fastidious

18. *Ibid*, p. 60 ff.

purity of speech were the conspicuous traits in a good professor, noted for the high degree of scholarship and the attainment of culture. In the lecture rooms, there came forth from the mouths of many earnest, able and eloquent men a flood of information that was either profound in its wisdom or attractive in its eloquence.

The professor of classical literature was noted for his suggestiveness in teaching. Taking his class in the Library, he would leave his chair and walk from one shelf in the library to another, collecting a number of books from cognate Greek literature or even from English literature to illustrate his author. Placing them on the table, he would then call the pupils' attention to parallel passages in these books, reading them or recommending the pupils to read them or commenting upon coincidences of thought, or pointing out contrast. At other times he would walk upto some one, or move on to the promising pupils, asking each one of them in turn to note down particular passages in the note-books. This comparative study of contrasting Demosthenes with Cicero, Homer with Virgil or with Pope, or other English poets, stimulated the interest and attention of the pupils. In the language classes the text portion for the day had to be prepared in advance and the pupils were expected to translate these. These were listened to and corrected, and then the passage for the next day was translated. As regards the lectures, much depended upon the personality of the professor and the subject of his talk. With the best professors, the grandeur of the stream of sound flowing from his lips appeared very impressive, while there were also cases of people suffering from mental excitement and lectures delivered in a very discursive manner.¹⁹ The training received by the pupils at Haileybury was varied and excellent. This was possible because the East India Company was wise enough in making the emoluments²⁰ of the professorial chairs sufficiently attractive to secure the ablest men, some of whom, such as Reverend Malthus and Sir James Mackintosh were men of European reputation. The stimulating influences exercised on the minds of the pupils by the great diversity of

19. *Ibid.*, p. 74. This was true of the Hindustani professor.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 75. The principal was paid an annual salary of £ 1000/- while a professor received £ 500/- a year. The parents or sponsors of each pupil had to pay for his board, lodging and education, to the extent of 100 guineas annually in addition to the expenses on books and stationery.

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intellectual food, so well served, provided for encouragement, power and facilities.

A high standard of proficiency was required by each of the professors at the several examinations, and, therefore, those of the pupils who were studious and aimed at distinction had to be diligent in attending every lecture and in taking copious notes. On returning to their rooms, the pupils had to write out carefully the details of the notes taken by them. They were also to prepare for the next day's lectures, and further more to reserve the time for working at extra subjects over and above the ordinary term test.

At 1.00 o'clock when the lectures stopped, the students' labour by no means came to an end. They were often carried on to a late hour in the afternoon, generally closing the books at 3.00 P.M. when even the most plodding and industrious amongst the pupils generally went off to the tennis court, the cricket field, or for walks in the surrounding country. They did not go out for riding for which there was no provision at the college, and which was banned like hunting for the pupils.

*Types of Pupils and the Problem of Discipline:*²¹

The type of the students at the Haileybury is closely related to the problems of discipline. Rumours were current regarding the unsatisfactory moral tone in the state of discipline at Haileybury which was due to the inherent and irremediable defects in the constitution of the college, making the student life more fraught with moral evils than at centres like Oxford. Unlike the latter, which was able to pick and choose men of a high standard, and had no difficulty in getting rid of all doubtful characters who might become sources of moral contamination, at Haileybury there were special circumstances which made it almost impossible for the authorities to deal with evil in the same autocratic and summary manner as at the best colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The "never-do-wells" at Oxford and other places were ruthlessly eliminated, while at Haileybury it was difficult to help accepting

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 110 ff.

them as necessary elements in an altogether peculiar collegiate system. It was usual to call them "the Company's bad bargains" and unquestionably these "bad bargains" were tolerated and treated with as much leniency as possible for the obvious reason that every official in the college felt anxious to avoid ruining the prospects of the sons or relatives or nominees of the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors. Plainly speaking, it was a serious bar to the effective carrying out of the discipline of the college. The Directors of the East India Company not only appointed the principal and professors and granted their salaries and emoluments, but also nominated the students committed to their charge. Everyone of them was the prospective holder of as lucrative appointment as could fall to the lot of any young man anywhere. This was definitely a bar on the enforcement of discipline. Further, the Directors having appointed the professors and nominated the students, officially visited the college twice a year to supervise and confirm and, if necessary, comment on the work and events of every term. Notwithstanding all these hindrances with which the enforcement of discipline was beset, the principal, the dean and professor, courageously faced the difficulties of their position and manfully fought with them. Rustication and in later times even expulsion occasionally took place and that too without consultation with the India House authorities. The retrospect of the college life could recall visions of the chapels that were not attended, of the Hall dinners that were not eaten, of the lectures that were delivered to unhearing ears, of the caps that were not forth-coming and of the gowns that were seldom worn. Sometimes the tolerant attitude and the good nature of the professors permitted the pupils to enjoy themselves, paying little attention to the lectures and showing habits of idleness. A number of frolics and youths in the College had to be brought into a state of serious attentiveness.

There were three types of pupils. In the first instance, the steady ones, who entered the room with a respectful air, taking seats near the professor and determined to give him a fair hearing, and to profit as much as possible by his instructions. Next came the more doubtful set—youths who evidently intended to shape their conduct according to circumstances, but had made up their minds to side with the steady ones. Lastly, came the unruly folk, some sauntering in with an air of complete nonchalance, others sweeping past the professor with airy, jaunty glances, as if their

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whole object in coming to the lecture was to amuse themselves and not to listen to anything. A well-meaning professor, like Monier-Williams, settling down in his professorial chair buckled on his armour with as much calmness as he could master, knowing that a critical conflict was imminent. He would occupy his chair before the pupils before they started getting in; and when they had settled down, he would begin by calling every name from a printed list which was placed before him taking care to fix his eye on each individual so that the latter could find that his physiognomy and general demeanour were being closely scrutinized with most care and attention. If after uttering a few sentences, the professor noticed that three or four young fellows in a corner began to talking together, the professor singling out the youth, who seemed to him to be the ring-leader, would address him by name in the following manner: "Mr. Blank, I perceive that you are saying something amusing to your neighbours, pray, let us all benefit by it. Gentlemen, I call upon everyone of you to keep silence and pay great attention while Mr. Blank speaks to us; he has evidently something instructive to entertain to communicate which will be better worth hearing than my lecture." The immediate result of this sarcastic attack on Mr. Blank was a dead silence followed by the utter collapse of offender and a general sheepish look in the countenances of his aiders and abettors. The professor then seized the opportunity and spoke out boldly informing the whole class that his fixed intention was to be master in his own lecture-room, and any student who was not prepared to submit to the authority would have to leave the room. The two best weapons—the power of the human eye and the judicial use of sarcasm proved very effective in maintaining discipline in the class.

Lame excuses were fairly common in the event of the illness or of the death of near relations. In case of any sufficiently urgent reason, the principal, or in his absence the dean had the power of granting "exeat" which empowered a student to absent himself from the college for two or three days at a time or even for longer periods. It could be said of a dissipated and plausible youth that for carrying out his resolution he had to rack his brains for other expedients, till he happily sought upon the artifice of pretending that as there was no Chiropodist in the neighbourhood, it was necessary to go to London to have certain painful excrescences

removed from his feet, and so facilitate his walking with due punctuality to chapel and lectures. This master stroke of invention was tried too often, and had eventually to give place to other less transparently false excuses.

*The Principal and the College Council*²²

The principal was responsible for maintaining discipline in the college and he took no part in the secular teaching; of course, he led the way as chief dignity lecturer in preaching on Sundays. According to the statutes of the College dated 1823 the power of carrying out the statutes was at that time vested in the principal, dean and professors under the designation of the College Council. This council could propose new regulations or alterations in the statutes for the consideration of the Court of Directors, but its chief business was to decide in all cases of breach of discipline and acts of insubordination and to inflict punishment, such as solemn admonitions, impositions, confinement in the college premises, rustications with a loss of a term or even actual expulsion. The council was to assemble once a fortnight or oftener, if necessary, upon the summons of the principal or at the requisition of any three members. The meetings were never to consist of less than four members including the principal and the dean, and when cases involving loss of term had to be discussed, of no less than six members. The votes of the majority were to determine resolutions of the council, with the principal or the dean having the casting vote. In accordance with the modifications of the statutes which were carried out into effect in 1833, the College Council was composed of the principal, dean and two senior professors. Even after that its deliberations seemed never to have been carried on without a certain amount of internal friction, as was natural, considering that those who had to confer together upon delicate questions were eminent men, each with his own strongly marked personal character and each holding strong opinion. The chief impediment in the smooth working of the machinery was the constant clashings between the resolutions and decisions of the College Council and the judgment and wishes to the Court of Directors, most of whom had sons or relations among the students.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 98 ff.

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This led to a state of tension, making it still more difficult, by the occasional interference of the Court, and that of the Court of Proprietors, as well as by the operation of another antagonistic force represented by the President of the Board of Control. Hence every decision and recommendation of the principal and his council had to undergo the ordeal of facing the Directors and still more the bigger body of Proprietors, some of whom were sure to criticise in a hostile spirit, and then it had to be referred to the tender mercies of the President of India Board. The result was that the resolutions of the College Council, if not absolutely reversed by the superior bodies of Directors and Proprietors, were completely ignored or deferred for consideration.

Social Life and Extra Curricular Activities:

The life at Haileybury College was socially a very delightful one for the professors. It was not always smooth sailing, and the surface of the waters sometimes was a little disturbed. But there was nothing to make life less agreeable than it would have been in other callings. Of course, there was something of jealousy and enmity and temper and disagreement incidental to a state of society in which men of different dispositions and ideas were bound, with their families, to live together, each with specific duties for the greater part of the year. The storms that ruffled it were however not very enduring. Even when there was for a time coolness amongst the professors or individuals amongst them, there was never the slightest strife between their wives and daughters. During term time a good dinner was provided for the professors at the High Table in the hall at 6.00 o'clock,²³ the students, generally about ninety, dining in the same hall at their respective tables. The provision for meals, both as regards the professors and the students, were apparently modelled on the system prevailing at the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. The food provided for the students was good and wholesome, as to quality and sufficient in quantity and was, as a rule, fairly well-cooked. But the full view which the pupils enjoyed of the High Table Menu tended to make them a little discontented with their own. It certainly seemed to be rather too luxurious by comparison, always including soup, fish, and meat dishes of various kinds. Besides the usual "pieces-de-resistance", before any one set down

23. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

to dine, a Letter of Grace was said or read from a printed form either by the principal or by the senior professor who happened to be present. Distinguished men were also invited to dinner, and their contact with the pupils broadened the latter's intellectual horizon as also the level of their understanding.

The students after dinner had full liberty to wander about where they liked till 8.00 o'clock, the time for the evening chapel service. At 9.00 o'clock the college gates were closed and everyone was required to be safely housed within the walls. For the studious ones, the evening brought the necessity for hard and generally solid study, each in his own separate room although sometimes two or three made an agreement to read together.

Those who were elected to the editorial board of the college magazine called the 'Haileybury Observer' met together for consultation for bringing out a new number every week and sometimes they had to sit the whole night. The college magazine was bound up with the life of old Haileybury, and furnished not only information reflecting at its character, doings and capabilities, but added not a little in developing the literary taste and talents of the more thoughtful of its young inmates. Only students were employed as editors. They sat in judgment on the literary production of their fellow students and supplied contributions from their inexperienced pen to fill the blank spaces in the magazine. This intellectual exercise could lead to an injurious overstraining of the members of the editorial board who were already overtaxed by the labour of satisfying the demands of several professors, and of battling for distinction against formidable competitors in the college arena.

For the pleasure-seekers the evenings brought the usual temptations of convivial parties with the accompaniments of jovial singing and drinking. At 9.00 o'clock watchmen took up their stations with lighted lanterns in the quadrangle. Their business was to keep vigil all night both inside and outside the college premises, and to report to the Dean any noisy gathering which might take place among the students with the names of those present. They also undertook the duty of waking up the hard-reading studious ones from their slumbers at five or six in the morning. For the professors who were not anxious for the gay and fashionable life, it was a signal blessing to have within reach

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the few well-informed enlightened neighbours disposed to meet frequently in an easy, confidential, and unambitious manner. Most of them were united by the similarity of habit and feeling and principles which the residents at the University was sure to communicate to those who were not wholly unworthy of its benefits. The moderate distance from London secured the occasional society of some of the most valued friends, filling all the wants and wishes, and relieving them from the most tormenting pressures of the society in a country town with things like gossiping and scandal-mongering.

Examination and Assessment:

On completing the course in the college and having the requisite certificate from the principal, the students were not, however, automatically entitled to appointment as writers unless the Court of Directors in their discretion should deem fit. The admission to the Haileybury College was not quite free and open, but dependent on the nominees of the Directors, invariably given to young men connected with their friends and relatives. This placed a serious limitation on the choice of a career in India by the ordinary English youth, and not infrequently affected the quality of the recruits. The evils of the system were, however, counter-acted to some extent by the requirement of having to pass the preliminary entrance examination at the India House which was conducted by an out-side body of examiners²⁴ appointed by the Board of Control. This was not of a very high standard and was mainly intended to test the level of general education of the candidates. The candidates had also to submit the testimonials. The examiners could reject them if they chose, or defer their nomination to some future date. Sometimes the candidates who were rejected on the first examination merely postponed their nomination for another six months after which they could take the examination again. Three successive rejections constituted disqualification for nomination which was rather rare. Despite the fact that about 1/3rd of the candidates were generally rejected at each examination it is doubtful if the preliminary examination

24. The board consisted of four examiners, two each from Oxford and Cambridge. They belonged to the departments of Classics, Mathematics, and History, and their appointments proceeded from their Vice-Chancellors and Regius Professors. They held their test half-yearly in London (Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 403).

could neutralise the evils of patronage in the hands of the Directors. The examination itself had hardly any bearing on the future career of a candidate except for the admission which it secured. Those who were unable to pass out went to the cavalry.

When the candidates had joined the College there was a terminal examination at the end of each term prescribed by the statutes of the college.²⁵ If a student failed in an examination he lost the term, and the loss of two such successive terms or three terms in all debarred him from continuing in the college. The standard of the final examination was neither very high nor stiff, but exceedingly moderate and the help of a well-kept note-book for three nights before the History or the Law examination generally enabled even the most backward student to get through.

Twice every year the Court of Directors visited the college at the end of each term in the middle of January and the middle of December.²⁶ The Chairman, the Deputy Chairman and Directors of the East India Company accompanied by numerous friends and old Anglo-Indians and the College Secretary came in a body from Leaden Hall street to receive the official report of the principal as to the success or failure of their nominees and to distribute gold medals and valuable prizes of books in a lavish way to those who had distinguished themselves in the examination. This was called *D's day*. On arriving they drove to the door of the principal's house where they were received by the principal in full dress and by the dean and professors in their official attire and conducted to the principal's dining room. After the usual greetings the Directors and college staff adjourned to the council room where the Secretary read the principal's report of the result of the examinations for their approval. The Chairman then rose and led the procession of officials to the college library where he took his seat at the middle of a long table covered with handsomely bound standard works to be distributed as prizes. To his right sat the principal, and to the left the Deputy Chairman or Chairman

25. *Memorials*, p. 58, extract from LeBas's letter to Archdeacon Hale dated Jan. 20, 1843. For the first seven or eight years after the college was established there was no test of any sort. If a man got through without doing anything bad to merit expulsion, the college was obliged to give him his certificate.

26. *Ibid*, p. 54 ff.

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designate of the succeeding year with other Directors. A galaxy of distinguished visitors sat in rows behind them. On the opposite side of the table were ranged the dean and professors and behind them the students, sometimes to the number of nearly a hundred, all in gowns. The Secretary then read out the report in clear and sonorous tone with a special emphasis on the names of those to whom medals, prizes and other honourable distinctions had been awarded and adding to the ranks of those leaving college. When the address was over the Directors and visitors dispersed walking about the quadrangle or premises of the college, while the two Chairman called on those professors who had wives, or household presided over by ladies. The proceedings closed with a lunch in a Hall when the health of the principal and professors was drunk, and in return a semi-official speech was made by the principal.

It may be mentioned here that the establishment of the examination tests was only brought about by degrees, and after much agitation on the part of the principal and professors, who were obliged to put repeated pressure on the Court of Directors to restrain them from making the passage of their nominees through the College too easy a matter. Every succeeding attempt to raise the standard of examination tests was beset with difficulties. For the first seven or eight years after the college was established there was no test of any sort and the college had no power to impose one. In 1813 a test in Orientals was introduced at the close of the last term by those whose statutory period of residence was completed. In 1820 a similar final test in European Classics was agreed to though reluctantly. In 1821 a test for each term was extorted and a certain amount of proficiency in certain departments was required on pain of furthering the term. Another concession was obtained in 1839, namely, an elevation of the final test with the three junior terms remaining as they were. The test once established could not be changed by the Board, but nothing could be done for the better without the sanction of the Board. Effort was made in 1843 but the same rules and regulations continued to be operative till the abolition of college by Act of Parliament on January 31, 1858.

The End of the Training:

The Haileybury College was an institution where young men were formed in their morals, prepared in their character, and

qualified in their education. The main reason why this institution in England was preferred by the Directors to one in India was due to the difference of opinion on the question of the proper age at which it was thought desirable that the Company's servants should go out to India. Some were of the opinion that they should be sent at an early age when their habits and character were not formed. They could more easily adapt themselves to the new environment of a foreign land where they were practically to spend their life and could grow accustomed to the ways of life of the people among whom they were to work. It was not so easy for people who came out rather late in their life with ideas and opinions already formed to adapt themselves to the new environment. Wellesley apparently belonged to this school and favoured the sending out of civil servants in India at the early age of fifteen or sixteen. But against this, there was the other school of thought which deprecated sending away writers at a tender age to a foreign country. In their opinion it was injurious to them physically, intellectually and morally. Since this would alienate them from the healthy influence of homelife, they would be exposed, with an incomplete education to corrupt influence in the foreign land. It was for this reason that the Directors provided for their further education in England at an Institution under their immediate control and direction. The institution in India set up by Wellesley was maintained as a matter of formality.

The question of training of civil servants for India in England and the efficacy of the Haileybury College in furthering that object can best be understood in the light of the answers given by those who had retired from important positions in the services and were interrogated at the Parliamentary inquiries held before the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833 and 1853. Some had told that the institution had eminently served its purpose and referred to its commendable features, as for example, supplying the special training needed very well and cheaply, and providing the *esprit de corps* which was very valuable for the members of the service. The mental training gained at the Haileybury College was varied and excellent, and nothing could equal it with the diversities of subjects it embraced. It also meant less expense and shorter period as compared to the University education at Oxford or Cambridge. On the other hand, it was run down as an institution imparting an education not particular in character, but too

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professional, providing idleness and delightful habits on account of the absence of association with the general body of youth in the country studying for other walks of life, and finally, as producing a rather low average of ability and so on. In the words of James Mill an examiner at the India House "there is very little done in the day of study except by a small number of the well-disciplined of the pupils who would study anywhere." Numerous amendments were suggested in the courses, as for example, the removal of undue emphasis laid on the study of Oriental Languages with a consequent diversion from the Oriental to the European part of the education, the need for greater attention to legal study, the rise in age limits before going in India, and a more prolonged study at the college and finally the need of a stricter examination, etc. Despite these drawbacks, the college could count amongst its products eminent men, like Holt Mackenzie, F. J. Halliday, Edmonstone, Metcalfe, Mount Stuart Elphinstone and others who would be an acquisition to the finest administrative service in any country. But even before Haileybury the service produced a Hastings, a Shore, and a Grant. In finding out the potentiality of responding to the objects of this institution, i.e., to train out good civil servants who were better than any alternative system of proportion could produce, we cannot ignore factors which were present at Haileybury. The mode of selection of the recruits was certainly the greatest deterrant to the products of this institution being shoulders ahead of those who could be trained out from any of the University centres. The comparative merits of the system of competition alone could have overcome this initial setback which was due to the recruitment by nomination. The college was closed in 1858.²⁷ A competitive examination finally replaced the system of nomination under the Charter Act of 1853.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 224. The East India Company passed away in the midst of the Indian Mutiny but at the same time this event happened. The college was undergoing a rapid process of depletion. The system of appointment by open competition had been substituted for that of nomination by Directors of the Company. In consequence the *raison d'être* of the college was thought no longer to exist, though it is not self-evident that the successful candidate did not need a special college training as much as the nominees of the old Directors.

Terracotta Art of Protohistoric India

BY

I. KARTHIKEYA SARMA AND B. P. SINGH

Introductory

Terracotta, (baked clay), is the most ancient and original means of expression of art. The cheapness and easy availability of this medium attracted man as early as Solutrean times¹ in Europe, though stone and wood also were abundantly used by the prehistoric man. Even during the late stone and metal ages the difficulties in shaping, coupled with the scarcity of raw material, made man turn to utensils and figurines, mostly in clay for his daily needs. Side by side, wood must have continued as an equally important medium but since wood cannot survive any prolonged burial in the soil we are not in a position to have any objective evidence on hand. Hence, all-out significance is given to the more frequently available relics of clay.

The art of making these objects in its most primitive form seems to have developed from the simple urge in man to create or shape a form that captured the eye, the brain, and the hand. In course of time along with the irresistible desire of the artist potter to create new forms and paint new designs, the terracotta art also marched ahead, and more so, in the beginnings than often not, we do find an underlying kinship in both the fields viz., terracotta and pottery making. However, the responsibility of this special type of "Artist-Modeller" was great as he was much guided by the traditions and tastes of the society which patronised him.

The terracotta objects not only help us in the study of an art that existed at one time, but also supply us with a great deal of information about the secular and religious life of the people who used them. The present paper pertains to the study of terracotta figurines—human and animal and other objects, if any, belonging to the Proto-Historic period, datable to circa. 3000-1200 B.C.

1. M. Burkitt, *The Old Stone Age*, 1963, 172, Pl. V.

Classification

The history of terracotta art in the Indo-Pak sub-continent can be dated back to Pre-Harappan village cultures of Baluchistan and Pakistan and the early Neolithic communities within the country. The emergence of the Harappan civilization paved the way for the consolidation and over-all development of this art which reached the heights of perfection, never to be found again, save in the early historical periods.

These various objects of clay fall under several sub-heads. Among the human figures, female and male deities and certain curious theriomorphic figures are included. Animal figures too present a wide variety of depiction, the significance of which is determined by their stylistic attributes. All these possess either secular or religious significance. From both the groups, however, much information can be gleaned in regard to the social life of the corresponding periods.

Technique

The art of making figurines out of wood seems to have yielded place to terracotta art in course of time, when man had learnt to employ clay for his daily needs. The earliest examples of terracotta figurines pertaining to Pre-Harappan, Harappan and Neolithic cultures, exhibit a close resemblance to wooden examples, particularly in the body details (sometimes flattened and angular, Fig. 2, No. 2). Though such features in general were concealed by the finish of the fingers it seems certain that the artist had wooden replicas to guide which were perhaps equally in demand during the period. Even now, figurines made of wood are worshipped as *grāmadēvatas* and cult objects by several tribes in India. We have as well a wide variety of wooden objects, both human and animal figurines as toys—a tradition that hardly died.

In the earliest periods covered by Pre-Harappan, Harappan, Neolithic and Post-Harappan chalcolithic cultures, we invariably see that the figures are hand-modelled. The pinching and applique methods and that of pressing down the clay were employed in showing anatomical details of the body. In some cases there is evidence of work with sharp tools (similar to modeller's), either of wood or metal, while shaping an object, as well as decorating

its body parts. In particular the grim facial features like the folds around the eyes, nostrils and dewlap of some of the dynamic Harappan bulls were executed with a pointed stick of wood, bone or horn. Many of the bone points in particular, might have served this purpose. Most of these figurines possessed a self-slip and smoothly finished bodies, some times painted also in various colours. Decorations such as stamping, pricked dots, finger-nail etc. were also common.

Terracottas of the Pre-Harappan Cultures: (Circa. 3000-2500 B.C.)

The earliest efforts of plastic activity can be seen in Pre-Harappan cultures of Kulli² and Zhob of South and North Baluchistan respectively. To some extent, Kulli and Zhob cultures appear to have coincided with each other in certain phases of their development. Of the two, more evidence is however available from Kulli sites. The ware with which these figures were made is pinkish buff or white. The animal figurines are painted, while the female ones are unpainted but at the same time more detailed and elaborately modelled.³ The humped bulls of Kulli (fig. 1, nos. 1-5), do not exhibit the artistic movement, on account of the painted vertical stripes across the body and transverse strokes down to the shoulders and legs. The adornment on the body reminds the treatment of animal figurines of Nundara pots. It is likely that these figures were meant for religious offerings at a shrine and were not mere toys. Mention may be made about Kulli toys for

2. Kulli is a type site in South Baluchistan and Zhob in North Baluchistan. Several sites yielding these pottery wares have been brought to light both by exploration and a few excavations in the past. All these are Pre-Harappan village cultures, overlapping with the Harappan in their latest phases. The sites, like Ranaghundai (R.G.), and Periano-Ghundai are type sites in Zhob valley. For further reference see Fairservis Jr., Walter A., *"Excavations in the Quetta Valley and Archaeological Survey in the Zhob and Loralai districts, West Pakistan"* *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 45, Pt. 2, 169-401 and Vol. 47, Pt. 2, 277-448 respectively. They have made the earlier studies of surface pottery by Mc Cown, Piggot, and Gordon out of date.

Beatrice de Cardi, "Fresh problems from Baluchistan", *Antiquity*, Vol. XXXIII, 15-28.

3. Stuart Piggot, *"Prehistoric India"* Penguin, (1963), 106.

children which include terracotta wheels, bird whistles and bull figures with holes on the stumpy legs.

Female figurines are meagre in quantity, with roughly modelled faces, sometimes with breasts covered with jewellery, executed by applied pellets (fig. 1, nos. 6-10). "They all terminate at



FIG. 1: Preharappan Terracottas: 1-5, Kulli bulls; 6-10, Female figurines; 11-15, Zhob figurines

the waist in a slightly splayed, flat bottomed pedestal (fig. 1, no. 6), and the arms are akimbo with the hands on the hips."⁴ Modelling was done by pinching up or pressing down the clay according to the necessity of each figure. The other features like eyes, breasts etc. were shown by the application of separate

4. *Ibid.*, 107.

pellets, (fig. 1, nos. 8-10). There is no naturalism in the female faces and no care was shown for facial detail. Hence they create an impression of sacred hens. It is very difficult to infer the purpose of these figures but the archaic treatment of the body and face and disposition of the hands suggest that they had some association with fertility or mother-goddess cult of the ancient world. This view has been supported by a figure discovered at a type site of Kulli culture, where it was found holding three babies in its hand.

The Zhob figurines (fig. 1. nos. 11-15), are small and end below the waists in flat-bottomed pedestals.⁵ The hands are omitted altogether and hence the disposition cannot be guessed. "The faces are totally different—hooded with a coiffure or shawl, they have high smooth foreheads above their staring circular eye-holes, their owl-beak nose and slit mouth. The result is terrifying, even in a tiny model not more than two inches high."⁶ Like Kulli figures they probably had some religious affiliation. Some scholars believe that these figures are mother-goddesses and could hardly have been toys. The suggestion that eye-holes were left for insertion of separate pellets to serve the purpose of pupils does not seem to be correct. There is hardly any specimen in which the eye with the pupil has been found. We can assume that these eye-holes have been purposefully left to create an impression of grim embodiment of the mother goddess.

Animal figurines have also been found in Zhob valley. Humped bulls are less in number and without painting on the bodies but stylistically similar to Kulli. Naturalistic modelling, along with the sturdy body, gives an impression of immense vigour. This is specially noticeable in the bull of Periano-Ghundai. Compared to Kulli figure, this shows far greater development in art. Some ritualistic association can be reasonably attributed to them, like Kulli figurines. A terracotta figurine, which seems to be a horse, from Periano Ghundai may be connected with horse's teeth in R.G.I., at the type site.⁷ The most interesting development in

5. S. K. Saraswati, *Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 5.

6. Piggott, *op.cit.*, 126-127.

7. *Ibid.*, 126.

female figurine can be noticed in the torso which has rounded breasts and prominent nipples. The head-dress and jewellery are analogous to Zhob figurines from Kulli. The Zhob figurines suggest an advance which is evident in the naturalistic depiction. It is more probable that Kulli and Zhob cultures appear to overlap, in this latest phase, with Harappan culture, roughly belonging to the second half of third millennium B.C. The early plastic tradition seems to have been followed up in some respects by the craftsman of the later age. In addition to these sites, recent work in Pakistan at 'Kot Diji'⁸ yielded significant evidence of a Pre-Harappan culture. A baked clay figurine of a bull with a well developed body, stout muzzle and short pointed horns is of great interest. In style it is unlike the bull figurines discovered in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan. It bears close resemblances to the bulls depicted on Susa Scarlet pottery in South-West Iran dated to 2800-2700 B.C. The 'Kot Diji' specimen seems to be the earliest perfect example of plastic art. Other finds such as carrot shaped cones, known as games-man, model cakes, plain and decorated bangles etc. also have been picked up. However, no figurines have so far been found in a similar sequence at Kalibangan in Rajasthan.

Harappan Terracottas: (Circa. 2500-1800 B.C.)

"The Harappan culture indicated a change from the hills to the plains, from peasant communities to the urban communities and from agricultural economy to commercial economy."⁹ The terracotta figurines, both human and animal, became more popular and were found in large numbers in the Indus Valley. Especially the human figurines which are either stylized or naturalistic presentations have an indirect legacy from the so-called Pre-Harappan village cultures described above, and possessed mostly a ritualistic background. The advent of Harappan urbanization seems to have had little effect on the regional religious trends already in vogue. Their continuation in abundance and in various developed forms only points to the unholding of these popular art

8. F. A. Khan, "Before Mohenjodaro. New light on the beginnings of Indus civilization from recent excavations at Kot Diji", *Illustrated London News*, May 24, (1958).

9. S. K. Saraswati, *op.cit.*, 7.

products. But they form the typical aspect of the Indus Valley alone and have not gone beyond, for obvious reasons, though the other Harappan culture elements got widely distributed in different geographical zones other than the Indus Valley.

Recent archaeological¹⁰ and anthropological evidences are also indicative of the transmission of Harappan culture, materially and culturally, to the local people and not the colonization by the Harappans. How far this conversion in each territory affected the religious and social life of the population requires a keen study, but as far as terracotta art is concerned all the typical Harappan traits as met with in the Indus Valley are found repeated in other far-off regions, like Gujarat, Rajasthan and Ganga-Yamuna doab.

The extreme scarcity of human figurines in such extensively excavated Harappan settlements like Rangpur, Lothal, Kalibangan etc. would indicate that they were not locally manufactured but happened to reach the places with the persons who might have visited the sites from the Indus Valley for commercial or cultural intercourse. For instance at Lothal only four human figurines, (three female and one male), were found. At Kalibangan even after five seasons of extensive work hardly six figurines were found, out of which four belonged to the female category and two to the male. This point may further be confirmed by the scientific analysis of the clay composition of both the human and animal figurines separately. As the human figurines are too less in number such chemical test is feasible to determine, once for all, the question whether they were locally made along with other terracotta objects or imported at the site. It may however be stated

10. It is now fairly agreed that there were several elements such as Amri, Nal, Zhob, Kulli, Kot Diji, Sothi etc., which apparently participated in varying degrees in giving something of their own to the Harappa culture. "A firm 'Sothi' substratum is obvious in the make up of the Harappa, much firmer than that of the earlier cultures." Recent anthropological data have thrown an invaluable light. Very important is the conclusion that so far as Cephalic index is concerned the Harappan people of Mohenjodaro have similarities with the present people of Sind, those of Harappa with the people of Punjab, and those of Lothal with the people of Gujarat. It is a complete blow to any idea of homogeneous Harappan people or colonization by the Harappans. In each territory indigenous folks who possessed a quick and highly receptive mind existed and they did not resist the cultural conversion.

once again, that these figurines had left no impact on all these places as the animal counter-parts of the Indus Valley did, and truly indeed these animal figurines belonged to the boys and girls of the Harappan culture, and hence had nothing to do with any ritualistic purpose. Their great popularity either as artistic or toy objects is obvious. Indeed they formed part of the daily life of these village communities. Among the human figurine, the most varied and popular are the female ones; male figurines are comparatively few in number even within the Indus Valley.

Female Figurines

Though the figurines are primitive in general appearance, the craftsman gave more attention to the details on the body. Usually they possess fan-shaped head-dress (fig. 2, no. 2), and are hand-

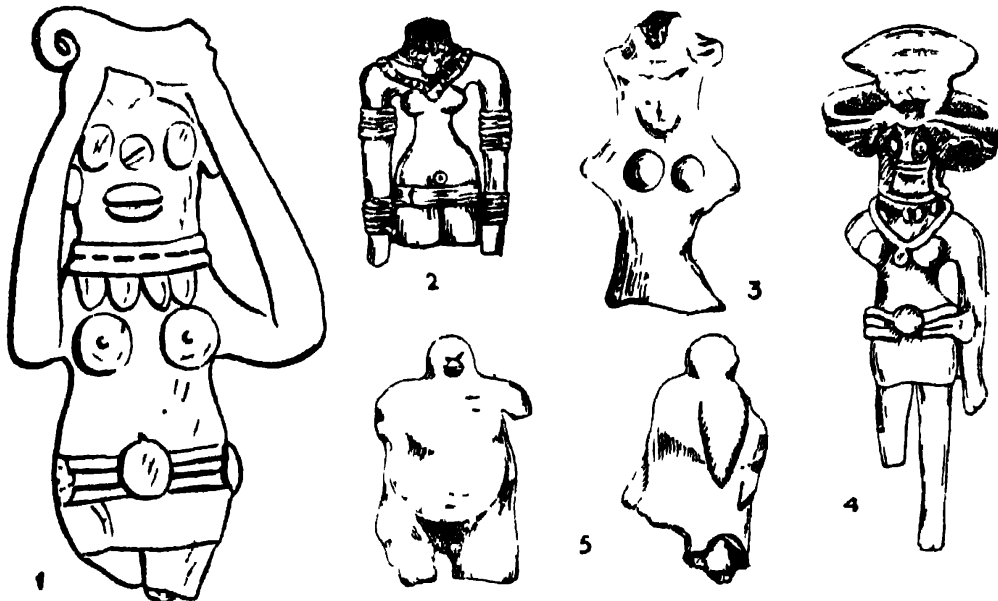


FIG. 2: Harappan Terracottas: 1-Female figure from Harappa, 2, 4 from Mohenjodaro, 3-Pedestalled female figure from Lothal, 5-Guerilla, Lothal

made by pinching up and pressing down the clay according to the needs of the figures, like the Kulli and Zhob ones. The applique round eyes, pinched nose, and mouth formed by an incised strip are typical (fig. 2, nos. 2 and 4). The breasts wherever shown are pellets or cones.¹¹ The figurines are generally burdened with elaborate jewellery and recall the Kulli figures. The narrow loin cloth which is normally present in the female figurines precludes

11. S. K. Saraswati, *op.cit.*, 9.

some connection with nude goddess. Besides fan-shaped types, various other types of head-dress were found at Harappa. It is difficult to say whether this was a head-dress or some object of ritual significance carried on the head.¹² Harappan artists are indebted to Kulli and Zhob modellers.

Among the various female figurines discovered at Harappa mention may be made of a pregnant woman with prominent breasts and peculiar indication of eye-brows, mother suckling babies, and woman with flower in the head-dress showing the peculiar horned object with supporting hands (fig. 2, no. 1). Marshall suggests that these figurines might have been priestesses carrying some sacred or symbolic object. The monotony, crudeness and conventionalized depiction of these terracotta figurines generally known as the mother-goddess, were due to large demand and bulk manufacture. In the Indus Valley sites, like Harappa and Mohenjodaro, one can collect these female figures almost in hundreds.

The human representation of the terracotta art elsewhere, i.e., outside the Indus Valley proper, does not seem to have catered to the taste of the people and hence it is totally absent in several sites like Rangpur, Rupar, Alamgirpur, Desalpar etc. However, attention may be drawn to a terracotta female figurine, probably a mother goddess from Lothal (fig. 2, no. 3). It is a crude hand-made, short, stylized, pedestalled figure of a female with applique breasts, pinched out nose and ears shown by pressing down the clay. The bare breasts and other features of the figure suggest it to be a mother goddess.¹³ It bears a general resemblance to the Pre-Harappan Zhob figures. Two more female busts with prominently depicted bare breasts need special mention. Of extreme importance is a stylized figure, an effigy or a mummy-like representation on a crude hand-made rectangular terracotta tablet.¹⁴ It has no parallel in any other Harappan site. A specimen of terracotta female figurine from Kalibangan¹⁵ may also

12. D. H. Gordon, "Early Indian Terracottas", *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. XI, 137.

13. *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-58. A Review, PL. XVIII-B.

14. *Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57. A Review, PL. XV-B. See also *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 3-4 (1956-57), PL. CL. fig. 44.

15. *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62. A Review, PL. LXXX-A.

(PL. I), be taken for this investigation. It is a crude hand-made depiction of a female which can be recognised by its undeveloped applique breasts; hands, legs and other features are broken. This figurine very closely resembles the one at Harappa.¹⁶ The bare breasts and the disposition of the body certainly suggest some religious association. Three more female figurines were obtained from the latest excavations.¹⁷ They are also crude and plain, utterly lacking the exuberance of the applied decorations of the Indus types. All these figures suggest a lingering continuity of a traditional religious adherence outside the Indus Valley and in such far-off regions like Lothal or Kalibangan or any other site falling within a broadly analogous culture set-up of a contemporaneous date. The absence of any figurine of mother-goddess at Rupar may be on account of the fact that the ritual connected with it had gone out of vogue.¹⁸ The other reason may be lack of excavation. The same argument possibly may be applied to Rangpur, Bhagatpur, Alamgirpur, Bara, Kotla Nihang Khan, Dossalpur and other Harappan sites.

Male Figurines

So far as the male figurines are concerned they are few in number as compared to the female figurines. It is very difficult to explain the scarcity of the male figurines. The male form was not much catering to the tastes of the people, and possibly not much used either for ritualistic or for social purposes. This is the case in the later historical periods also in the field of terracotta art. Nevertheless a few specimens in standing posture have been found. Generally they are nude but in some cases the drapery is fastened round the girdle extending upto the waist. The technique of producing male figures is the same as that of the female counterparts. A few male figurines with peculiar horned head-dress and necklace deserve our appreciation, but the majority are nude and without ornaments, suggesting their possible religious purport. It is an interesting point to note here that the squatting figures at Harappa and Mohenjodaro were taken for slaves by

16. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, PL. LXXVI.

17. *Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63 & 1963-64. (cyclostyled copy).

18. Y. D. Sharma, "Past patterns in living as unfolded by the Excavations at Rupar", in *Lalit Kala*, nos. 1-2, (1955-56), 123-124.

Gordon. Mackey's suggestion, keeping in view the crudeness of the figurines, that they are products of children is not sound.

The recent discoveries from Lothal in Gujarat and Kalibangan in Rajasthan deserve to be mentioned. Crude terracotta figurines with bird-like head and beaked nose from Lothal-B are unlike the typical Harappan figurines.¹⁹ Of interest is a human head (fig. 3, no. 3), with a square cut beard, sharp nose and sunken

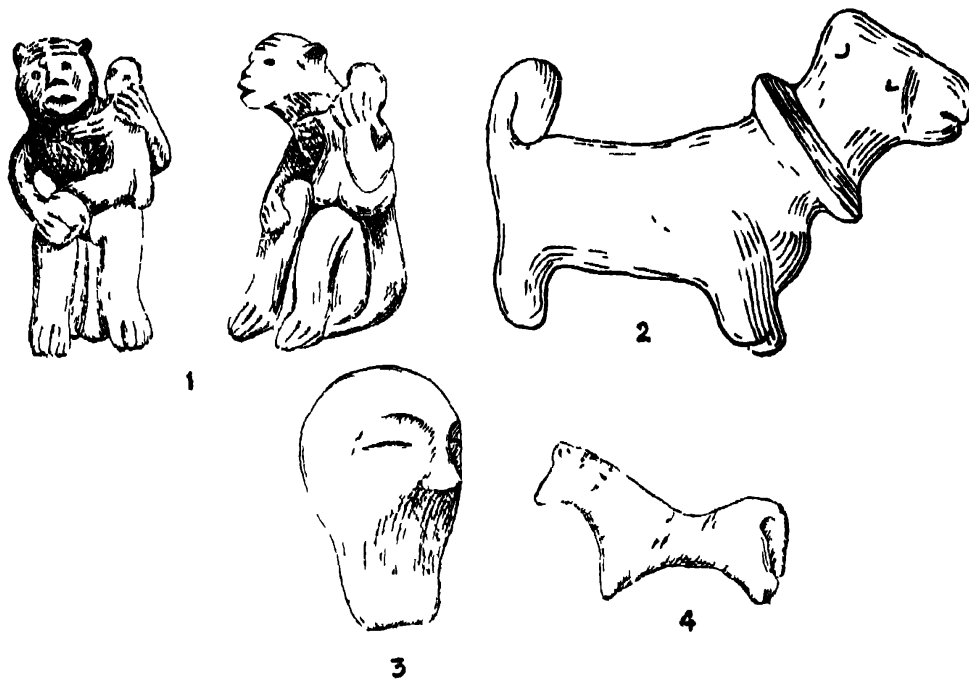


FIG. 3: Harappan Terracottas Contd. 1-Monkey holding the baby, Mohenjodaro: 2-Cheerful puppy, Mohenjodaro: 3-Male head with square-cut beard, Lothal: 4-Horse, Lothal.

eyes analogous to the Mohenjodaro and Sumerian²⁰ figures. Another specimen from Kalibangan,²¹ (PL. II), with a receding fore-head long ovalish eyes, straight-pointed nose, rather thick lower lips and firm chin recalls a similar head from Mohenjodaro. The nose, mouth, eyes etc. were shaped with the help of a sharp instrument of wood or metal. The receding fore-head contains

19. *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59. A Review. PL. XIX-A.

20. *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-58. A Review PL. XVIII-C. E. J. H. Mackey, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. II. PL. LXXIV-23, 24, Also see S. R. Rao in *Illustrated London News*, March, 11, (1961), 387.

21. *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, A Review, 31-32. Cover Plate.

two roughly incised horizontal lines probably depicting the wrinkles of the fore-head or "Vibhuti" marks. The eyelids are shown bulging out. The head looks shaven, underside of the neck is finished smooth and contains a partial perforation obviously intended to fix it to the body. This followed the system of the socketed male statuette in grey stone from Harappa.²² A few more examples have been found from the latest excavations. They are abstract with very crude bodily details. Noteworthy is a triangular terracotta cake (fig. 8), incised both on the obverse and reverse. The obverse contained a stylized male figure with head gear reminiscent of the "Pasupati" figure on the seals. The reverse has a stylized male figure to left, dragging an animal by neck with a rope. Can this be taken as an example of synoptic presentation of the offer of an animal to the horned deity? Then the neatly shaped triangular cakes of terracotta can be taken to be objects of ritualistic purport.

Animal Figurines:

Among the other artistic achievements attention may be drawn to the animal figures found at the sites of Harappan culture. Unlike the human figures, animal figures continue to occur in abundance in all the Harappan sites wherever they are found. A splendid variety among them appear at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Mention may be made of the figure of a monkey from Harappa, climbing a tree with hands and feet firmly gripping the branch, monkey holding the baby (fig. 3, no. 1), goat with twisted horn and shaggy beard, rams, elephants, pigs, buffaloes etc. A cheerful clay figure of a puppy (fig. 3, no. 2), with a neckstrap and tail in action, possibly a pet dog, was also obtained from a group of 200-animal figures from the recent digs of Dales at Mohenjodaro.²³

Among the favourite and common figures was dynamic bull. Next come the famous humped bulls which are so naturalistically modelled with dignified exaggeration of the hump. A few recent discoveries from India in this connection deserve our careful attention. The excavations at Kalibangan revealed typically Harappan

22. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, PL. LXXXI.

23. G. F. Dales, "Reopening of Mohenjodaro Excavations," *Illustrated London News*, May 29, (1965), 25-29.

terracotta animals. Mention may be made of dogs with naturalistically shown mouth and ears, bull with prominent hump, rhinoceros etc. A few painted terracotta animals (PL. III), especially bulls,²⁴ rams etc. simulate Kulli tradition. They are painted with vertical and horizontal bands, in black over a buff or dull red slipped surface. Special mention may be made of another terracotta bull²⁵ figurine showing an excellent modelling of the body and the dynamic mood of the animal with its head and dewlap closely resembling the one from Mohenjodaro (P.L. IV). A fragmentary figure from the same site described as human²⁶ head by the excavators is actually a monkey-head (PL. V) as it exactly resembles the seated monkey holding a baby from Mohenjodaro. The perforations showing the sunken eyes, the squat nose, the broad open mouth and the disposition of the head exactly tally with the above example. (cf:—the head only of fig. 3, no. 1).

Lothal specimens are only worthy of mention. A remarkable tradition of creative artistry continues with the same vigour and excellence. The humped and humpless bulls, tiger, peacock and the rhinoceros reveal a careful study of fauna.²⁷ However, the typically majestic bulls of Harappa or Mohenjodaro are not to be found in Gujarat sites. Among other specimens a couchant ram,²⁸ a gorilla²⁹ (fig. 2, no. 5), one leg of which is thick in comparison to other, with incised mouth and broken hands and a miniature animal figurine are worth notice. The most striking discovery of a terracotta horse at Lothal (fig. 3, no. 4), with a thick short tail is important. The presence of a horse in the light of certain new evidences is meaningful and requires some more data for its confirmation. Sankalia's suggestion that it is an Onigar or wild ass which still survives in North-Western Saurashtra, and is similar to horse in some respect seems to be quite appropriate. Horse is said to have been found also at Rangpur. Ranganatha Rao says that there are three more examples at Lothal itself belonging to

24. *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, PL. L-A.

25. *Op.cit.*, PL. LXXX-B.

26. *Op.cit.*, 1960-61, PL. L-B. compare E. J. H. Mackey, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. II, PL. LXXX-1.

27. S. R. Rao, *Lalit Kala*, 3-4, 82.

28. *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, A Review, 10, PL. XXX-B.

29. *Op.cit.*, 1957-58, 13, 13, PL. XVIII-A.

both mature and degenerate phases. It is well-known that at Harappa among the animal remains horse bones were also found and recently Lothal revealed the existence of horse bones among the animal remains. As the evidence stands before us with the special features like the "fire cult", bull worship, existence of rice etc., we may have to agree with Rao's³⁰ opinion that "at least one of the elements in the Harappa culture may be attributed to the so-called Aryan culture group".

The total absence of terracotta animal figurines at Rupar may be on account of inadequate excavation, but a terracotta bull has been found at Bara. At Alamgirpur, in Harappan level a miniature handmade dog figurine has been found, the ears of which are very naturalistically treated.

The artistic expression as revealed in the bull figurines at all the Harappan sites is superb and unparalleled. The charging bull from Kalibangan described above has been depicted with such dynamic vigour and arresting naturalness that perhaps in the history of the terracotta art no other comparable cultures can claim. There is definitely strong impulse behind it—perhaps religious, that made the artist achieve sublimity in his endeavour. This is visible even on the seals and sealings where the animal is too often depicted. From the southernmost Harappan settlement of Bhagatrav,³¹ terracotta figurine of a humpless bull has been discovered from Period-IA. Period II of Rangpur,³² equated to Bhagatrav-IA, also yielded a humpless bull with short legs and ears. The latest excavations at Ambkheri by Deshpande, have yielded a few crude hand-made humped bull, dog and some indeterminate figurines which remind us of the continuation of Harappan terracotta tradition in Ganga-Yamuna doab.

Among other classes of figurines, bird specimens typically corresponding to the Harappa culture are important. At Kali-

30. S. R. Rao, in seminar on Pre and Protohistory at Poona, May 1964. Comments on the paper read by Shri A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India.

31. *Ancient India*, Nos. 18-19, 190.

32. *Indian Archaeology*, 1963-64, A Review, (cyclostyled).

bangān³³ a pedestalled hand-modelled example (PL. VI), with wings spread and applique eyes is noticeable for its typically characteristic features corresponding to the one discovered at Harappa. Along with this find a bird rattle with slightly short twisted tail, perforated at the end and mouth naturalistically treated, reminds one of the typically Harappan feature. These figurines are helpful in reconstructing the climatic conditions of the regions and the fauna that served the Harappans in their daily life. Brahmani bull, peacock, man-headed animals, etc., have some religious significance.³⁴ The rest of the figurines like monkeys, hares, rhinoceros, goats, sheep, dogs, turtles, elephants, etc., served as curious or were exhibited in festivals like *Dasara*, *Pongal* and *Deepavali*. It may not be wrong if we further state that the entire range of terracotta, human, animal, and toy objects, head masks etc., served similar socio-religious-cum-festive gatherings and even to this date much care is bestowed in the Hindu families on arranging an exhibition of figurines, both human and animal. More particularly ladies and youngsters spend merrily in a social gathering, a sort of '*Anandōtsava*'. The religious rigour behind these festivals would have totally disappeared. The finds of numerous toy objects like bird rattles and whistles recall the gaiety and amusements of the children in those days. Extremely interesting are the various types of terracotta masks in the shape of curious animal and human heads of divergent sizes (to fit the heads of all ages), and quite a striking near-to-life-size mask with pierced nostrils and tooth sockets was obtained by Dales³⁵ from the recent digs of Mohenjodaro. Many masks of various sizes were found by Mackey at Chanhudaro also. These masks belonged to late levels of Harappan culture at all these sites and do not seem to be indigenous. Nevertheless, they point to extremely popular and gay festival during Harappan times. The profusion

33. *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, A Review, 32, PL. L-C.

34. Throughout Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab, terracotta bull specimens (sometimes with better execution and even painted as the famous Kulli ones), were obtained in large numbers all belonging to a Pre-Harappan chalcolithic contexts and on this basis Marshall went up to the extent of suggesting the existence of "an early and independent cult revering the bull, which later on merged in Saivism." Cf. John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, 72. Also E. J. H. Mackey, *Loc. cit.* 308-311.

35. *Illustrated London News*, May 29, (1965), 27, fig. 8.

of toy carts in the Indus and outside speaks of the popularity of these vehicles. Box-like chariot was also known to the Harappans which on the other hand can easily be distinguished from the primitive cart. The interesting feature to note in this toy is the forepart consisting of the head of a horned ram and the body and tail of a bird.

The long survival of this type of animal-drawn carts or chariots even in the historical and late historical periods is amply attested. This very little object of joy became the subject of an excellent Sanskrit drama "*Mṛchchakatika*", by Mahākavi Bhāsa. The artistic taste of the commoners could be assessed by the presence of a wide variety of terracotto game pieces in the shape of pyramids and castles. Besides the usual conical and cylindrical varieties, some of the pyramidal specimens from Lothal,³⁶ Kalibangan and Desalpar³⁷ were found to contain holes with ivory objects within as in the case of inlay work. Lastly, a terracotta boat with provision for fitting the mast needs special mention as this could be taken as a stylized replica of the original form, thus confirming the extensive sea-fare of this great Harappan port-station.³⁸

Terracotta Figurines from Neolithic Cultures: (Circa. 2300-1500 B.C.)

Broadly contemporary with the Harappan cultures and regionally apart were the Neolithic cultures of India. The terracotta figures discovered from the Neolithic levels at Piklihal, Brahmagiri and Maski are most exciting and suggest the pastoral nature of the Neolithic economy.

Terracottas of Piklihal³⁹ may be roughly divided into two groups; A3 ware and late AI ware. The earlier group can be distinguished by the surface treatment and the later one by physiognomical features. The figurines are generally hand-made and the features of the eyes and nostrils are incised, while the

36. *Indian Archaeology*, 1959-60, A Review, 18, fig. 8.

37. *Op.cit.*, 1963-64, (cyclostyled copy).

38. *Op.cit.*, 1959-60, PL. XV-B.

39. F. R. Allchin, *Piklihal Excavations*, 79.



PLATE I: Kalibangan — Human figurines

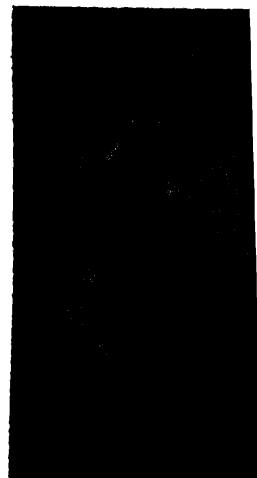


PLATE II: Kalibangan
Human head

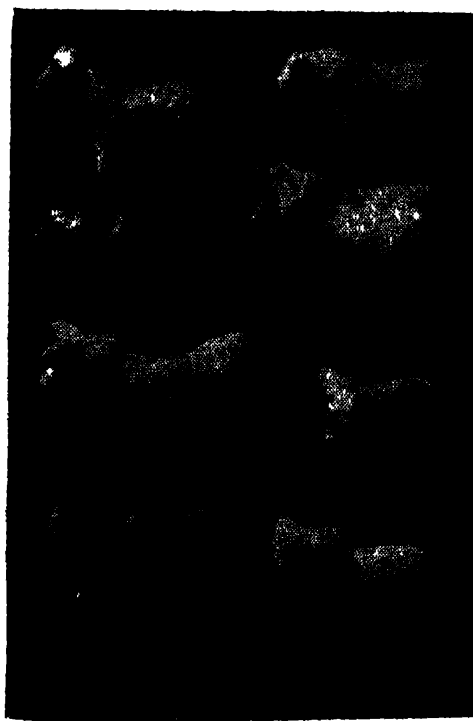


PLATE III: Kalibangan — Animal figurines



PLATE IV: Kalibangan — Charging bull

modern *Pongal* and *Deepavali*, connected with bull and cattle worship, the evidence regarding which has been amply attested by the recent excavations of Utnur ash mounds and Piklihal.⁴² Falling within the same chronological set up are the figurines obtained by Bruce Foote at Maski and the earlier collection from the excavations of Hyderabad Archaeological Department now housed in the State Museum at Hyderabad. A terracotta figurine comes from Brahmagiri⁴³—IB, which is possibly a bull as expressed by Allchin. It is a sun-dried crude hand-modelled depiction of the animal of which the applique tail resembles that of Piklihal.

The various terracotta animal figurines found at Neolithic sites suggest their major role in the Neolithic economy. The hypothesis of Allchin⁴⁴ that the many humped bulls of a particular style which are to be found bruised and painted on the rocks near the Neolithic settlements at Piklihal, Maski, Tekkallakota, Bellary and Billamrayangudda are of Neolithic date seems to be quite reasonable. The stray similarity between Piklihal bird figurines and that of figurines from the Indus Valley is far-reaching but the close resemblances seen in bulls with the specimens from Chanhudaro and Harappa do speak of a culture-contact during the period with the Harappan sites.

Terracotta Figurines from the Chalcolithic Cultures: (Circa. 1900-1200 B.C.)

Though the exuberance and artistic excellence of the Harappan terracottas are not available the tradition nevertheless had a continuity. A few specimen's obtained from Ahar, like terracotta ram, horned bull and other stylized figures from Period-IB need mention here. The bull specimen is comparable with those from Gilund. Quite important in this context is a group⁴⁵ of about thirty eight spindle whorls or beads—bi-convex, globular, or areca-nut in shape and having deeply incised decorations in the form of latticed triangles, slanting lines, chevrons, groups of wavy lines

42. F. R. Allchin, *The Neolithic Cattle Keepers of South India*, (1963).

43. R. E. M. Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 4, 289, PL. CXXI, fig. 1

44. F. R. Allchin, "Neolithic Culture in India: A Resurvey of Evidence" *All India Oriental Conference*, 18th session, (Dec. 1955), Annamalainagar, 320-324.

45. H. D. Sankalia, *Illustrated London News* (Sept. 1, 1962), 325. Also see *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, A Review, 50, PL. LXXVII-A, C, D., fig. 19.

and punctured dots, etc., and a unique one with a stylized stag. A few of them have been found at Nagda in the chalcolithic level. Eight of these patterns closely resemble those found on the spindle-whorls from Troy, and one example from Anau in Central Asia. Sites in Anatolia also show these affinities. The animal-headed pottery handles simulating features from Troy and Geoy-Tepe are unique and have not been reported from any other site in a similar context.

The occurrence of two roughly depicted bulls from Gilund⁴⁶ suggests the continuation of the art in Rajasthan. Attention is drawn to the exaggerated hump and long horns of the animal (fig. 5, no. 4), with legs executed in pinch technique. This pro-

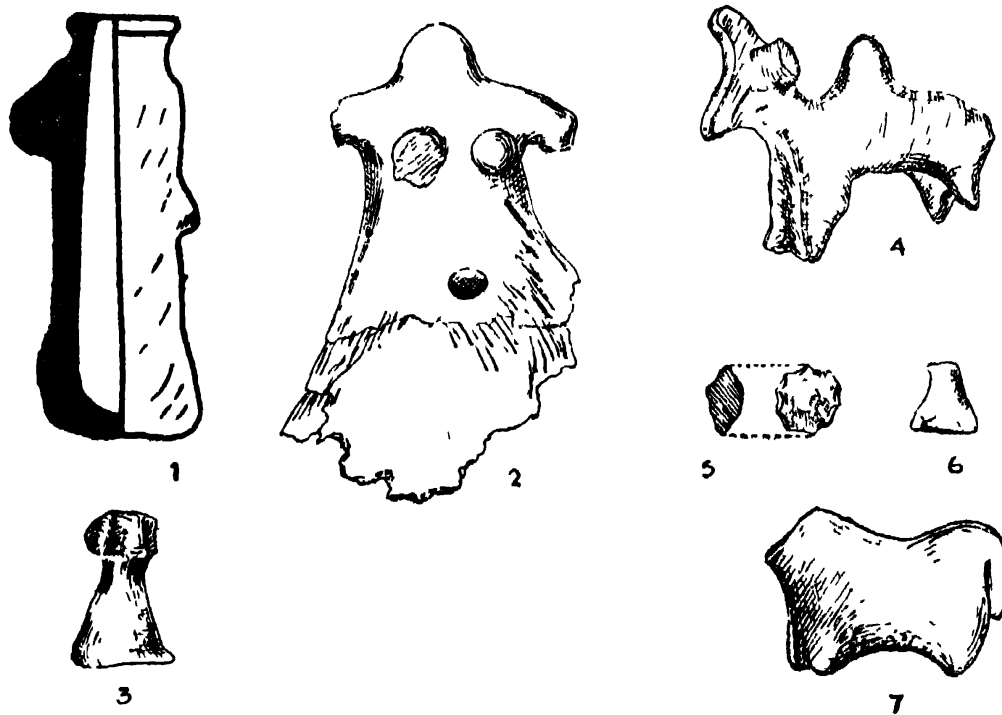


FIG. 5: Chalcolithic Terracottas: 1-Theriomorphic vessel, Chandoli; 2-Mother-Goddess, Nevasa; 3-Gamesman with ram head, Gilund; 4-Bull, Gilund; 5-Ear-ornament, Navdatoli; 6-Gamesman with a bird head, Navdatoli; 7-Miniature bull with an applique tail, Navdatoli; (not to scale)

minent hump may be noticed in Neolithic terracottas of Piklihal and Brahmagiri IB. It is not possible to comment upon their relationship to the preceding Neolithic culture. Gamesman with

46. *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61. A Review, 17-18, PL. XXVIII-A.

ram head (fig. 3, no. 6), recalls the Harappan specimens from Lothal.

The appearance of terracotta figurines in Central Indian chalcolithic sites like Eran, Navdatoli, Nagda, etc., is very interesting and suggests the migration of the art through unidentified route from Rajasthan to Central India. One may notice an affinity from the other cultural elements of Ahar and Gilund such as pottery wares etc., with the aforesaid sites. The few specimens of terracotta animal figurines at Eran⁴⁷ from Period-I are important and require proper investigation. The illustration does not help detailed study. The plastic art at Navdatoli during the period is striking as some Harappan similarities in the figurines⁴⁸ are noticed by Sankalia. The stylized bird figurines from Navdatoli (fig. 5, no. 6), Period-III, are interesting. "These are flat based beaked figures which are possibly connected with the dove figurines associated with the cult of mother-goddess as suggested by Mackey and Childe, on the basis of evidence from Crete, Sumer, and Indus Valley".⁴⁹ We have pedestalled bird figures from all Harappan sites (including the Mohenjodaro⁵⁰ ones referred to by Dr. Sankalia), and a few from Piklihal Neolithic levels also, but these specimens from Navdatoli are unlike them. The example in fig. 5, no. 6 has a stumpy flat base and a tapering head in the shape of a bird's beak. In the light of recent finds from Lothal and Gilund (fig. 5, no. 3), many of these animal-headed tiny carrot-shaped objects could be taken as gamesmen and perhaps possessed no religious significance. Another important specimen from Period III, is a miniature bull, of which the tail is shown in apolique (fig. 5, no. 7), characteristic of the Harappan figurines. It can also be noticed in Neolithic terracotta bulls from Piklihal and Brahmagiri-IB. With the above specimen it is fairly reasonable to suggest that the plastic art of this period was influenced by the decadent Harappan civilization. Besides, at Navdatoli two terracotta wheels were found in this period. One specimen (fig. 6, no. 3), is bi-convex in outline and Dr. Sankalia attributes this

47. *Ibid.*, 1959-60, 41, PL. XLV-A, 4 & 5.

48. H. D. Sankalia, B. Subba Rao, and S. B. Deo, "Excavations at Maheswar and Navdatoli", 191-204.

49. H. D. Sankalia and others, *op.cit.*, 203.

50. E. J. H. Mackey, *loc.cit.*, 295-296.

type to an "intermediate stage between single-hubbed to double hubbed".⁵¹ This is expecting too much from a stray find which may have arrived from the preceding Harappan Culture itself, i.e., from Chanhudaro where all the types were found together. We agree with Dr. Sankalia to the extent that "these specimen should imply the existence of larger wooden carts, a discovery which is

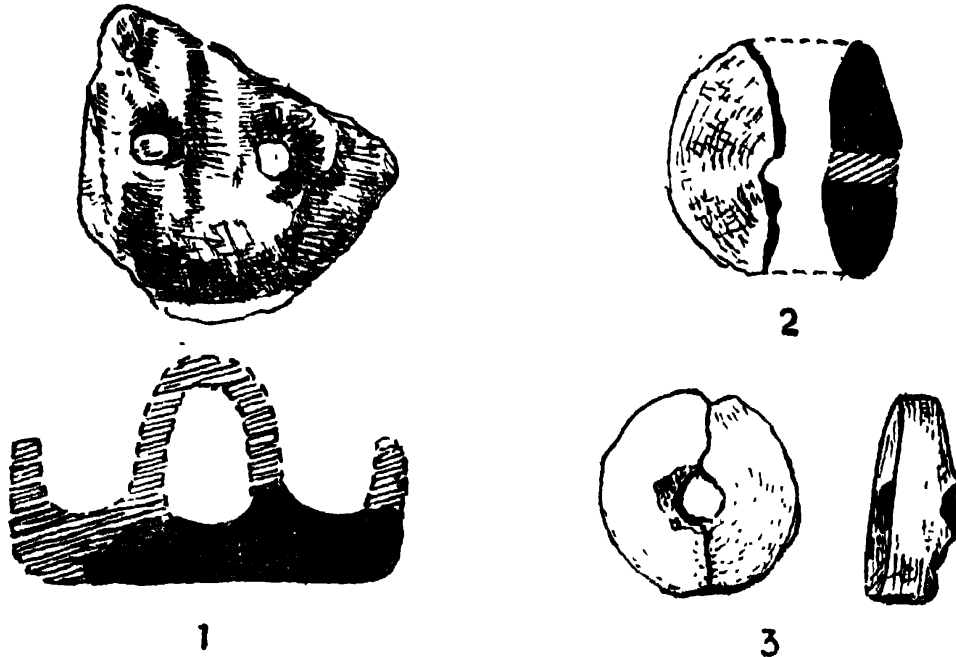


FIG. 6. Chalcolithic Terracottas Contd: 1-Lamp with a looped hold, Nevasa: 2-Toy cart wheel, Nevasa: 3-Toy cart wheel, Navdatoli: (not to scale)

quite in accord with the chalcolithic stage of human culture". A fragmentary lamp (fig. 7, no. 3), oval on plan with flat base, raised thick edge, and no wick projection, is an important find. Playing marbles from Navdatoli also suggest the popularity of this all-time children-sport. A decorative of artistic importance is an ear-ornament (fig. 5, no. 5), plano-convex in section and looking like a flower with traces of stem at the back.

A few crude terracotta figurines from Nagda⁵² show a continuity of the tradition in the region. A small bull figurine with

51. H. D. Sankalia and others, *op.cit.*, 192-193.

52. *Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56, A Review, 13, fig. 4. Personally examined the original specimens from Central Antiquities Section, Safderjung, New Delhi.

tiny legs, proportionately big body, and with a separately applied prominent hump may be easily distinguished from the other specimens of bulls the legs and ears of which are broken, but the hump is depicted by pinching of the clay. The depiction of the hump by the latter technique may be noticed at other chalcolithic sites also. The bulls from Nagda are very important as they reveal some similarity in form to some of the earliest rock bruised bulls from Piklihal.⁵³ A few horned animals and a dog are also noteworthy, besides spindle whorls similar to Ahar.

The terracotta tradition during the period in Maharashtra may be noticed at various important sites, viz., Bahal, Daimabad, Nevasa, Chandoli, etc. The existence of mother-goddess at Nevasa is an outstanding discovery of the region in the period (fig. 5, no. 2). The female figurines⁵⁴ discovered in Period-III, have been identified as mother-goddess; one of the figurines is of large size and its concave base might indicate its having been placed on the pedestal. It is a hand-made figurine, with stretched hands, breasts shown with separately made cones applied on the body. Other facial features are not clearly depicted. The crudeness of the form and bare breasts suggest its possibility of being identified as mother goddess or some cult object.

The earlier excavations⁵⁵ at Nevasa yielded a few more interesting objects which exhibit close contact with Central Indian Chalcolithic cultures. Terracotta lamps (numbering eight), were found at Nevasa confirming the evidence at Navdatoli. They are flat-based, oval on plan, with a shallow and long wick channel (fig. 7, no. 1). A singular specimen (fig. 6, no. 1) with short flared walls and remains of a loop handle over the wick channel is indeed remarkable. The existence of such broad lamps (according to Dr. Sankalia), suggests that "Nevasian Chalcolithic people led a fully settled life". As at Navdatoli, Nevasa also had yielded three examples of hubless wheels, bi-convex in transverse section and thick at the circumference, (fig. 6, no. 2). In case of fig. 7, no. 2, it is very doubtful whether this object was used as a wheel or simple lid. These are the clay replicas of the wooden

53. F. R. Allchin, *Pikilihal Excavations*, 84.

54. *Indian Archaeology*, 1959-60, A Review, 28, PL. XXXI-B.

55. H. D. Sankalia and others, *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa*, 377, 387-388, fig. 175.

carts and reflect the use of wheeled carts in the economy of these chalcolithic villagers.

The stray occurrence of terracotta animal figurines of dog, and a humped bull from Phase-2 at Daimabad⁵⁶ needs mention. The well-built body of the animal, prominent hump and tail may reveal some sort of similarity with the Harappan humped bulls.

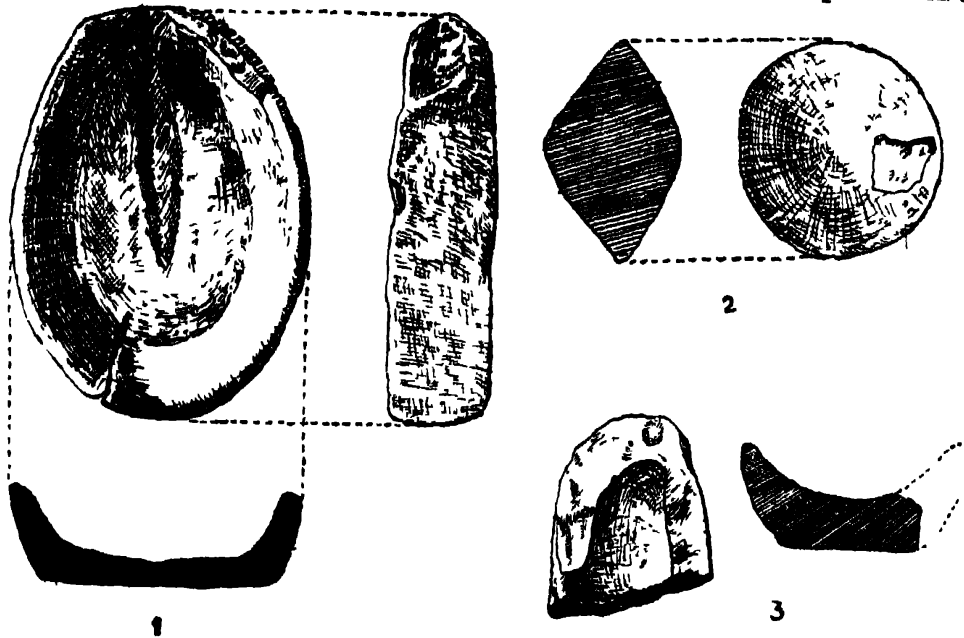


FIG. 7. Chalcolithic Terracottas Contd: 1-Lamp, oval in plan with wick channel, Nevasa: 2-Lid or Wheel ?, Nevasa: 3-Lamp (fragment), Navdatoli: (not to scale)

The remarkable discovery⁵⁷ of a bottle in the form of a bull at Chandoli (fig. 5, no. 1), merits our attention. The legs, hump, and tail applied to hollow body are significant. The last-named item is reminiscent of similar "effigies", or theriomorphic pottery vessels from Hissar and Sailk. Dr. Sharma⁵⁸ had pointed out similar handles from Rupar and says that such vessels with bull handles were found also at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. It may be mentioned here once again that in Ahar (phase-IB), a good number of animal headed handles were reported and Dr. Sankalia tried to draw similarities with Troy, and Geoy-tepe.

56. *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, A Review, 17, fig. 7.

57. *Ibid.*, 1960-61, 27, PL. XXXIV-4.

58. Based on a personal discussion by authors at the School of Archaeology, New Delhi on 10th Dec. 1964. We are grateful to Dr. Y. D. Sharma for this information.

The occurrence of terracotta figurines in the chalcolithic cultures of Rajasthan, Malwa, Maharashtra, and Gujarat sites leads us to think that they were in contact with one another at a certain period. This can be confirmed by other cultural elements also. The extreme paucity of these figurines shows that the art of manufacturing these did not emerge locally but resulted out of borrow-

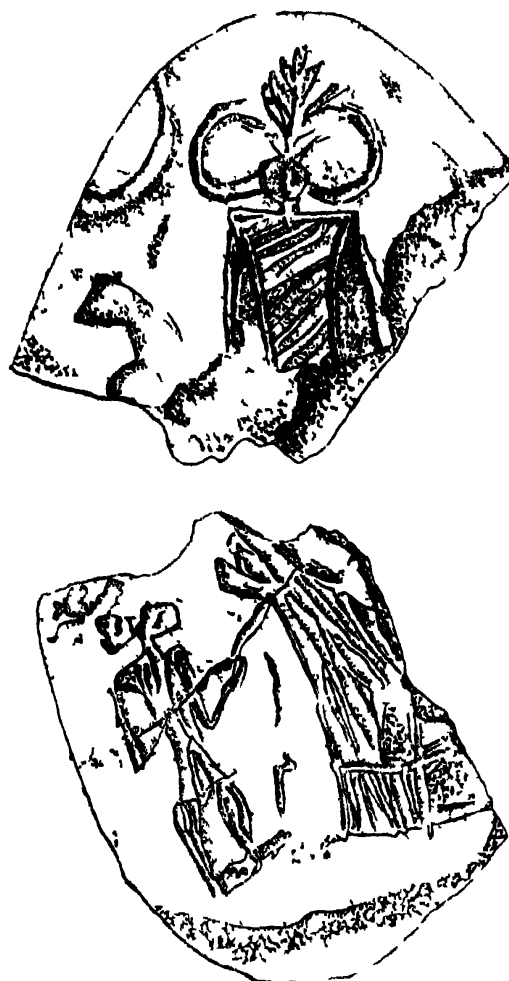


FIG. 8. Kalibangan: Triangular cake with incised figures
(not to scale)

ing a few examples, some from the then decaying Harappan cultures at home, and a few from abroad, in particular Central Asia as the spindle whorls and animal-headed pottery handles of Ahar, theriomorphic vessel from Chandoli and mother-goddess figurine from Nevasa would point out. Thus one can visualize only an indirect and restricted foreign influence over the plastic art of these chalcolithic village communities, who perhaps had some kith and kin.

Conclusion

This rapid survey neither provides in exhaustive picture nor claims an authoritative touch over this vast field of art tradition of Protohistoric India, so exuberant and exhilarating.

To recapitulate, this art started with the earliest village communities that lived on Indian soil, in the North-West belonging to a Pre-Harappan period. The art in this period was primarily of the villagers, and represented their religious and social aspects.

The succeeding Harappan expansion had left a unique and comprehensive art development so characteristic, wherever it may be found, whether in its nuclear region like Indus or far away as Saurashtra or Ganga-Yamuna doab. The humped bull or Brahmani bull, mother-goddess etc., with their characteristic attributes, and the pedestalled bird figures, have a traditional background and continued to be popular. Many dynamic and lively creations among animal figurines, especially bulls, leave classic note on the Harappan art. Such excellence and mastery of true-to-life depiction could never be seen at any time. During this prosperous period we do have, as a result of overseas contact, some human figurines and other terracotta objects analogous to Sumerian sites. In particular Lothal had revealed a clearer picture of the nature of such a contact.

In the broadly contemporary Neolithic and succeeding Chalcolithic cultures, a few such human and animal forms continue but in a cruder way owing to their indirect derivation from the urbanized civilization of the North-west India and a few that chanced from abroad, i.e., Western Asia. After the disappearance of the Harappan civilization and the advent of village forming communities there seems to be a lull as regards the plastic art. We see no commendable relics which can be considered representative of that period. The tradition somehow lingered here and there.

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- (i) H. D. Sankalia, and others, "From history to Prehistory at Nevasa", (1960).
- (ii) H. D. Sankalia, B. Subba Rao, S. B. Deo", Excavations at Maheswar and Navdatoli", (1958).
- (iii) Stuart Piggott, "Prehistoric India", (1962).
- (iv) F. R. Allchin, "Piklihal Excavations", (1960).
- (v) Indian Archaeology—A Review. (All numbers).

We are deeply indebted to all the above learned authors.

The British Occupation of Kolhan (Singhbhum), 1836-37

BY

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This paper describes the genesis, the stages and the immediate results of the British occupation of the out-of-the-way tribal tract of Kolhan (Singhbhum) in the Chota-Nagpur plateau.

The Hos (the Larka Kols) of this area proved to be the most formidable obstacle to the British expansion towards the South-West of the Bengal Presidency.¹ Writing about these freedom-loving people, William Dunbar wrote in 1861: "Upon the whole it may be said of this singular people that, living in a primeval and patriarchal manner under their Moondas and Mankies, they have managed to preserve a sort of savage independence, making themselves dreaded and feared by their more powerful and civilized neighbours. They have always been ready to fly to arms at the call of any enterprising and desperate adventurer".² They harassed the British authorities in the Jungle Mahals and Ramgarh districts which later formed part of the South-West Frontier Agency. They would participate in the recurrent disturbances among the Munda, Oraon, Kharwar and Bhumij tribes and would run back to their inaccessible abodes after looting and killing. The Chiefs of Saraikela, Kharsawan and Porahat, who had been

1. To its North-West and North were Chota-Nagpur and Tamar, to the North Patkum, to the East Barabhum and Dhalbhum, to the South-East Bamanghati, to the South Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, to the South-West Bonai and to the West Gangpur and Chota-Nagpur proper: Roughsedge to Lt. Col. Richards, 2 April 1821, Home Misc. no. 724.

2. W. Dunbar's 'Some observations on the Manners, customs, and Religious opinions of the Lurka Coles', *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, XVIII

hinduised³ and alienated from the Ho masses, could not keep them in check. In fact, they incited them to make a raid on any neighbouring chief who acted against them.⁴

The Bengal Government therefore began to think about some military action against the Hos since 1818 A.D. with the object of securing "public peace" in the neighbouring Districts lest this area might become "an asylum for fugitive offenders".⁵ Early in 1820 the Rajas of Porahat, Kharsawan and Saraikela, along with their Larkakol subjects, were brought under British protection through the force of arms.⁶ But the majority of the Ho masses were still in a defiant mood.

Major Roughsedge, the Political Agent of the Governor-General on the South-West frontier, therefore, suggested the final annexation of the whole area to the British Indian empire.⁷ A decade later Captain Wilkinson, another Political Agent sought the permission of the Government to send troops to Singhbhum.⁸ It was presumably for strategic considerations that Wilkinson pressed for such an action. He wanted to take advantage of the long-

3. L.S.S.O' Malley, *Singhbhum District Gazetteer*, p. 25: "The north of the district came under the rule of the high family of Porahat, who claim to be Rathor Rajputs and whose head was formerly known as the Raja of Singhbhum".

4. *Ibid.*

5. Government to E. Roughsedge, 29 August 1818, Home, Miscellaneous series no. 724, India Office Library, London. N. N. Singh Deo calls it "the ruse of securing peace for the country": *Singhbhum, Seraikela and Kharsawan through the Ages*, 47.

6. See J. C. Jha, "Early British Contacts with Singhbhum", *Patna University Journal*, Vol. 18, no. 1, 1963.

7. Roughsedge to Government, 9 May 1820, Home Misc. no. 724. Also see J. C. Jha, 'British Contact with Singhbhum, 1821-1831', *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLVII, parts I-IV.

8. Judicial letter no. 23 of 1832, Bengal Govt. to Court of Directors, 23 Oct. 1832, Beng. letters received no. 120. Raja Chetan Singh of Porahat suggested that two battalions with brigades of guns (from the Jungle Mahals force) and 150 to 200 horses of the 5th local cavalry of the Ramgarh battalion should be deployed in the field.

standing quarrel between the Bamanghati chief and his overlord, the Raja of Mayurbhanj.⁹

The Calcutta authorities wavered for some time as they had got the bitter experience of the Kol Insurrection of 1831-32¹⁰ and the Bhumij Revolt of the Jungle Mahals of 1832-33.¹¹ They knew that the trouble had been aggravated by dividing authority between the Agent on the South-West frontier on the one hand and the Cuttack commissioner on the other.¹² But when the subjugation and settlement of the Munda, Oraon, Kharwar and Bhumij belts of the Chota-Nagpur plateau produced good results Wilkinson pressed for some action immediately in 1836: "After well weighing the subject, the only plan which occurs to me as likely to be attended with success, is to take the whole of the Cole Peers directly under our own management and release them from their allegiance to the Rajahs of Singhbhoom and Mohurbhanj, the Kooar of Seraikella, Thakoof of Kharsawan and other Baboos; to appoint an European officer to the charge of them, and support his authority by a Detachment of 500 muskets of the Ramgurh Battn, a Brigade of guns and 100 Horse."¹³

The Government at last agreed to this proposal and the British forces under Col. Richards entered the Kolhan in November 1836. The whole area was scoured till February 1837, but there was no fighting worth the name. Everywhere the *sardars* came and submitted in large numbers. Thus when T. Wilkinson reached

9. For details of Kol depredations during 1834-1837 see H. Ricketts, Magistrate at Balasore, to J. Master, the Acting Commr., Cuttak, 21 April 1834; J. Master to Balasore magistrate, 29 April 1834; H. Ricketts to Wilkinson, 23 Dec. 1834; R. D. Mangles to Balasore magistrate, 20 March 1835; H. Ricketts to Govt., 26 March 1835; Govt. to H. Ricketts, 6 Oct. 1836; Govt. to Wilkinson, 16 May 1837 in K. P. Mitra, *A handbook to the Historical Records in the office of the Secy. to the Agent to the G. G., Eastern States, etc. 1803-1856*, Patna, 1933. Also see Govt. to G. Stockwell, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, 3 April 1832, Beng. Cr. Judl. Cons. of 3 April 1832.

10. J. C. Jha, *The Kol Insurrection in Chota-Nagpur*.

11. J. C. Jha, 'Ganga Narain and the Bhumij Revolt of 1832-33', *Modern Review*, Dec. 1962.

12. Judl. letter no. 23 of 1832, Beng. Govt. to Court of Directors, 23 Oct. 1832, Bengal letters received, no. 120.

13. T. Wilkinson to Govt., no. 36, 22 Aug. 1836, quoted in N. N. Singh Deo, *op.cit.*, pp. 47-48. Also K. P. Mitra, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

Mujgaon, a village in the centre of Oelapir on 10 January, 1837, the heads of many villages with three to four *sardars* surrendered the next day. The only notable exception was Buranda, the *Sardar* of Jcha Kuli, who had terrorised the Sambhalpur road as far as Keonjhar. Eventually this tribal chief was arrested and put under restraint. His associates remained at large for some time, but when the headman of the village of Harun Kuman was threatened with dire consequences and the British forces began plundering his village, the heads of the remaining villages surrendered and confessed having attacked the *daks* and the *dak* carriers, very often resorting to wanton murder.¹⁴ When the *sardars* of Lalgargh, Oelapir, Toeepir and Barbariapir surrendered and entered into an agreement with Captain Wilkinson, hundreds of bad characters were rounded up.

Large numbers of village headmen joined Wilkinson at Damaria in the Berudia division of Jaintgarh. Again the same process was gone through; the notorious plunderers were rounded up and some cattle restored. Many rebels were attacked in the jungles and hills where they had shifted their hearth and home; the family members—both men and women—of the suspects were rounded up.¹⁵ At some places, however, as at Beridia, the rebels fled their abodes before the British army could surprise them,¹⁶ and then they attacked the army from their hiding places at an opportune moment. At other places the British army was more fortunate: they were able to unearth all the grains the rebels had deposited up or under the earth. Some of the *sardars* who submitted helped the army in tracing out the rebels.

This was the general trend of the operations followed by large-scale submission everywhere. The Mundas and Naiks of Jaintgarh, Sathantri and Bamanghati *pirs* thus surrendered before any military action was taken. No sooner had this subjugation been effected than the army was faced with the problem of sickness. Both the 31st Regiment Native Infantry and the Ramgarh battalion

14. Wilkinson to Govt., Camp Kesna, 22 Jan. 1837, Political Despatch Register, Jan. 1837 to 28 September 1839, Central Record Room, Patna: *Datk* chalans, *tamassiks* (promissory notes), brasspots, 266 heads of buffaloes, bullocks and cows, etc. were recovered.

15. Wilkinson to Govt., 14 Feb. 1837, *ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

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suffered many casualties.¹⁷ Consequently, after reaching Gumla the military forces were allowed to go back to their cantonments.

The Mundas and Naiks of Jaintgarh and Satbantri concluded an agreement with the British Political Agent on the same terms as the Kols of Bamanghati *pirs* had done. Now Wilkinson recommended that for the maintenance of peace in that area a force of sufficient strength should be maintained in Kolhan as had been done in other parts of Singhbhum.

Soon the *sardars* of Katgarh *pir*, Jamdapir Nathu *pir*, Sarandapir and Ragariapir agreed to be subservient to the British Government.¹⁸ Similar agreements were concluded with all the *mankis* and *mundas* subordinate to the Singhbhum raja and his brethren in Gumla, Burkela, Cheru, Ajodhya, Chainpur, Gopinathpur, Govindpur and Kallanwali Pir. They readily agreed to pay a rent of eight annas per plough as fixed by Roughsedge in 1821.¹⁹

A few villages in Rorea, Jamturi and Bamanghati *pirs* were left under the Raja of Mayurbhanj on an assurance from the raja that he would keep them under proper control. These villages did not form part of the four Garh Kol *Pirs* of Bamanghati. Some others near Anandpur bordering Gangpur and Porahat, the residence of the Raja of Singhbhum, were similarly left under the supervision of Abhay Singh, the Thakur of Anandpur and the Raja of Porahat.

As a result of the operations the geographical features of the area were known: there was a range of hills running almost East and West, dividing the Northern from the Southern Kolhan.²⁰ To the South of the range were Lalgah and Oelapir in Bamanghati, Jaintgarh or Burpuri, Satbuntri, Kotgarh, Jamda and Natwa in Singhbhum. The range of hills after running a long distance to the West, took a northern turn. To the West of the range were Rengreapir and Saranda and the *Pirs* of Reila and Koldiha. All the *Pirs* to the South and West of the hills, with the exception

17. *Ibid.*

18. Wilkinson to Govt., Chaibasa Camp, 28 Feb. 1837, *ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*: The total number of inhabited villages annexed by the British was 622 (387 of Singhbhum raja, 51 of the Kunwar of Saraikela, 3 of Thakur Chetan Singh and 181 of the Raja of Mayurbhanj) scattered over an area 70 miles in length and 65 in breadth. Also see Roughsedge to Govt., 8 May 1821, Home Misc. 724.

20. *Ibid.*

of a major portion of Lalgah and Oelapir were full of jungle. The Northern pirs of both Bamanghati and Singhbhum were generally open, except near the hills, and there were extensive tracts of fertile land with unsatisfactory cultivation. It was perhaps due to the jungly and hilly nature of the area that the military operation lasted for about four months, even though there was no serious opposition.

The revenue collection from Kolhan by the Singhbhum raja and the Thakurs had never exceeded Rs. 1,500. On the other hand, the Mayurbhanj raja could collect nothing from the Kol Pirs of Bamanghati, whereas Madho Das Mahapater of Baman-ghati could collect only a trifling sum. These chiefs also got a goat and some *ghee* from the villages for the *Dashahara* festival.²¹

Now fresh engagements "were verbally made and solemnly sworn to" by which the Hos "bound themselves to obey and pay revenue to the British Government".²² Each of the headmen received a *sanad* and *patta*, in the former of which all the conditions which they had sworn to abide by, were specified. Whenever a new headman was appointed, he received a *sanad* and swore to abide by the conditions.

After the revenue settlement Wilkinson set out to make arrangements for maintaining law and order. In case there was no British authority on the spot, he thought, the Hos would continue to settle their disputes in the traditionally barbarous manner, and murders would frequently take place. That is why he suggested the stationing of a force of the Ramgarh battalion here. Under a "judicious management," he hoped, the Hos would "become more civilized."²³ Besides this 'civilising' mission there was some utilitarian motive too: "Government will be amply repaid for any expense it may be at, in the first instance, not only by an increase of Revenue, but by having at its command a powerful people when compared with their neighbours, through whom it could overawe or punish if necessary, neighbouring zamindars, who might venture to set Government at defiance."²⁴ There were strategic advantages too in guarding a region "so near the seat

21. *Ibid.*

22. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sunnuds*, I, 170.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*: a revenue of Rs. 8,000 per annum was expected.

of Government, and immediately bordering on the production (?) provinces of Bengal and Orissa".²⁵ For the cantonment and the civil station Chaibasa, an elevated spot in an open country on the banks of a fine stream of water, was preferred to Gumlagarh in the Gumlapir or to Saraikela which was situated in a comparatively civilized area.

Once the military operations stopped in February 1837 the services of some chiefs of the area were acknowledged. The kunwar of Saraikela, Khandu Pater of Karaikela, Babu Lokenath Sin of Kera and the Mahapater of Chainpur, one of the guardians of the minor Raja of Singhbhum, the Raja of Keonjhar and many other chiefs contributed their mite towards the success of the operations. Among the lesser lights one Jamadar Manki and his brothers of Apa in Gumlapir, Dubru Manki of Charaipir, Sanghi Manki and his brothers of Bhainge in Asantalia pir, Chakru Manki and his brothers of Rajabassa and Bughnu and Hari Manki of Ajodhya helped the British authorities in several ways. Similar assistance came forth from Onkura, Chemla and Putercom Mundas of Barbaria pir and Manki Munda of Toepir after their surrender. Naturally therefore, Wilkinson recommended cash awards to some of them.²⁶ He suggested some special mark of favour for the Raja of Keonjhar, whereas he made a special note of the lukewarmness of Thakur Chetan Singh of Kharsawan and the Mayurbhanj raja to the British cause.

When Lt. Armstrong, the second in command in the Ramgarh battalion, came to head the troops in Singhbhum in March 1837 Wilkinson wrote to the Government that Lt. Tickell, an able officer, might be appointed on a consolidated salary of Rs. 500/- per month and he would be a better choice.²⁷ Now the huts for the civil station and the cantonment were built at a high spot near Pitudiri,

25. *Ibid.* Until now the Political Agent of the Governor General first lived at Hazaribagh, 100 miles away from the Singhbhum border and then at Kishenpur (Ranchi).

26. *Ibid.*: Rs. 800 to the Kunwar of Saraikela, Rs. 300/- to Khandu Pater, Rs. 250 to Lokenath Singh of Kera and Rs. 200 to the Mahapater of Chainpur. Raja Ajambar Singh died in 1837 of illness caused by exposure and fatigue in these operations: Aitchison, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 368

27. Wilkinson to Govt., 30 March 1837, Political Despatch Register, 7 Jan. 1837 to 28 Sept. 1839, Patna Archives.

a mile to the north of Chaibasa. When the Ho prisoners clashed with the guards in the Kishenpur Jail and 26 of them were killed²⁸ the problem of lodging them properly was discussed.

As soon as things settled down in Kolhan new administrative rules which had been suitably tested in other undeveloped, tribal areas of Chota-Nagpur plateau were extended to this area. Rules for the administration of criminal justice in the Kolhan, drawn largely from the rules framed for the South-West Frontier Agency of the Bengal Presidency under Regulation XIII of 1833, were enforced with some minor variations.²⁹ Wilkinson sent his special directive to Lt. Tickell, the officer in-charge Kolhan, asking him to work through the *manki* or his assistant or to have direct contact with the Kols and not to trust the *dubhasias* (interpreters).³⁰ After taking an oath the *manki* was to superintend a number of villages specified in the agreement, responsible to the Political Agent and not to the local zamindar for the regular collection and punctual payment of land revenue as well as for public peace, seizing and apprehending offenders.³¹ He was also to decide all petty disputes and to implement all lawful orders from the assistant. Moreover, a *munda* was to be appointed in each village. Witch-hunting and other social evils were to be eradicated gradually and tactfully, such cases being referred to the *panchayat*.

The British occupation of Kolhan was not an accident, but a result of a cool, calculated policy designed to secure the subjugation of the war-like Hos who could be utilised for furthering the interest of *Pan Britannica*. It was a "forcible occupation of territory": 'there was no formal document of transfer'³² from the chiefs of this area. The Hos were now withdrawn from the nominal control of the Rajas of Mayurbhanj and Singhbhum and placed under the direct control of the British authorities.³³ As a part of the South-West Frontier Agency, however, the Hos continued to enjoy peace for about twenty years after which they rose in revolt in 1857.

28. Wilkinson to Govt., 5 May 1837, *ibid*.

29. *Ibid*.

30. Wilkinson to Tickell, 13 May 1837, P. C. Roy Choudhary, *Singhbhum Old Records*, p. 270.

31. *Ibid*.

32. Quoted in N. N. Singh Deo, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

33. Tickell, 'Memoir on Hodesum', *JOASB*, 1840.

Fall of the Nayaks of Madurai

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The Nayak administration in the history of Madurai, noted for its achievements in architecture, trade and polity, occupies the period between the best days of the Empire of Vijayanagar and the extension of the Mughal sway to the far South. Founded by Visvanatha Nayak, a general of Vijayanagar, during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya (A.D. 1509-1530), the Nayaks asserted their independence, as the Empire drifted to decay. Able and benevolent, they preserved the country for long against the aggressions from Mysore and the Deccani Sultanates and promoted the arts of peace. They reached the zenith of their glory under Tirumala Nayak (A.D. 1623-1659). However, the foreign incursions and internal turmoils, that followed the death of this illustrious ruler, had ushered in a period of steady decline. By 1693 the Mughals extended their influence to Madurai and forced the Nayaks to pay tribute. In 1736 Chanda Sahib, commander of the forces of the Carnatic, deposed Queen Minakshi, the last of the Nayak rulers, and occupied Madurai. This article is an attempt to discuss the crisis which led to the downfall of the Nayaks and the futile attempts that they made to regain the lost possession.

The year 1732, when Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha (A.D. 1689-1732), the ruler of Madurai, died, witnessed the out-break of disturbances throughout the Nayak-land. Leaving no issue, he had bequeathed the kingdom to his favourite wife Minakshi. But the other widows, seven in number, determined to follow their departed husband and to escape from the control of a queen, whom they detested, committed *sati*. The accession of a queen incapable of coping with the critical situation, created by Mughal incursions, excited internal disorders. The troubles assumed serious proportions, when the brothers of the queen, Venkata Nayak and Perumal Nayak, who became ministers in the new regime, expelled or im-

prisoned several influential officials on charges of corruption and embezzlement of public funds. This measure was, no doubt, aimed at the improvement of the administration, but it annoyed the expelled officials. Guided by Naranappa Iyer, they entered into a daring plot with Bangaru Tirumalai, a cousin of the late Rajah, and the poligars. They decided to capture Tiruchirapalli, the capital city, by a surprise attack and to enthrone Bangaru. To assemble an army was no difficult a task during this period, for every chieftain of prominence retained his own troops. The plot, however, fizzled out, as the queen's party discovered it right in time. Bangaru fled to the South and the queen strengthened her position by removing all suspects from the administration and by enlisting more troops in her service. Yet the fear, that the Mughals would lend their support to Bangaru, had so much haunted the queen that she obtained recognition of her title by Safdar Ali, the commander of the Mughal army sent by Nawab Dost Ali of the Carnatic to Tiruchirapalli, by means of a present, it is stated, of three lakhs of rupees.¹

Bangaru in the meantime organised a rival government at Madurai, declared himself Rajah and appointed Naranappa Iyer his minister. He assembled an army and prepared to storm Tiruchirapalli in co-operation with the feudatory princes and Mysore. In a bid to counteract this the queen entered into a close alliance with Tanjore. The formation of these alliances virtually split the political forces of the South into hostile camps. The two sides appeared almost equally powerful, the balance of power resting with the Nawab's army.

In 1733 Bangaru and Naranappa Iyer, at the command of their forces, marched from Madurai to Tiruchirapalli. The troops of Mysore in accordance with a pre-determined design advanced to the Nayak capital from the West. Despite this two-pronged challenge, the queen's army acted energetically. It defeated the forces of Bangaru and then turning to the North scattered the Mysoreans. This ended the first round of battle in favour of the queen. The struggle was soon renewed, when Naranappa Iyer reassembled his dispersed forces and moved on Dindigul. The

1. L. Besse, *Father Beschi, His Times and His Writings*, (Tiruchirapalli, 1918), p. 125.

queen's army marched to interrupt the progress of the enemy, but was compelled to withdraw, when a powerful army from Mysore cornered on Tiruchirapalli. Now Naranappa Iyer opened a correspondence from a position of strength and induced the queen to appoint him as her minister, recognise prince Vijaya-kumara, the son of Bangaru, as the heir to the throne, and assign a district to Bangaru for his support. Naranappa Iyer gave a large present to Safdar Ali and won his approval for the settlement. Indeed the terms appeared very reasonable, for they satisfied the interests of both the parties—the queen retained the right to continue in power, while Bangaru's partisan and son obtained the right to become the minister and successor respectively and Bangaru stood to gain control of a district. In addition the settlement averted the possibility of any immediate foreign intervention in this conflict of the Nayaks.

Yet the settlement was not worked out. Bangaru, who was away at Madurai, on hearing the settlement, rushed to Tiruchirapalli and bluntly repudiated it. In his endeavour to gain possession of the throne he unwillingly played into the hands of the Nawab's general. He offered a handsome present, it is said, thirty lakhs of rupees to Safdar Ali and purchased his support. Safdar Ali now abandoning the cause of the queen, decided to capture the fort. However, as he doubted his ability to accomplish this task, he assumed the role of an arbitrator, heard the complaints from the parties and after a show of investigation announced his predetermined decision. He declared that Bangaru was entitled to the crown, and Minakshi to respectable treatment. It cannot be denied that the arbitrator's decision was arbitrary and partial for it not only violated the recognition, he extended to the queen's title, but also was weighed in favour of Bangaru because of the present he received. No wonder the queen ignored the verdict. Yet Safdar Ali proclaimed Bangaru as the king of Madurai in 1733. Before a final settlement of this dispute was effected, he returned to Arcot, after entrusting the command of the forces with his brother-in-law Chanda Sahib.² The two rival governments—

2. The Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1773, *Father Beschi, His Times and His Writings*, pp. 129-130 and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 46, pp. 218-219.

the queen's at Tiruchirapalli and Bangaru's at Madurai—continued to exist.

To the Nawab's army the situation turned more promising, when Bangaru, strengthened by the decision of Safdar Ali in his favour, threatened to storm the fort of Tiruchirapalli. Terribly alarmed, Minakshi appealed to Chanda Sahib for aid. In return for a present of one crore of rupees Chanda Sahib consented to render military support. The inconsistency in the attitude of the Nawab's generals glaringly revealed itself; still the belligerents carried on the struggle with determined vigour. As the threat to the fort entered a serious phase, the queen, after obtaining an oath from Chanda Sahib of faithful support, admitted a body of his troops into it for defence. But the oath was a false one, made on a false Qoran. The deceitful Chanda Sahib, when he took the oath, had substituted a brick in the same splendid covering in which the Qoran was usually wrapped.³ The queen suspected no deceit, but she was led into a cardinal error of admitting the forces of an adventurer into the solitary strong-hold in her possession. Perhaps it was an error impossible for her to avoid in the face of the worsening situation. Chanda Sahib without giving any ground for suspicion attacked and dispersed the forces of Bangaru in co-operation with the troops of the queen and the Rajah of Tanjore. Among the prisoners of war were Bangaru who was sent to Arcot and Naranappa Iyer who was handed over to the queen and subsequently, put to death.⁴ The Rajah of Tanjore in return for his services obtained possession of the districts of Koilody and Elangad from Madurai. It appeared that the civil war ended and that the queen regained her ascendancy.

3. M. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, Part I (Madras, 1907), p. 155.

4. *Father Beschi, His Times and His Writings*, p. 155. Naranappa Iyer ended his life under pitiable circumstances. He had his ears, nose, tongue, hands and feet cut off before his death.

But the execution of a Brahmin was considered an unpardonable crime. If a Brahmin were found guilty of any heinous crime, instead of being put to death, the figure of a dog stamped on his body with a red hot iron, the bones of a dead cow tied round his neck and then he was seated on an ass and paraded through the streets. No doubt this practice appears as cruel as killing a person. (Annual Letter of the Madura Mission dated 1st August, 1733, *Father Beschi*, p. 125).

After his victory over Bangaru, Chanda Sahib marched to the far South with the declared objective of reducing the whole country to the queen's sway. But the Kallans and the poligars intercepted him at Nattam and forced his retreat. In order to retrieve his tarnished prestige, Chanda Sahib decided to win fresh laurels. Taking advantage of an opportunity, created by a bitter conflict of the Tanjoreans with the Kallar and Marava powers, he invaded Tanjore in 1734 and forced Rajah Tukkoji to pay a large contribution.⁵

With the booty, that he collected from Tanjore, Chanda Sahib went to Arcot; but in January 1736 he returned to Tiruchirapalli with Bangaru and a large army. Now he revealed his ominous designs. In flagrant violation of his solemn assurance and in co-operation with the forces, which he already got admitted into the fort, he launched a surprise attack and took the city. He promptly imprisoned the queen and enthroned Bangaru with the empty title of 'king'. For all intents and purposes this revolution of 1736 terminated the Nayak administration of Madurai and started the Nawab's rule. After consolidating his victory at Tiruchirapalli, Chanda Sahib took the field against other powers. He invaded Tanjore a second time and levied a large contribution. Advancing to the West, he occupied the territories, wrested by the ruler of Mysore from Madurai.

The Nayaks in the meanwhile rallied their strength in the far South and proclaimed Vijayakumara as the King at Madurai. On hearing this development Chanda Sahib adroitly enthroned Minakshi and sent a powerful army in her name against the rival government. Govindaiya and Ravanaiya, who commanded this expedition, obtained a free passage through the defiles of Kallar Nadu by means of presents or threats and made their way to Madurai. They attacked and defeated the troops of Vijayakumara and occupied the city. Bangaru, joining his son near Madurai, made his last stand at Ammaya Nayakkanúr, but was overwhelmed. The father and the son, reaping the harvest of their intrigues, escaped to Sivaganga for safety. In this misfortune

5. Annual Letter of the Madura Mission, 14th July 1735, *Father Beschi*, pp. 135-137.

the Marava chiefs came to their rescue by assigning a few villages for their support. Chanda Sahib wanted to capture the fugitives, but for fear of a conflict with the Maravas observed restraint.⁶ Now the Nawab's general saw no serious obstacle to his assumption of the direct control of the country. He deposed the queen and declared himself the Nawab of Madurai in the name of the imperial Mughals. The unfortunate Minakshi, overwhelmed with frustration and despondency, committed suicide.⁷

Burhan Ibn Hasan, the Chronicler of the Wallajahs, rightly condemns Chanda Sahib that he went to Tiruchirapalli in the name of peace-maker and span the thread of relationship of a brother, swearing on the word of Allah, but broke the covenant and took possession of the fort.⁸ True that the general cannot be exonerated. However the importance of the acquisition for the Nawab was indeed considerable. On the one hand, it marked the extinction of the Nayak kingdom after two centuries of its existence, and on the other, the expansion of the Carnatic to Tirunelveli and the obliteration of the auxiliary powers of Madurai.

Confronted with an unpredicted situation, Bangaru appealed to the Marathas of Poona for aid. The prominent Hindu powers of the South—Mysore, the Maravas and Pudukkottai—too, called upon the Marathas for intervention, offering their co-operation for the expulsion of the Nawab's army from Madurai.⁹ As these developments offered an opportunity for the advancement of their own interests, the Marathas sent 40,000 to 50,000 horse to the Carnatic: Raghuji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh, the commanders of the expedition, defeated and slew Dost Ali, the Mughal Nawab of the Carnatic, in the battle at Damalcherri in 1740.¹⁰ In March, 1741 the Marathas advanced to the South and took Tiruchirapalli

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-151.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

8. M. Husayn Nainar (ed.) *Burhan Ibn Hasan's Tuzak-i-Walajahi* (Madras, 1939) part I, p. 70.

9. According to a report from a spy at Arcot the King of Mysore offered to pay fifty lakhs of rupees to the Marathas as a price for the restoration of Hindu government at Tiruchirapalli. (*Public Country Correspondence*, 5 December 1740, Vol. 1, p. 65).

10. J. F. Price (ed.), *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. I, p. 118.

by escalade.¹¹ They appointed Murari Rao of Gooty as their Governor of Madurai and returned to Maharashtra with Chanda Sahib as prisoner in their camp.

The Maratha expedition resulted in the re-establishment of the Hindu rule at Tiruchirapalli; it was however not of the Nayaks but of the Marathas. The overthrow of the Nawab's rule revived the fallen hopes of the Nayaks; Bangaru and his son Vijaya-kumara requested the Maratha chiefs to recognise their rights to the kingdom, but in vain.¹² Undeterred by the Nayak endeavours, the Marathas proceeded ahead with the consolidation of their gains. Appaji Rao, a lieutenant of Murari Rao, established Maratha authority over the Southern provinces.

In 1743 the tide of events turned against the Marathas. Asaf Jah, the Nizam of Hyderabad, at the command of a formidable army, advanced to Arcot and asserted the over-lordship over the Carnatic. In March he attacked Tiruchirapalli and occupied it after a prolonged siege.¹³ This victory of the Nizam terminated the Maratha rule and restored the possession of Madurai to his Nawab at Arcot. In the transition of power from the Marathas to the Mughals the Nayaks found another chance to make a bid to regain the lost ground. Both Bangaru and his son Vijaya-kumara paid a visit to the Nizam at Tiruchirapalli and requested the restoration of the country. They offered to pay thirty lakhs of rupees as compensation for the expenses of his campaign and three lakhs as the annual tribute, as they did to Raghuji Bhonsle. When the Nizam returned to Hyderabad, they accompanied him upto Arcot. Apparently a settlement was worked out. The Nizam directed Anwar-ud-din, Nawab of the Carnatic, to restore the country to the Nayaks, but took no definite step to implement the terms. Anwar-ud-din promised the restoration of the country on

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2.

12. The Telugu chronicles on the Nayaks mention that Fateh Singh summoned Bangaru and his son to Tiruchirapalli and promised to restore the kingdom to them on their paying thirty lakhs of rupees as war indemnity and three lakhs as annual tribute. Bangaru agreed to do so and gave it in writing. (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 46, p. 243). Still the Marathas did not restore the country.

13. Price (ed.) *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. 1, p. 243.

the re-establishment of order and granted a daily allowance of 300 pagodas^{13a} to Bangaru. Thus encouraged, Bangaru entered the service of the Nawab and rendered him signal service for the establishment of order in the Arcot Subedari. But as days passed on, the excited hopes of the Nayak chief waned. The Nawab, at last, got rid of the frustrated chief by poisoning him to death. Bangaru, thus, after a futile struggle for the realisation of his dream ended his life miserably. On hearing the tragic death of his father, the panic stricken Vijayakumara escaped again to Sivaganga.¹⁴

On the outbreak of the Second Carnatic War (1749-1754) Vijayakumara discovered an opportunity to seek the recovery of Madurai. Released from prison by the Marathas, Chanda Sahib appeared as a rival to Nawab Anwar-ud-din. After defeating and killing the Nawab at Ambur, he sent an expedition to the far South.¹⁵ Alam Khan, who commanded the army, occupied the fort of Madurai from the troops of Anwar-ud-din. As the invader possibly wanted to win the support of the inhabitants, he crowned Vijayakumara as the 'king' of the country. The new ruler, however, exercised nothing more than nominal powers. When Alam Khan left Madurai to join Chanda Sahib at Tiruchirappalli, he appointed Mudemiah as his successor. Mudemiah served as minister of Vijayakumara for a few months. Subsequently he, at the instructions from Chanda Sahib, sought to depose the prince, but he could not effect it as the Maravas shielded the Nayaks. Yet when Mudemiah plotted to seize Vijayakumara, the later attributing his misfortunes to the influence of an inauspicious star abdicated the throne in 1751 and retired to the jungles of Sivaganga.¹⁶

In 1752 Nandi Rajah, general of Mysore, by virtue of the offered cession of Madurai to Mysore in return for his alliance with Mohammad Ali against Chanda Sahib, sent an expedition

13a. A gold coin, pagoda was exchanged for three rupees normally.

14. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 46, pp. 244-246 and *Burhan's Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, Part I, p. 70 foot notes.

15. S. C. Hill, Yusuf Khan, *The Rebel Commandant*, (London, 1914), p. 26.

16. H. Dodwell (ed.), *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. 5, p. 176.

under Khub Sahib to Madurai and occupied it from Miana, the successor of Mudemiah. Unwisely Khub Sahib offended the sentiments of the people by killing cows and cutting down coconut trees, objects of Hindu veneration. In December the inhabitants of Madurai rose in rebellion. The Marava forces, joining the standard of insurrection, stormed the city and crowned Vijayakumara.¹⁷ The country again witnessed a return of the Nayak rule.

The Nayak administration, however, did not last for long. Soon after the withdrawal of the Marava forces, Mianah overthrew the Nayaks from power and re-established his rule. Vijayakumara again fled to Sivaganga. The Marava forces marched to Madurai a second time and defeated the forces of Miana, but made no attempt to restore the country to the Nayaks. On the other hand, they forced Miana to accept Marava hegemony.¹⁸ In 1754 the poligars of Madurai made a representation to the English in favour of the restoration of the country to the Nayaks.¹⁹ Thomas Saunders, the Governor of Fort St. George, took interest in the suggestion, as it offered the prospect of gaining the loyalty of the poligars, but Nawab Mohammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-din, refused his concurrence.²⁰ In 1777 Minakshi Nayak, an emissary of Vijayakumara, waited upon Governor Lord Pigot at Madras to seek his aid for the re-establishment of the Nayak administration, yet nothing followed. The death of Vijayakumara in the same year synchronised with the end of the long struggle made by the Nayaks to regain possession of the lost territory.²¹

The occupation of Madurai by Chanda Sahib marked the extension of the Mughal sway to the extreme South of Peninsular India. The Mughals, preoccupied with international turmoils, rebellions of provincial governors and incursions by foreign powers, presented no formidable threat to the existence of the

17. S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan, The Rebel Commandant*, pp. 26-41.

18. T. Rajaram Rao (ed.) *Ramnad Manual* (Madras, 1933), p. 238.

19. *Military Country Correspondence*, Madras, 20, Jan. 1754, Vol. 1, pp. 74-77.

20. *Military Consultations*, Madras, 4 Feb. 1754, Vol. 3, pp. 36-37.

21. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 46, p. 274.

Nayak kingdom. The possession of the strong fort of Tiruchirappalli, on the other hand, rendered it easy for the Nayaks to defend their Northern frontier. Yet what contributed to their fall was their factional rivalry. Unity and leadership, needed for their political survival, failed at the critical hour. Minakshi made an earnest endeavour to improve the administration but her want of sagacity in dealing with the problems and her failure in curbing the opposition right in time aggravated the crisis. Bangaru, on his part, in his relentless pursuit of power, relegated public interest to the background and in the process invited his doom and sealed the fate of the kingdom. Having lost the control of the situation, the fugitive Nayaks made futile entreaties to the successful invaders for the restoration of the country.

The transition of Madurai from the Nayak rule to the Nawab's came during the formative period of European imperialism. Anxious to gain political advantages for themselves, the French and the English embarked upon a policy of intervention in the internal affairs of the country. The conflict of Mohammad Ali with Chanda Sahib, with the English and the French as their respective allies, retarded the return of political stability to Madurai and reduced it to the ordeals, that it brought in its wake. Nevertheless, Mohammad Ali's possession of the country with its strategic fort at Tiruchirappalli served as the decisive factor in turning the tide of the struggle in favour of the English during the Second Anglo-French War.

Reviews

**STUDIES IN THE BUDDHISTIC CULTURE OF INDIA DURING
7TH AND 8TH CENTURIES, A.D.:** By Lalmani Joshi, M.A.,
Ph.D. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1967. Price
Rs. 30/-.

This book consists of 12 chapters dealing with the background of earlier development, Buddhism during 7th and 8th centuries A.D., Buddhist art in the monasteries, monastic life and discipline, ethical and spiritual culture, Buddhist education and its centres, Buddhist learning and literature, Buddhist philosophy and dialectics, Buddhism as viewed by Kumārila and Śankara, origin and growth of esoteric Buddhism, doctrines and practices of esoteric Buddhism and the beginnings of the decline of Buddhism in India. The presentation of the subject-matter needs improvement. It is not satisfactory.

The author ought to have discussed Buddhist art and culture in one chapter. In page 5 *Pāramita* is perfection, completeness and highest state, and not perfect virtues. In *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* this subject is differently treated. These perfections are absolutely necessary for the attainment of *bodhi* (enlightenment). Vide *Śraddhotpādasūtra*, *Jātakamālā*, *Mahāvastu*, *Avadāna-Kalpalatā*; cf. Barnett, *The Path of Light*, p. 21. See my Edition of the *Cariyāpīṭaka* (1949). Buddhaghosa flourished in the 5th century A.D. The author has not seen my revised edition of Buddhaghosa published by BBRAS, 1946. It is wrong to say that *Hīnayāna* Buddhism is not as developed as *Mahāyāna* (p. 3). *Mahāyāna* grew out of *Hīnayāna* as the author says in p. 3. This is doubtful. In page 2 ref. 9 the author is not correct in his statement. In verses 57-58 of the *Dīpavamsa* the religious convocation was summoned to purify the doctrine of the Buddha and to make the religion lasting for a long time and not to re-organise the church and put an end to heresy. The author should know that it was really a party meeting of the Vibhajjavādins, and it cannot be called a general convocation (vide my *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 68; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 2nd revised Ed., pp. 100-101). In page 2, the author ought to have consulted the *Mahāvamsa* Text (PTS),

V. 278 — The therā Tissa wrote the exposition called the *Kathāvatthu* for the destruction of the doctrines of others (*paravādappa-maḍḍanaṃ*). What the author wrote is not found in the *Mahāvamsa* (chap. 5. v. 278). In chapter I of the book under review there is a reference to *Pūrana* and not *Purāṇa* as stated by the author. The statement does not seem to be accurate. The same mistake is found in *Mahāvamsa* III. The author purposely avoided page-number in many cases. I have verified the reference but they do not support the author's statement (p. 12 — *Anguttara* II, pp. 40-41; *Majjhima*, II, pp. 181-82, etc.). The Chinese name of Takṣaśilā is *Shi-shi-ch'eng*. An Aśoka tope was found about 12 li to the north of Taxila. In the ruined monastery Kumāralabdha composed expository treatises (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, p. 245). There was another monastery with more than 100 Mahāyāna monks (*Ibid.*, p. 255). In my book entitled *Early Indian Monasteries*, (The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore) I have given full accounts of important monasteries. Regarding Kauśāmbī Campā, Kajaṅgala, Sāketa, Tāmralipti, Nālandā, the details are very meagre. My *Tribes in Ancient India* will supply an exhaustive account. In page 100 *Pavāraṇā* is the name of the Buddhist festival held at the termination of the Buddhist lent. It was an occasion for giving presents to the priest. It appears to last for a day. In page 108 the author has not said anything about the *Dhutaṅgas* which are some ascetic practices. These are thirteen in number (vide Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, p. 123). In page 34 the author should know that there were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3000 brethren who were students of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna at Ayodhyā or Ayudha. There were deva temples also. Ayodhyā was the temporary residence of Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu. The three Buddhist treatises referred by Yuan Chwang were communicated to Aśaṅga by Maitreya. Vasubandhu began his career in a school of the Savastivadins. After the death of Aśaṅga Vasubandhu composed treatises expounding and defending Mahayanism. He died at Ayodhyā at the age of 83 (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 354-59). The book is deficient in many important details Sāketa, Nālandā, Kauśāmbī, Prayāga, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Vārāṇasī, etc. In Vārāṇasī there were more than 30 Buddhist monasteries. I must draw the author's attention to my paper on morality (*Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. VI). There is no page-mark against *Milinda-*

Panho. Only Chap. VI is noted. May I know the name of the edition? Regarding *Dharma* the author may refer to my chapter on *Dharma* in my *Concepts of Buddhism*. I have fully discussed *Pratītyasamutpāda*,¹ in my *Indological Studies*, II. Please verify references in 176, 19. The *Dhammapada* in verses 109, 204 do not at all convey the idea of the author. In my opinion the book needs thorough revision completing the references wherever necessary. The book as it stands may be useful to some. Many recent researches still remain unnoticed and the Bibliography is not upto date.

B. C. LAW

1. E.I. XXIII, 241-242; J.R.A.S., 1930, pp. 611-623.

AMRITSAR — PAST AND PRESENT: By V. N. Datta, pp. xii, 207. Published by the Municipal Committee, Amritsar, 1967. Price Rs. 8/-.

It is a very good and novel idea of a Municipality to have an authentic history of the city it represents written by a competent historian. Amritsar possesses the reputation of a great religious centre of the Sikhs and has played a great role, not only in the long and chequered history of the great Sikh community, but also very recently, in the general political history of India. Mr. Datta has presented in this book a concise but authentic history of this all-important role in the detached spirit of a historian. Beginning from the foundation of the city on a plot of land granted by the Mughal Emperor Akbar to the fourth Guru Ramdass in 1577, he has traced its history down to the very modern times. He has discussed the different theories about the genesis of the name 'Amritsar' which replaced the original name of the small city known after the Guru as Ramdasapur (p. 3), and described in chronological order the various events with which that city was associated and the gradual steps by which it acquired eminence not only in the history of the Sikhs but also as a centre of great trade and commerce. In particular reference may be made to his account of the martyrdom of Mani Singh in 1738 (p. 12), the occupation of the city by Ranjit Singh by defeating the Bhangi Misd, the date of which he states as 1805 in opposition to the views of eminent authorities who place this event in 1802 (p. 24), and the long and comprehensive account of the tragedy at Jallianwala Bagh to

which he devotes about 30 pages (pp. 55-87). He continues the history of Amritsar up to the achievement of independence in 1947 and even after it, mentioning in particular the notable contributions made by Amritsar to the victory of India in the war against Pakistan in 1965. This historical account is followed by a general survey of the people's social conditions under such headings as food, dress, marriage customs, ornaments, festivals, games and recreations, daily life, etc. Separate chapters are devoted to trade and industry, education and culture. The book concludes with a brief account of the places of interest in the city of Amritsar. The book is well written and would enable the reader to get some idea of the great city — its past and present, with some speculations about its future in view of the proximity of Pakistan.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

SOCIAL AND RURAL ECONOMY OF NORTHERN INDIA, VOL. II — TRADE AND COMMERCE: By Atindra Nath Bose; published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1967; pages 308, price Rs. 15.00.

This seems to be a reprint of the first edition of Vol. II (Books III-VI) of the late Dr. A. N. Bose's interesting work. Book III (which should have properly been styled 'Trade and Commerce' though this appears as a rather inaccurate title of the volume) discusses the following topics — Development and Organisation of Trade, Price and Market, Metric System, Overland Trade and Routes, Sea-borne Trade and Routes, and State Levies and Control on Commerce. While Book IV deals with Banking and Currency, the topic discussed in Book V is the problem relating to Occupation and Employment. Book VI, entitled 'Social Physiognomy', deals with such topics as — Slaves, Hired Labour, Despised Castes and Races, Despised Crafts and Callings, Class Basis of Social Economy, and Material Background of Indian Culture. There is, besides, an Appendix on the Date of the *Kautiliya Arthashastra*.

The book is quite popular with the students of the subject and is very useful to the general investigator into the socio-economic condition of ancient India. But it has certain defects which the learned author would probably have removed if he got an opportunity to revise the pages and correct the proofs. There are

numerous misprints; e.g. 'nated' for 'noted' (p. 133, note 1), *ghaṇanā* for *gaṇanā* (p. 148, line 3), *Arthśāstra* for *Arthaśāstra* (p. 151), etc. Often the references are inadequate; e.g. 'Hibbert Lectures' (p. 58, note 2), 'Schoff' (p. 62, note 1; p. 65, note 1), etc. We have also noticed cases of omission of references altogether. Thus, while referring to the Muṇḍeśvarī inscription of Udayasena at p. 29, note 1, the author forgets to mention that it was edited first by R. D. Banerji in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 289, and again by N. G. Majumdar in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 21 ff. A more serious matter is the error committed by the author when he assigns the said Muṇḍeśvarī inscription to 'the early 7th century'. Actually, however, the date of the inscription falls in the middle of the 4th century A.D. since it has been read as the Gupta year 30 corresponding to 350 A.D.

The blemishes referred to above do not, however detract from the great merit of the work.

D. C. SIRCAR

POSSIBLISM: By Roby Guha Mozumdar (Nalini Nath Majumdar Memorial Trust, 1/1/1, Hazra Road, Calcutta-26 (India). Pages 199. Price Rs. 15/-.)

This is an interesting venture into the field of abstract philosophy by a talented student of literature and music. The basic keynote of the book is the dynamic character of possibility and the main thesis of the book is that the field of possibility is the matrix of both positive and negative facts. The principle of polarity, of the outward and the inward, is analysed in terms of the concept of possibility as a dynamic equilibrium. The first chapter outlines the basic principles of possibilism as a potential neutral field in which operate the two forces of positive and negative desire, producing positive and negative actualisations. The idea of a negative actuality or of a negative fact is likely to cause some philosophical perplexity, but it is basic to the main argument of the book. The author, in fact, develops the idea further in an intriguing fashion in the chapters that follow. The analysis of time and space, action and matter in terms of the principle of polarity thus finally leads up to the idea of Creation. The view creation is a kind of tensional equilibrium of opposing forces is

upheld and also reinforced in terms of Hindu concepts regarding the creation and destruction of the cosmos.

One may naturally have some misgivings about such extrapolations, but nevertheless one finds the suggestion interesting. But the basic philosophical point of the book is after all much stronger and likely to be more fruitful than any of its applications. The idea that 'possibility' is a dynamic concept and that actuality may be regarded as a kind of derivative or precipitate of dynamic possibilities and that this dynamism of possibility is structured in the form of a polarity of forces and that therefore actualisation is a periodicity or rhythm, are interesting suggestions. The final application of the principle of possibilism to man is also significant. Mr. Mozumdar writes, "Man may not only profit by knowing himself, but may also profit by knowing his Possibility and by Expanding himself so that he may have Advancement cum Development by Alternation of Steps. For, according to the Concept of Possibilism, there cannot be either Advancement (Action-like) or Development (Matter-like) unless there is Alternation of Steps inasmuch as there cannot be Expansion unless there is Contraction, or there cannot be Contraction unless there is Expansion."

One must confess that Mr. Mozumdar's liberal use of capitals makes for difficult reading; also, one wishes that he were not so free with metaphors, or atleast that he would systematically cash them.

The volume under consideration appears to be the first part of the projected venture and one would therefore like to see how the author would develop the idea further.

T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

A HISTORY OF RELIGION: THE DESTINY—DETERMINING FACTOR IN THE WORLD'S CULTURES: By Fred Louis Parrish, Professor of Asian Cultural History, University of Kansas, Pageant Press, Inc. New York, N.Y., 1965, pp. XIV +279. Price \$ 5.00.

It is a unique production and seems to be the result of years' study and reflection. It is not a history of the great religions of the world as they exist today. Nor is it an account of their doc-

trines, rituals and ceremonies. Religion in this book is considered as a scientific discipline of which the data consist of the varied forms of interpretations of human experience provided and conditioned by the peoples' cultures. Every culture "has its own identity and integrity, marked by its own time and place in historical human experience. As a basic characteristic of every one of these cultures, there is a common factor: the 'power-area' and 'powers' in it, used by each culture as its 'world' of human experience". These powers have been described in this book as the destiny-determining powers.

The book is divided into three parts of which the first is an introduction in which the author draws pointed attention to (a) man's belief in human destiny which is shaped by his conception of the powers that rule the natural world, (b) to religion conceived as a discipline based on historical data, and (c) to an explanation of what he calls destiny-determining powers rooted in every culture. The second part discusses the world's older 'two-factor' religions, and the third the world's later 'one-factor' religions.

At the outset we have an illuminating picture of the ancient image of the natural world, and then that of a new or modern image. This is followed by a discussion on religion as a scientific discipline and a classification of religions. In the ancient religions of the world India naturally occupies the first place. China comes next, and then follow Iran, Palestine, Greece, Babylonia and Egypt in quick succession. Also there is an account of the primitive religions of Western and Central Europe. A good deal of attention is given to the evolution of beliefs held by the followers of various religions, particularly of the ancient Vedic or Hindu faith, confucianism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity. Curiously enough Islam is not given the attention that it deserves, and is disposed of in a few pages.

The learned author rightly concludes that the culture of modern science is gradually becoming a new common world culture. But, though every religion has a distinctive cultural background, the new emerging common culture is a super-culture and can hardly be expected to replace the traditional cultures of the countries that have given birth to the great religions of the world. Hence the much hoped for emergence of one common world reli-

gion, which is the dream of the advanced section of mankind, is hardly possible in the foreseeable future.

A select bibliography and an index would have increased the usefulness of this scholarly and thought-provoking volume.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF VAIṢṆAVISM: By Dr. Mrs. Suvira Jaiswal, Lecturer in History, Patna University, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi-6, 1967; pages 266 with a map showing the progress of Vaiṣṇavism; price Rs. 25.00.

The book under review earned for the young authoress the degree of Ph.D. of the University of Patna. It is on the whole a creditable performance and exhibits a careful collection of data and a skilful and sobre presentation of facts.

Besides the Introduction, Sources, Conclusion and Appendices, there are four chapters in the book — Vaiṣṇava Pantheon (Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, Saṅkarṣana — Baladeva, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Śrī-Lakṣmī), Doctrines of the Vaiṣṇavas (Bhakti, Ahimsā and Incarnation), Rituals and Observances, and Extent of Influence (Vaiṣṇavism and the People, and Regional Extent of Vaiṣṇavism).

We have noticed a number of typographical errors and other minor blemishes; e.g. 'Belvelkar' for 'Belvalkar' (p. 10, note 8), *śabda* and *saṅjñā* respectively for *śabda* and *saṃjñā* (p. 142, note 3), *svāmin* for *svāminah* (p. 200, note 5), etc., etc. Kieth's *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads* (cf. p. 78, note 7) and R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (cf. p. 3) should not have been mentioned respectively as *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas* (p. xv, p. 124, note 2) and *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects* (p. xv). If king Vajra is called *Narendracandra* or *Nṛpacandra* and *Narendrasimha* in a Purāṇa while Candragupta II Vikramāditya is endowed with the epithets *Narendracandra* and *Narendrasimha* in the legend of some of his coins, the similarity of the epithets does not appear to be enough to associate the rulers, because royal epithets like 'the moon or tiger among the kings' are really a commonplace. The passage quoted from the Allahabad pillar inscription at p. 157, note 4, which is really in prose, has been

wrongly mentioned as forming part of a verse at the same page, line 12. We have no doubt that the learned authoress would try to remove such blemishes when the book runs a second edition..

We recommend Mrs. Jaiswal's work to the students of the religious life of ancient India.

D. C. SIRCAR.

RAJASTHAN THROUGH THE AGES, VOLUME I: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES to 1316 A.D.: Edited by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, published by Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. Pp. 46 + 914 + XI. 1966. Price not given.

Besides providing a good geographical background, a critical assessment of the sources on which it is based and a sketch of pre-historic and proto-historic condition of the region, this scholarly work describes in twenty three chapters and six appendices the history and culture of Rajasthan from 500 B.C. to 1316 A.D. At the end of each of the three parts into which the book is divided is appended a select bibliography and at the end of the II and III parts are provided genealogies of the various dynasties that ruled the former princely states of the region. Four accurately drawn maps and an index add to the value of the book.

The book under review is the first scientific history of Rajasthan, based as it is on a critical examination of all available contemporary sources and later authorities in various languages, treating Rajasthan as a single unit. After the publication of Col. Tod's pioneer work, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, which for the first time attempted to treat, though not with much success, most parts of Rajasthan as one region, several valuable works, mostly in Hindi, have appeared from time to time, notable among them being Kaviraj Shymal Das's *Vir Vinod* and G. H. Ojha's *History of Rajputana*. But these and others were profess- edly histories of the former princely states of the region and not of Rajasthan as a whole. '*Rajasthan Through the Ages*' has, on the contrary, kept in view the whole of the region as a single entity, though it has of necessity to relate its annals dynasty- wise, for no other satisfactory treatment is possible. The general editor who is also the contributor of a major part of the volume, has successfully tackled some of the baffling problems, such as,

the origin of the Rajputs in general and of the Guhilots and Pratiharas in particular, and several other controversies, particularly about the connotation of the term '*Gurjar*' and the historicity of '*Padmini*'. The work gives in detail the political history of the dynasties that ruled the land, their exploits in war and peace and their resistance to the invaders from the North-West and to the expansionist policy of the sultans of Delhi to the end of Ala-ud-din Khalji's reign. To the political history is added a comprehensive account of the administrative system and the social, religious, economic and cultural conditions of the people during the various epochs.

In short, this volume is a very substantial, scholarly and authentic contribution to the history of Rajasthan, and reflects credit on the general and the managing editors, on the contributors and on the Government of Rajasthan that mooted and financed the scheme of a comprehensive history of the state.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

SOCIAL LIFE IN NORTHERN INDIA (A.D. 600-1000): By Dr. Brij Narain Sharma; published by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi-6, 1966; pages 390 (including Bibliography and Index); price Rs. 25.00.

The book under review is an important addition to the meagre literature on the cultural history of ancient India.

Besides the Introduction, Conclusion and Appendices, the book has as many as ten chapters — II. Marriage and the Position of Women; III. Caste System, IV. Education and Literary Activities; V-VII. Religion (including its popular aspect); VIII. Socio-religious Rites, Ceremonies and Festivals; IX. Toilet, Dress and Ornaments; X. Food and Drink; and XI. Village and Town Life. The author's treatment of the subject is based on a wide perspective and 'Socio-religious Life' or 'Social and Religious Life' would be more suited in the title of the book than 'Social Life.'

Dr. Sharma's collection of data and presentation of facts are generally satisfactory and he may be congratulated for this readable volume. Unfortunately, the book abounds in careless errors mostly typographical; e.g. 'Gaṅgādhara' for 'Gaṅgdhār' (p. 6),

'Hansola' for 'Harsola' (p. 42), 'Vadnagara' for 'Vḍnagar' (p. 48), *bādhyamānāḥ* for *vadhyamānāḥ* (p. 58), 'Ānandanagar, for 'Anandapura', 'Gurmāḥ' for 'Gurmhā', *Karṇin* for *Karaṇin* and *Karṇa* for *Karaṇa* (p. 59), *Ambattha Sūta* for *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (p. 63) 'Heart' for 'Herat' and 'Khandhar' for 'Kandahār' (p. 64), *Abindika* for *Ahiṇḍika*, 'Manua' (thrice) for 'Manu' (p. 69), 'Catāka and Saṁdhimata' for 'Caṭaka and Sandhimat' (p. 94), 'Avolon for 'Avalon' (p. 188). *jjavale* for *jjvale* (p. 199), 'Ray Chaudhri, S. C..' for 'Raychaudhuri, H. C.' (p. 372), etc., etc., cf. also — "Medhātithi has (sic) declared that girls in her (sic) time reached puberty at the age of twelve years" (p. 15). For D. R. Bhandarkar's articles on the foreign elements in the Indian population, the readers should better have been referred to the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and not to the little known *Kāyastha Samācāra*.

The views of the *Śukranīti* (pp. 22, 58, etc.) should not have been quoted without reference to the well-known controversy about its date, since it appears to have been really composed very considerably later than 1000 A.D. which is the later limit of Dr. Sharma's period of enquiry. The passage quoted from Al-Bīrūnī at p. 123, note 7, is really the translation of a stanza in Varāhamihira's *Br̥hatsaṁhitā* (60.19) which was composed in the 6th century A.D. It is therefore wrong to say that the deities mentioned in the passage were worshipped about the close of the period of 600-1000 A.D. It may further be mentioned that the worshippers of the Buddha are called *Śākya* by Varāhamihira and 'the Shamanians' (i.e. *Śramaṇas*) by Al-Bīrūnī, while 'Shamani-ans' has become 'Shamancans' in Dr. Sharma's quotation.

The date of the Mathurā inscription being the Gupta year 61 corresponding to 380 A.D., it is wrong to mention it as 'A.D. 380 or 375' (p. 6). What has been said on *Siddha* or *Siddhirastu* (pp. 77-78) seems to be misleading and inadequate; cf. R. H. Van Gulik's *Siddham*, Nagpur, 1956.

It is expected that the learned author will remove such blemishes in the future edition of the work. We recommend the book to the students of the socio-religious life of ancient India.

THE HÜNAS IN INDIA: By Upendra Thakur, M.A., D.Phil.; pp. xvi + 344. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series; Varanasi, 1967. Price Rs. 25.

This book is welcome as the first comprehensive account of the Hūnas in India. The author has given a brief account of the Hūnas before their arrival on the Indian border, and dealt in great detail with their activities in India, dwelling particularly on their early invasions and defeat by Skandagupta, the reigns of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, the small settlements of the later Hūnas in different parts of Northern India, and finally their culture in India. The author has incidentally dealt with many associated problems, such as the origin of the Rājputs and the Gurjaras, and what he calls the "so-called Agnikula myth." A fairly detailed account is also given of the Hūna coins.

Though the author has worked hard and gathered much useful information, his treatment of the subject often displays lack of critical judgment and knowledge of true historical principles. The whole book abounds in passages illustrating these defects and I need only cite a very few: The statement on p. 59 that "the country of Nābhāka, mentioned in the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka, as the city of Nabhikapura in the land of the Uttarakurus, has been located in the Thianshan mountains on the confines of Scythia..." violates some of the fundamental principles of history-writing. In the first place, it conveys the impression that Nābhāka has been equated with Nabhikapura in the Rock Edict of Aśoka, which is, of course, not a fact. Secondly, it is an identification proposed by Cunningham many many years ago, and not a well-established fact as assumed by the author. Thirdly, the author has totally ignored the objections raised by D. R. Bhandarkar against Cunningham's view and the suggestion made by the former about the location of the Nābhākas in his very well-known book *Aśoka*. The confident tone in which the author describes the conquest of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Madras and the other well-known republican tribes by Toramāṇa, and waxing more eloquent, recounts how "dashing beyond, Toramāṇa took Magadha, Banaras, and Kauśāmbī in the course of a lightning march" (p. 112) is more suitable to a romance than sober history, particularly as the evidence for all these assumptions is very flimsy. It is to be noted

that a Toramāṇa moved from the west towards the east the order of enumerating the three countries should have been reversed. But the author exceeds all limits of sobriety when he asserts that "there is no doubt that Toramāṇa ... encouraged Vainyagupta against Narasimhagupta to become the ruler of the Eastern provinces of the Gupta empire (Gauḍa) and further installed Prakāṭaditya as king of Magadha at Kāśī, while inciting Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor to gain some influence in Magadha proper..." (pp. 128-9). Every rational student of history is bound to entertain very grave doubts about every one of these statements which are figments of author's fertile imagination and have absolutely no evidence to stand upon, except some vague statements or hints in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as interpreted by the author to suit his own convenience. The enigmatic method followed in this work of naming a king only by a single letter which is generally presumed to be the initial letter of the name, does not deter our author from identifying Ha-kārākhyā with Toramāṇa (p. 122) and Bha-kārākhyā with Narasimhagupta (p. 127), though the two single letters do not appear at all in the name of either of the two kings whom they are supposed to denote. It is not necessary to discuss any further the unwarranted assumptions and statements of the author which are scattered throughout the work. It may be noted in passing that the author's comments on the views of previous writers such as one finds on p. 120 show that either he has not carefully read the relevant passages or failed to understand them properly.

There are, however, some good and novel suggestions here and there. Reference may be made to the interpretation of the verse in *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 68) which refers to the scarlet cheeks of the Hūṇa women as a testimony to the valour of Raghu. The author's suggestion that this refers to the practice of widows "slashing their faces with knives" among the Hūṇas (p. 235) is worth consideration. He has also stressed the fact that the current view that the Hūṇas are mentioned as one of the Rajput clans is due to a misreading of the word Hula as Hūṇa, though the credit for this goes to C. V. Vaidya (p. 238). But the author's elaborate arguments to disprove the theory of the foreign origin of the Rajputs, propounded by D. R. Bhandarkar and others, are very weak. He has not thrown any new light on the problem but rather shows that he has not grasped the full significance of the

arguments which he seeks to refute and has a very inadequate knowledge of the literature on the subject.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the author's reference to learned scholars from whose views he differs is often rude and unbecoming. Thus he observes with reference to Bhandarkar's theory of the foreign origin of the Gurjaras that the latter's assumption "seems more a piece of confused thinking than sober historical analysis resulting from impartial study of relevant data and facts." (p. 241). The reviewer has great doubts about the justice of this remark, but he is bound to admit that he could not improve upon the language of the passage quoted above, in correctly describing the book of the author under review.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

MUGHALS IN INDIA, A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY,
VOLUME ONE: MANUSCRIPTS: by Prof. D. N. Marshall.
Asia Publishing House, Bombay-1, 1967, pp. 634 + XX.
Price Rs. 50/-.

Advanced students who are either already engaged, or intend to take up research, in the Mughal period of Indian history or culture, or economic or social life of that age, will be grateful to Shri D. N. Marshall for publishing, after nearly thirty years' labour, the first volume of his Bibliographical Survey of original contemporary and later works in various languages, bearing on most aspects of life in that age. The survey consists of manuscripts and only those printed works which have relevance to the manuscripts concerned. The arrangement of the items is author-wise and in alphabetical order, and not in chronological order. Under each author, his works too, if more than one, are arranged alphabetically with a brief notice about the author, contents of each work, its place of availability, date and place of publication, in case it is published, its translation in English or any other language, if any, and so forth. Anonymous works have been allotted a separate section and arranged according to titles. All this useful work has entailed the patient and diligent author a great deal of labour and search during the course of which he had to visit numerous libraries in the country and abroad and make a close study of published and unpublished catalogues of MSS in Persian, Sanskrit

and other languages. One can form an idea of the author's patient industry by the fact that this volume had remained in the press for twelve years when he had to emend many items in the book in the light of the fresh information that came to hand during the period. The book is enriched with a good index.

The work is indispensable for all those who are seriously interested in the study of Indian history from 1526 to 1850 A.D. It would have been more useful, if the items had been arranged language-wise and the book had been divided into sections and each section assigned to one particular reign or period. As it is, one has to wade through the pages of the entire book to find out references relevant to a period or reign which one wants to study. However, the author deserves praise for publishing this useful and authoritative book of reference relating to a very important period of Indian history. The book must find a place in every library.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

THE BHUMIJ REVOLT (1832-3) by Jagdish Chandra Jha, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1967, pp. xii + 197 Price Rs. 20/-.

The sharp reaction of the wild primitive tribes against the system of British administration imposed upon them, often ending in open rebellion, was a distinctive feature of the early British rule during the first half of the nineteenth century. The rebellion of the Khasis, Singhpos, Nagas and Kukis of Assam, the Khonds of Orissa and the Kolarian tribes in Chotanagpur, living mostly in hills and jungles apart from the more civilized people of the neighbouring plains, which sometimes proved to be a prolonged menace to peace and order belonged more or less to the same pattern. Whatever might be the immediate cause of the troubles, their real origin has to be traced to their racial and cultural traits and ways of life, differing widely from those of their more advanced neighbours. The conflicts between these tribes and the British Government did not receive due recognition in the general histories of India until very recent times. Special treatment has been accorded to them in the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IX, but it is necessarily very brief. Fortunately, some scholars have recently taken up a critical study of the subject and have

written good monographs on some of these tribes. The book under review belongs to this class. Dr. Jha has written a critical and comprehensive account of the Bhumij revolt of 1832-3 which is popularly known as the 'Ganga Narain's Hangama', or the turmoil caused by Ganga Narain (Singh) in the Jungle Mahals and Dhalbhum in the district of Midnapore. He has traced the course of events from the first penetration of the British into the area, and after a short account of the early disturbances, given a detailed account of the more serious outbreak led by Ganga Narain and of the military campaigns by which it was suppressed after a strenuous conflict involving a few major reverses to the English troops. The rising was, no doubt, caused, at least partly, by personal factors, but its development as a serious outbreak was due to more deep-seated causes—political, social, and economic. The author has not only described the military campaigns in detail, but has also described these causes, mentioning specifically the long-standing grievances of the Bhumijes of Dhalbhum and Manbhum under each of the above heads. Incidentally the study is of great interest from anthropological standpoint, as it throws very interesting sidelight on the nature of social organization, the mental horizon and the wild and ferocious character of the primitive peoples, as well as their ways of thinking, hopes and aspirations.

The author has based his account on a careful study of the original records and the book gives evidence of great industry and a high degree of critical judgment. The printing and get-up of the book are good, but the two maps reproduced from Rennell's atlas are too indistinct to be of any real use to the readers.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

ŚAṆKARADEVA AND HIS TIMES (Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Assam) by Prof. Maheswar Neog, published by the University of Gauhati, 1965; pages 400 (including bibliography and index, pp. 379 ff.); Price Rs. 25.00.

The name of the celebrated Vaiṣṇava saint Śaṅkaradeva, said to have been born in 1449 A.D. and died in 1579 A.D., has been exercising the greatest influence on the religious life of Assam. He received patronage of the Koch king Naranārāyaṇa (c. 1540-84 A.D.) and preached the doctrine of salvation through devotion

to the god Viṣṇu, with his headquarters at Barpeta in the Kamrup District of Assam. Śaṅkaradeva was also an author of great merit in the Assamese language. The subject of Prof. Neog's thesis, which earned for him the degree of D.Phil. of the University of Gauhati in 1955, was therefore well-chosen.

The work under review is divided into twelve chapters dealing with the following topics: materials for the study of Śaṅkaradeva and his times (I), Political condition of the country about Śaṅkaradeva's age and his ancestry (II), social and religious background (III); early history of the Vaiṣṇava movement (IV); literary works of Śaṅkaradeva (V); doctrines of the faith expounded in the *Bhaktiratnākara* (VI); Śaṅkaradeva's philosophical views and dramatic art and technique (VII-VIII); Vaiṣṇava music and dances (IX); preparation and illumination of manuscripts (X); neo-Vaiṣṇava institutions and practices (XI); and social implications of Śaṅkaradeva's Bhakti movement (XII).

The learned author's treatment of the subject is comprehensive and his views are generally sober. The work is a notable addition to our literature on Vaiṣṇavism. There are some misprints which may be corrected in the next edition.

D. C. SIRCAR.

WOMEN IN MUGHAL INDIA, 1526-1748 A.D. by Rekha Misra
Munshiram Manoharlal, Oriental Publishers and Booksellers,
Post Box No. 1165, Nai Sarak, Delhi-6, pp. 177 + XIII, 1967.
Price Rs. 15/-.

The book is a Ph.D. thesis approved by the University of Allahabad. It is divided into eight chapters and contains six appendices and a bibliography. The title is a misnomer, for out of eight chapters six are devoted to an account of royal ladies and only one, viz., VIII chapter discusses the position of middle and lower class women. The first chapter is introductory and is based on secondary sources. The author does not seem to have read the sources in the original, and has depended upon their English translation. Except in a few cases she has not examined doubtful evidence carefully and has not made an attempt to resolve controversies relating to her subject. For example, she says that it is not clear as to what kind of influence Maham-

Anga exerted on Akbar and yet she gives the appointments of ministers made by her. She has accepted Dr. R. P. Tripathi's version of the controversy without knowing what other recent writers have written on the subject. The work, therefore, looks like a compilation with references to authorities in the foot-notes (which have not been carefully studied) rather than a research production. Barring mistakes of language here and there, the thesis is on the whole well written. There are not many lady researchers in our country and Rekha Misra deserves commendation for having produced a readable volume.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

COINS OF THE PĀṆDYAS (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 11) by C. H. Biddulph, published by the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966; pages 71 (including 'Key to Plates', pp. 40-71); price Rs. 8.00 for members of the Society, Rs. 10.00 for others.

In this very interesting monograph, a description of the Pāṇḍya coinage has been introduced with a preliminary discussion of such topics as the Dravidians, the Tamil Kingdoms, Religions, Fish Cognisance of the Pāṇḍyas, Historical Note on the Pāṇḍyas, and Names or Titles of the Pāṇḍya Kings occurring in the coin-legends. The coinage has then been described under the following sections: (a) Gold coins, (b) Silver coins, (c) Pāṇḍya coins issued in Ceylon, and (d) Languages used in the epigraphic and numismatic records of the ruling families of Southern India. There is no index. In the first of the two appendices, the names and titles of the kings in English (without diacritical marks) and Tamil are quoted, while the other one notices the Pāṇḍya coins described and illustrated by T. Desikachari in his *South Indian Coins* (but not included in the present author's plates).

There are points on which we do not agree with the learned author; e.g. we are inclined to attach no importance to the theory of some numismatists tracing Mauryan marks on certain punch-marked coins. But such cases do not detract from the value of the monograph. What is more unfortunate is that the Plates illustrating the coins discussed in the work are unsatisfactory and

typographical errors are too many while diacritical marks, essential for a book of this kind, have been rarely used. We request the author and publisher to print the next edition of the work in a press having diacritically-marked types and efficient-readers.

D. C. SIRCAR.

NATIONALISM IN INDIA AND OTHER HISTORICAL
ESSAYS, by Damodar P. Singhal, M.A., Ph.D., Published by
Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, p. 324.

This is a collection of 16 essays written at different times for different periodicals. Most of them deal with current political issues and historical reviews, such as 'Nationalism in India—its character and consequences', 'Goa—End of colonialism in India', 'India without Nehru', 'Parliamentary Style of Indian Opposition', 'Nature of Indian Revolution', 'A Diet of Illusions', 'Democracy with Distrust'. Three are purely historical, namely, 'Russian Correspondence with Kabul 1870-79', 'Indian Contribution to Human Civilisation', 'External Influence on Indian Civilisation'. Three deal with historiography—'Pakitsan', 'Rewriting Indian History', 'Imagery in Indian History—A Recent Example'; and the remaining three deal with South-east Asian History.

None of these essays convey much original thought, though the author sometimes repeats and often rejects current views and always gives his own opinion with boldness and definiteness, not generally warranted by his facts and arguments. On the whole, while the essays are quite suitable for current periodicals for which they were meant, the book in which they are collected hardly possesses any great value as a historical work.

This is borne out by many views and statements scattered throughout the book. This may be illustrated by two passages: He says that "Articulated nationalism began in India as a liberal movement in the form of the Indian National Congress in 1885 with the approval of the British. Romance generally does not long survive marriage, not even in politics. Within a year even the liberal Viceroy Dufferin had visibly cooled off" (p. 5). Again, we are seriously told that dissimilarities between the Hindus and Muslims "in India were mainly regional, not communal" (p. 23).

One imbued with these ideas is hardly competent to write on Indian Nationalism, the very first topic dealt with in the book.

The author's effusions on Nehru and great regard for Humayun Kabir as an authority on Indian history are most amusing. To say that without Nehru "much of Gandhism would have remained in disuse, as would have been Marxism without Lenin", and to describe Nehru as "the voice of the Gandhian urge" and "an empiricist minus opportunism, and a doctrinaire minus dogmatism", can only provoke laughter now that he has ceased to possess any power of patronage. But the author exceeds the limits of decency when he credits Nehru with continuing Gandhi's high ideal of moral values in politics (p. 17), or being inspired by Humayun Kabir, draws a romantic picture of the transformation of Hinduism by the impact of Islam (pp. 180-81).

The essay on "Imagery in Indian history — A recent Example" (pp. 260-271) is really a vitriolic — often unmerited — criticism of Percival Spear's book, "India—A Modern History", which is more suitable to the particular journal in which it was originally published, than a book claiming recognition as historical work. Spear's book is certainly not free from errors of omission and commission, but hardly deserves the sweeping remark that it "reflects scholarship but no understanding of India and gives a distorted picture of the Indian people and their heritage." (p. 262). The gravamen of the author's charge against Spear is that "the rejuvenating influence of Islam on Hindu society is hardly considered and the synthesis of Indo-Muslim culture is not adequately treated". (p. 264). But this comment, presumably inspired by his devotion to Nehru and Kabir, and many other comments on Spear's book seem to indicate that while the author lacks the scholarship of Spear, admitted by him, he has much less understanding of India than the latter.

While discussing the Indian policy in South-east Asia, the author justly remarks that the "alliance of the two, if worked out skilfully, could yield great results", but due to "India's utter lack of training in the art of diplomatic practice, and over-enthusiastic zeal for political ethics," "the story of Indian policy in South-east Asia is a tragic tale of declining goodwill". (p. 295). The author has blurted out a great truth, but without noticing, or

not having the will or courage to admit, the share of his idol Nehru, in this catastrophe as in many others.

In conclusion, it is only fair to the author to draw attention to some observations made by him which appear to be quite fair and bold. Reference may be made to the following remarks about the history of the Revolt of 1857 by Dr. S. N. Sen: "When the reader realises that this work was commissioned and published by the Congress Government of India and carries in its foreword, written by the Education Minister, Azad, a nationalistic interpretation, in marked contrast to the author's dispassionate treatment of the subject in its true historical perspective, his admiration for Sen increases all the more." (p. 289).

The author's essay on Pakistan contains much useful information so far as its historiography is concerned. But one would hardly accept the view that "Pakistan is as much an accident of history as of persistent political agitation" (p. 227) as a fair summing up by a historian. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW, by L. Sternbach, published by Motilal Banarsidass, pp. x + 469. Price Rs. 50, 1967.

This is the second volume of the series in which the author has made a very detailed critical study of a number of folktales such as are contained in the *Panchatantra*, and tried to find out how far the juridical background of these stories is in conformity to the injunctions laid down in the Smriti literature. For this purpose he has subjected about a dozen stories to minute analysis. To this has been added a list of the passages in the *Manava*—and other Dharmasutras and the aphorisms of Chanakya in the *Hitopadesa* and *Panchatantra*, as well as the verses of *Manava-Dharmasastra* and *Mahabharata* in Chanakya's Compendia. The book shows the author's thorough acquaintance with the Folklore and Smriti literature, and throws interesting sidelight on the manners, customs and beliefs of the common people. It is a very valuable addition to the history of folklore in India. The book is well documented. Unfortunately, it is full

of printing mistakes, and faulty constructions in many places would be noticed by even a casual reader.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

HISTORY OF DARBHANGA RAJ: By Dr. Jatashankar Jha, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1966, pp. 91 + V. Price Rs. 10/-.

This small book is a reprint from the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XLVIII, Parts I-IV, January-December 1962. The author has not only made use of the archival material preserved in the record office of the defunct estate, but has also utilised all relevant traditions about the origin of the Darbhanga Raj. The result is an authentic story of the rise, progress and extinction of the ruling house that played an important role in the life of the people of a fairly extensive territory in Bihar.

The founder of the Darbhanga ruling house was a notable Sanskrit scholar, named Mahesh Thakur. He was a Shrotriya Brahman and originally belonged to the Tirhut district in Bihar; but his ancestors had for sometime settled in Mandla in Gondwana, where they held some property. Mahesh Thakur was connected with Akbar's court to which he got access probably after the conquest of Gondwana in 1564. He wrote a Sanskrit History of Akbar's reign, a copy of which in MS form is preserved in Ganganath Jha Research Institute at Allahabad and another in the Public Library, Lahore. Obviously Mahesh Thakur was rewarded for this service with the grant of a few villages in the Tirhut district in Bihar sometime in the last quarter of the 16th century. This grant became the nucleus of the modern Darbhanga Raj and flourished till the passage of the Zamindari Abolition Act by the Congress Government of Bihar.

Dr. Jatashankar Jha has ably sketched the history of the rise, progress and extinction of the above ruling family and brought it to 1962, when the last scion of the house died without any issue. It is interesting to read how the descendants of the grantee gradually developed into powerful zamindars and how the grant itself expanded into a large landed estate. The head of the family was given the title of 'Raja' during the viceroyalty of Alivardi Khan (1740-1756), and during the regime of the English East

India Company he was promoted to be 'Maharaja'. In 1916 the hereditary distinction of Maharajadhiraj was conferred upon him. The successive rulers managed to remain friendly and loyal to the Mughals, the Nawabs of Bengal and to the British, and though the Raj had its ups and downs of fortune, its size, resources and prestige were ever on the increase. Most of the rulers of the dynasty were patrons of Sanskrit learning and scholarship. Some of them were scholars themselves, and served the cause of higher education. The last ruler Kaneshwar Singh established a Sanskrit University at Darbhanga and gave large donations of money to some other universities. Dharbanga Raj served the public good in some respects.

A. L. SRIVATSAVA.

EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN-TYPES OF NORTHERN INDIA

(Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 12) by Dr. Lallanji Gopal, published by the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966; pages 81 with 12 Plates; price Rs. 12.00 for members of the Numismatic Society and Rs. 15.00 for others.

The subject of Dr. Gopal's work is very interesting. The discussion is divided into two parts, the first of which, entitled 'Historical Background', deals with the following topics: I. King and Fire-altar type; II. Standing King and Seated Goddess type; III. 'Horseman and Bull' type; IV. Seated Goddess type; V. Dynasties adopting the 'Bull and Horseman' and Seated Goddess types; VI. Hanumān and 'Lion attacking Elephant' types; and VII. 'Cow suckling calf' type.

Part II of the book containing lists of the coin-types has fourteen sections, the first two of which dealing with the Kashmirian and Indo-Sassanian coins. In the remaining sections the learned author has discussed, besides certain miscellaneous issues in the last section, the coins of the Gurjara-Pratihāras (III); the Pālas (IV); the Jajapellas (V); the Śūrasenas (VI); the Shāhīs (VII); the Kalacuris (VIII); the Candellas (IX); the Gāhadavālas (X); the Rāṣṭrakūtas (XI); the Yadus or Tomaras (XII) and the Cāhamānas (XIII).

The work under review will prove to be a very useful reference book to the students of Indian numismatics. Unfortunately,

the illustration of coins in the Plates is not quite satisfactory. We also miss an index. The learned author's attention may further be drawn to a few points on which we are inclined to disagree with him. Thus, at p. 68, the legend on a gold coin has been quoted as *Śrīma Harṣaḥ Vandevapāla* (JNSI, Vol. XIII, p. 123) which seems to us to be *śrīmā(mān) Harṣavān-Devapāla*. At p. 80, reference has been made to the gold coins of the Cauhan king Rāmadeva (c. 1212-71 A.D.) of Pāṭṇā, which are said to bear the legend (1) *śrī-Rāma* (2) *Patanā* and 35 as published in JNSI, Vol. V, Plate IV-B, No. 4 (illustrated in Plate XII, No. 9 of the book under review). As, however, was shown in JNSI, Vol. XIV, 1952, pp. 80-84, the coins in question are ordinary 'Gaṅga Fanams' and the reading of the name of *Rāmadeva* and *Pātanā* in their legend is imaginary.

We recommend the book to the students of Indian numismatics.

D. C. SIRCAR.

MEDIEVAL NEPAL: By D. R. Regmi, Part I (750-1530 AD), Pp. XV + 761; 1965; Price Rs. 50; Part II (1531-1768 AD), Pp. XI + 1076; 1966, Price Rs. 60; Part III (Original Sources), Pp. VIII + 163 + 156; Price Rs. 30. Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/I A, Banchhram Akhrur Lane, Calcutta-12.

Dr. Regmi has rendered a great service to the cause of historical research and to his country by publishing his full and authenticated study of Medieval Nepal running into more than two thousand, one hundred and fifty printed pages and coming down to 1760 A.D., the year when Prithvinarayan Shah, the progenitor of the present ruling dynasty appeared on the scene and laid the foundation of modern Nepal. The first part of this comprehensive work narrates the history of the early medieval dynasties that ruled the land in seven out of ten chapters of this volume, the first two dealing with the geographical background and the sources on which it is based. One full chapter is devoted to an account of the social and economic conditions of Nepal upto the 16th century A.D. The learned author's style is argumentative, but he could not help it owing to the paucity of material and to many controversies with which the early history of Nepal, like that of

India, bristles. His laboured attempt to refute the assertion of Indian and European writers that in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Nepal had come under the suzerainty of the Pala Kings of Bengal does not carry conviction (Pages 87-101).

Part II of the book gives a fairly detailed account of 250 years' history of the various kingdoms into which Nepal was then divided. Principal among these states were those of Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan, and the smaller ones were known as Bāisi and Battisi. Chapter V of this volume is devoted to the political, economic and social conditions of the Nepal valley in the late medieval age. In the last chapter one gets a good description of art and architecture, sculpture and painting. Two appendices reproduce accounts of the journeys to Nepal undertaken by two contemporary European travellers, named Father D' Andrade (1628) and Father Emanuel Freyer (1717). A third appendix describes the coins of Nepal. Then follows the description of a rare manuscript, called 'The Thayāsapa H.' Two maps and a few illustrations are given at the end. A select bibliography and an index add to the value of the volume.

Part III is entirely devoted to the original source-material in Devanagri script, and includes inscriptions, diaries, land records, chronicles, etc. These are of course of inestimable value for serious scholars who want to have a first hand knowledge of the history of medieval Nepal.

In short, this scholarly history of Medieval Nepal in three volumes is the result of patient research on the part of Dr. Regmi who had devoted years' labour to the project. It is a valuable contribution to the scanty literature on the history of an important country.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND HINDUISM: By Sushil Madhav Pathak, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi. 1967; pages 283 (including Appendices, Bibliography and Index); Price Rs. 25.00.

In the work under review, Dr. Pathak has given us an interesting account of the American Protestant missionaries in India from

1813 to 1910. He discusses their contributions in the fields of education, medical treatment, social welfare and reform without putting any stress on the individual work of particular missionaries, even though he has made special mention of such leading figures as Dr. William James Wanless, Dr. Charles Forman and others. We are grateful to the author for the story of the American missionaries in India, which was not properly told previously.

Dr. Pathak says, "Among the Protestant missionaries, this process of change and reform was carried on mainly by British and American missionaries. But, due to the universal presence of British missionaries and their identification with the ruling power, the part played by Americans has been rather neglected by historians. A close study of Indian history and the missionary movement between 1810 and 1910 reveals the fact that American missionaries were playing almost equal roles in the missionary movement as well as the educational and social scene in India" (p. 237). After perusing Dr. Pathak's work, one has the impression, however, that, while comparing the missionary activities of the Britishers and Americans in the above passage, the nature and effect of British missionary work has been a little under estimated.

An interesting section of the book is Chapter IX (Changes in American Missionary Attitudes towards Hindu Thought and Religion between 1870 and 1910) in which Dr. Pathak deals with the effect of the visit of Swami Vivekānanda (or Vive Kananda as the Americans mentioned him) to America and his preachings there (pp. 222 ff.). "Vivekānanda explained in rational terms or denied utterly every piece of propaganda about Hinduism on which missionaries had cashed so long. The fiction of a degenerated India was the very lifeblood of the more narrow missionary circles and they had little intention of parting with it. The obvious weapon (?) was to attack him with every weapon available" (p. 226). The ultimate result of this was, as Dr. Pathak shows, some rethinking on the part of a class of the missionaries.

The author also discusses the activities of the enlightened Hindus of the period some of whom insisted on reform within Hinduism while some others defended the faith in all its aspects (pp. 230-31). Dr. Pathak points out how, as a result of the teachings of Vivekānanda and others, the educated Hindu came to

believe that Hinduism was spiritual and good and Christianity was materialistic and unsuitable for India, and how "what the missionaries faced in India roughly between 1890 and 1910 was a religious revival and awakened nationalism which praised and idolised everything Indian" (p. 232). This changed the attitude of Christian missionaries who realised the need for a thorough and sympathetic knowledge of the non-Christian religions.

The book may be recommended to the students of Indian culture and religious life.

D. C. SIRCAR

HISTORY OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ: By Jamini Mohan Banerjee. Munshiram Manoharlal, Oriental Publishers and Booksellers, Post Box No. 1165, Nai Sarak, Delhi-6, 1967; pp. 228 + XII. Price Rs. 20/-.

This is another Ph.D. thesis approved by the University of Allahabad, and one of the latest productions written in strict conformity to the policy of that University's School of Medieval Indian History. It is divided into seven chapters, and contains a bibliography and an index. It also discusses the comparative merits of the contemporary authorities in Persian. The first chapter on the legacy of Muhammad Tughluq is well-written, though it makes an attempt to exaggerate that ruler's faults in order perhaps to show the magnitude of the task before Firuz. The best portion of the second chapter is the author's discussion on the question whether Firuz was a usurper. But even in this the author has more or less toed the line chalked out by Dr. R. P. Tripathi. Chapters 2, 4 and 5 are common-place. It is in the chapters six and seven dealing with the sultan's personality and the cultural attainments of the reign that the author differs from the traditional opinion about the Sultan. The author does not believe that Firuz was a Sunni bigot and a persecutor of the Hindus and the Shias, though he does not dispute the facts, including those of persecution given by Firuz in his autobiography, entitled *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*. In his autobiography Firuz has portrayed himself as an orthodox Muslim ruler. Dr. Banerjee says that he was not an orthodox Muslim and that he posed to be so in order to win the support of his co-religionists, particularly

the Ulama. Dr. Banerjee's interpretation of Firuz's character and administration amounts in effect to this: 'Dear Sultan Firuz: In your heart of hearts you were a liberal and benevolent ruler with no prejudice against any religion. You painted yourself as a sincere upholder of the rigid laws of Islam and a persecutor of non-Musalmans in order to flatter the Ulama and to win the support of the Muslim community'. Perhaps it did not occur to the learned author that by trying to absolve Firuz in this manner he was condemning Islam, the ulama and the entire Muslim community. Dr. Banerjee admits that during Firuz's reign "corruption and bribery were the order of the day and for it the Sultan's policy of generosity without firmness, his weak personality and passive role in the administrative affairs *were alone responsible*." (Vide p. 175). Yet he gives Firuz a high character and describes the state under him as "a *welfare State* based on the general interest of the people." (p. 172).

The author seems to be ignorant of the Persian language, and has depended upon the English translation of the sources. He invariably writes 'Ulamas' instead of Ulama, not knowing that ulama itself is plural. There are many other howlers in this book including wrong identification of places, such as Katihar in Bihar for Katehr (Rohilkhand) (Pp. 45, 65).

The paper, printing and get up of the book are excellent.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF HINDUISM: By R. N. Dandekar, published by the University of Poona, 1967; pages 142.

Prof. R. N. Dandekar delivered, in March 1967, five Government Research Fellowship Lectures under the auspices of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay and they have been published in the small volume under study. The publication is characterised as No. 3 of the Publications of the U.G.C. Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit attached to the University of Poona. We have also seen a few other numbers of the same series, e.g., No. 1—*Vedic Religion and Mythology* (a Survey of the work of some Western Scholars) by R. N. Dandekar reprinted from the

Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section, No. 21, pp. 1-53; No. 2 — *Post-Vedic Literature* by R. N. Dandekar, reprinted from *op. cit.*, No. 23, pp. 1-37; No. 8 — *Hinduism and Modern Culture* by R. N. Dandekar, reprinted from *op. cit.*, No. 25, pp. 1-17; and No. 9 — *Adjectives and Substantives as a Single Class in the Parts of Speech* by S. D. Joshi, reprinted from *op. cit.*, pp. 19-30.

The titles of Prof. Dandekar's five lectures incorporated in the present volume are as follows—I. Protohistoric Hinduism; II. Vedic Interlude I—Mythology; III. Vedic Interlude II—Magic, Ritualism, Spiritualism; IV. Classical Hinduism—Consolidation and Proliferation, and V. Hinduism and Modern Culture. There is no Index appended to the volume.

The last of the above lectures is substantially the same as that of a paper presented by Prof. Dandekar at the Symposium on 'Traditional Religions under Modern Cultures' organised in connection with the Eleventh International Congress for the History of Religions, held at Claremont, U.S.A., in September, 1965. The paper was published in the *Journal of the University of Poona*, Humanities Section, No. 25, pp. 1-17, to which reference has already been made above.

Prof. Dandekar's lectures are of the popular type, so that he has often avoided substantiating his statements or quotations with references. Thus at p. 140, we have, without references, the Upaniṣadic quotation *n=ālpe sukham=asti, yo vai bhūmā tat sukham* and the mention of Santayana's view that man's spirituality implies his 'living in the presence of the ideal'. There are cases, however, of the use of abbreviations which are likely to be unintelligible to the ordinary reader; e.g. "N. M. Chandhuri (CR 123, 124)" (p. 3, note 3), "Moraes, 'A M. D. Figure', NR 10" (p. 5, note 7), "B. A. Saletore, 'Identification of M. D. Figure', NR 10" (p. 8, note 13), *J Bom U* 5 (p. 10, note 21), etc. References like "S. Srikantha Sastri, *Proto-Indic Religion*, Mysore 1943" and "K. N. Sastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Delhi 1957", without indication of pages, will also prove difficult to an ordinary reader. We have noticed a few misprints; e.g. "in the RV VII. 18.6, the tribes called *Viṣāṇinaḥ* (horned head-dress wearers) and *Śivāsaḥ* (having Śiva as their chief god) are mentioned side by side" at

p. 5 should have correctly referred to RV (*R̥gveda*), VII. 18.7 (not 6).

. We hope that the learned author will try to consider the points raised above so that the book may be more useful to our University students.

D. C. SIRCAR

THE MUGHALS AND THE JOGIS OF JAKHBAR: By B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal. Published by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1967. Pp. 200 + 8 + XIV. Price Rs. 30/-.

This book reproduces and describes 17 documents, mostly Mughal royal *farmans*, recently discovered by the editors, granting free of tax subsistence (*Madad-i-Maash*) land to the Jogis of Jakhbar, a small village in the Gurdaspur district of Panjab. The first *farman* is that of Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.) who made a *Madad-i-Maash* grant of 200 bighas of land to Udant Nath, a Nāth Panthī saint of the village on the 14th of Shawwal, 989 A.H. (November 11, 1581 A.D.). It is a copy of the original. This *farman* refers to an older one, dated 25th Jamadi I, 979 A.H. (15th October, 1571 A.D.) by which Akbar had for the first time granted 200 bighas of land in the village of Boh (Boha), which, by the bamboo jarib measurement, amounted to 170 bighas. The date of the original document is significant. In 1571 Shaikh Abdun Nabi, a rigid Musalman, was the chief *sadr*, and Akbar was in the process of becoming a cosmopolitan ruler. Udant Nath interviewed the emperor on 2nd November, 1581 and his former grant was renewed to him by the above mentioned *farman*, dated 11th November, 1581. As 50 bighas of this land had been submerged by the Ravi, the same amount of culturable waste land was granted to him in lieu thereof. The second *farman* too is of Akbar and is dated 25th of Bahman, 41 Regnal year, reducing the grant to 100 bighas by bamboo measurement half of which was under cultivation and the other half culturable waste land at the time of the grant. This reduction was in accordance with a general policy enunciated by Akbar sometime about 1585 A.D., as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (Blochmann, Pp. 280-281) and not for any specific reason in this particular case. The learned editors

have not been able to comprehend this fact and depended upon Dr. Irfan Habib's book, without themselves turning to the text of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. So they beat about the bush and confess, in their foot-note No. 5 on p. 66 that "it is not clear if it was due to any of the reasons mentioned by Dr. Irfan Habib." This *farman* is important, for (i) it shows that the new policy with regard to free grants of land was not a pious wish, but was implemented, (ii) that the reduction was not made in an arbitrary manner and as laid down in the regulation Abul Fazl was associated with the chief *sadr* in determining the amount of reduction, and finally, (iii) that the *sadr* did not necessarily ditto the recommendation of such a high officer as Abul Fazl. The editors should have done well in bringing out the importance of the above *farman*. The third *farman*, dated 10th July, 1606 A.D. was issued by Jahangir confirming 10 bighas of land to Bhandar Nath on the death of Chandra Nath Jogi to whom it was originally granted by Akbar's *farman* of 31st October, 1579. There is nothing new in this document. The *farman* marked fourth in the text was issued by Jahangir on 29th November, 1606 confirming the grant of 200 bighas of land by *gaz-i-Ilāhi*), whether the same plots or new ones in their places, originally granted by Akbar to the Jogis. One wonders why the reduction of 100 bighas made by Akbar was ignored by Jahangir. The editors have failed to take note of this pertinent point. Was the reduction wilfully concealed by the Jogis? Or was Jahangir more liberal in the matter of granting subsistence land. It is noteworthy that *Sadr-i-Jahan* who was the *sadr* at the time of the reduction held the same office at the time of Jahangir's grant. It could either be a case of fraud on the part of the Jogis or neglect on that of the government or greater liberality of the new emperor Jahangir. The editors should have done well in throwing light on this moot point. At any rate the Jogis continued to be in the possession of 200 bighas of land as is clear from the documents Nos. 5, 6, and 7. Document No. 8 of 1661-62 A.D. does not seem to be a *farman* or a letter from Aurangzeb that the editors have wrongly presumed it to be. It is most probably one from a Hindu officer of Aurangzeb's court. Document No. 9 of 1682 shows that the grant in question was resumed by Aurangzeb several years before this date, i.e., in 1672-73 A.D. It also shows that as no one came forward to till the land, probably because of the respect in which the Jogis were

held by the people, it was given to the Jogis, not free but for an annual revenue of Rs. 107/-. This point namely that the land was left in possession of the Jogis on payment of rent because no other person was willing to cultivate it deserved mention by our learned editors. This was in conformity with Aurangzeb's general policy of resuming grants made by his predecessors to Hindu saints and religious shrines. The editors have casually referred to the resumption and have endeavoured to gloss over the measure by saying naively that the Jogis "do not appear to have *suffered much*, because when they made a representation to the authorities the land was left in their possession on the basis of a stipulated fixed revenue." What a historic conclusion! The fact was that the Jogis were allowed to cultivate the land on payment of rent, because none came forward to till it. (Document No. 9).

In March 1710 A.D. the free grant of the 200 bighas of land was restored to the Jogis about two years before Bahadur Shah I's death (Document No. 11). The reason for the restoration seems to have been a wide-spread uprising in Panjab caused by Banda's rebellion and onslaught, and the necessity of pacifying and winning over influential people. Banda had at that time defeated and put to flight the imperial faujdar of Sonapat, and was proceeding to Sarhind, to defeat and slay its faujdar Wazir Khan (22nd May, 1710). The editors should have given the reasons responsible for the restoration of the *madad-i-maash* grant.

The remaining documents, though important, do not raise any special issues for discussion. The learned editors deserve congratulations for having discovered and published these valuable documents. It is, however, difficult to agree with them that the documents are unique and more important than those relating to the grants made to Vithal Nath Gosain of Gokul or to the Parsi priest Mahayarji Tana. They seem to be unaware of two recent Rajasthan Government publications, giving the English translation of about one hundred *farmāns* and a descriptive list of several hundred reports sent from the Mughal court by the Jaipur Vakils to their rulers and masters, which are immeasurably superior in value to the Jakhbar documents. The Introduction and Notes written under the impact of "excitement" of the discovery, though a little over-done, are scholarly. The printing, paper and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

A SURVEY OF FOLKLORE STUDY IN BENGAL (WEST BENGAL AND EAST PAKISTAN): By Sankar Sen Gupta, published by Indian Publications, Calcutta, 1967; pages 149 (including Notes, Bibliography and Index); Price Rs. 20.00.

The author has given us a survey of folklore study in Bengal and the information has been classified under the following sections—What is Folklore? the Purpose of Study, Early Phase, Journals and Magazines, Western Scholars and Administrators, United Bengal, West Bengal, Eastern Pakistan, and Organisational Efforts. There are besides, Introduction and Conclusions, and a few small maps and some tables. Some parts of the work originally appeared in the *Folklore*, edited by the author of the book under review.

The book is likely to prove useful to those for whom it is intended; but its usefulness could have been considerably increased if it would have been somewhat free from misprints and errors of language and facts some of which exhibit considerable carelessness. We are inclined to draw the attention of the author to a few such blemishes which he may try to remove in the next edition of the work.

In the map 'Fig. 1, India upto 1947' at p. 24, Gujarat and Maharashtra should not have been shown as separate States. At p. 54, we are told, "The writers of *Titareya Brahmana* called the Bengalis as *Bayanshi*, the neglected people of the Indo-Aryans," in which *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *vayāmsi* were expected. The same information is elsewhere (p. 65, note) given as "Banga is first mentioned in *Aitareya* and *Āranyak Brahmanas*," which of course appears to be equally unfortunate. At pp. 60-61, "*Select inscriptions* by D. C. Sircar in *Epigraphia India*" seems to be meaningless and the name of 'Rāmgati Nyāyaratna' has been wrongly written as 'Nyayaratna Ratnagiri', and that of Nikhilnāth Rāy as 'Nikhilranjan Ray'.

The identification of Rāḍha with "Malda, Dinajpure districts of West Bengal and East Pakistan" at p. 65, note is no doubt wrong. In "Davee, Suniti (Maharani)", *Davee* is apparently a mistake for *Devee* or *Devī*. Likewise, *Baṅgālir Itihās* has been wrongly written as *Bengali Itihash* (p. 140) and *A Survey of Indian Sculpture* has been made *A survey of Indian clay Sculpture* (p. 141).

D. C. SIRCAR

KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH JOURNAL (Arts and Humanities), Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2.: Edited by Dr. Buddha Prakash, Director, Institute of Indic Studies, 1967. Price Rs. 10/- each Number?

We welcome the appearance of this scholarly Journal which, we hope, will enjoy a high position among the monthly periodicals on Arts and Humanities. Its object, as declared by the learned editor, is two-fold — to provide a medium of expression to the University teachers and researchers and to emphasize the individuality of the University as a centre of higher learning and research. He rightly reminds the prospective contributors that “the pursuit of knowledge is the highest goal of the intellectual endeavour of man.” Both the Nos. of the volume contain articles on Ancient Indian History and Culture, English Literature, Hindi, History, Linguistics, Philosophy and Psychology, Political Science and Sanskrit. Most of the articles are the result of pains-taking research and are valuable contributions. Some of them extend the bounds of our knowledge. The learned editor deserves congratulations for fulfilling a need, for without a research journal a teaching residential university cannot be of much worth.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

THE DAWN OF BRITISH TRADE TO THE EAST INDIES: By Henry Stevens of Vermont Pp viii+331, London, 1967.

This is a new impression of the book originally published in 1886, and reproduces the Court Minutes of the East India Company during the years 1599 to 1603. It is a faithful reproduction of these minutes with all the quaint words and spellings and contain much useful information about the early activities of a private trading company in England which acquired for that country the great Empire of India, regarded as the brightest jewel of the British Crown until twenty years ago. As a source material for the history of the East India Company it is of very great importance to the specialists, but is not likely to arouse much interest in average reader.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
2. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala*, Poona.
3. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, Bombay.
4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
6. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
7. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
8. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
9. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
10. *Folklore*, Calcutta.
11. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
12. *Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *Indica*, Bombay.
15. *Indo Asian Culture*, New Delhi.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
19. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
20. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
21. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
22. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
23. *Political Scientist*, Ranchi.
24. *Studies in Islam*, New Delhi.
25. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
26. *University of Ceylon Review*.
27. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur.

